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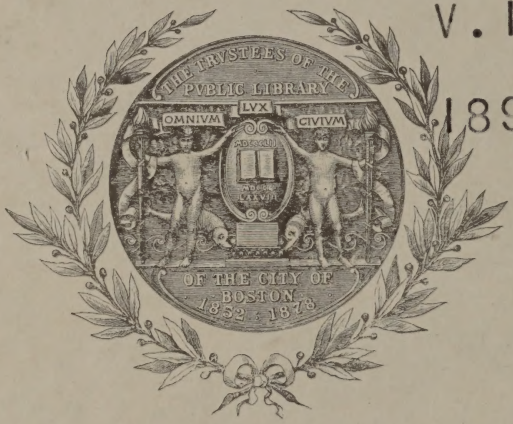

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Re-established by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

EDITED BY LLOYD BRYCE.

January, 1890.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCXCVIII.

JANUARY, 1890.

A DUEL.

FREE TRADE—THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.
PROTECTION—THE HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

MR. GLADSTONE:

I. APOLOGY FOR THIS ARTICLE.

THE existing difference of practice between America and Britain with respect to free trade and protection of necessity gives rise to a kind of international controversy on their respective merits. To interfere from across the water in such a controversy is an act which may wear the appearance of impertinence. It is *primâ facie* an intrusion by a citizen of one country into the domestic affairs of another, which as a rule must be better judged of by denizens than by foreigners. Nay, it may even seem a rather violent intrusion; for the sincere advocate of one of the two systems cannot speak of what he deems to be the demerits of the other otherwise than in broad and trenchant terms. In this case, however, it may be said that something of reciprocal reproach is implied in the glaring contrast between the legislation of the two countries, apart from any argumentative exposition of its nature. And where should an Englishman look for weapons to be used against protection, or an American for weapons to be wielded in its favor, except in America and England respectively?

This sentiment received, during the late Presidential struggle, a lively illustration in practice. An American gentleman, Mr.

NOTE.—Mr Gladstone has courteously consented to the simultaneous publication of his article and of Mr. Blaine's reply.—EDITOR N. A. REVIEW.

N. McKay, of New York, took, according to the proverb, the bull by the horns. He visited Great Britain, made what he considered to be an inspection of the employments, wages, and condition of the people, and reported the result to his countrymen, while they were warm with the animation of the national contest, under the doleful titles of "Free-Trade Toilers" and "Starvation Wages for Men and Women." He was good enough to forward to me a copy of his most interesting tract, and he did me the further honor to address to me a letter covering the pamphlet. He challenged an expression of my opinion on the results of free trade in England and on "the relative value of free trade and protection to the English-speaking people."

There was an evident title thus to call upon me, because I had, many years since, given utterance to an opinion then and now sincerely entertained. I thought, and each of the rolling years teaches me more and more fixedly to think, that in international transactions the British nation for the present enjoys a commercial primacy; that no country in the world shows any capacity to wrest it from us, except it be America; that, if America shall frankly adopt and steadily maintain a system of free trade, she will by degrees, perhaps not slow degrees, outstrip us in the race, and will probably take the place which at present belongs to us; but that she will not injure us by the operation. On the contrary, she will do us good. Her freedom of trade will add to our present commerce and our present wealth, so that we shall be better than we now are. But while we obtain this increment, she will obtain another increment, so much larger than ours that it will both cover the minus quantity which, as compared with us, she at present exhibits in international transactions, and also establish a positive excess, possibly a large excess, in her own favor.

It would have been impertinent in me, and on other grounds impolitic, to accept the invitation of Mr. McKay while the Presidential contest was yet pending. But all the agencies in that great election have now done their work, and protection has obtained her victory. Be she the loveliest and most fruitful mother of the wealth of nations, or be she an impostor and a swindler, distinguished from other swindlers mainly by the vast scale of her operations, she no longer stands within the august shadow of the election, and she must take her chance in the arena of discussion

as a common combatant, entitled to free speech and to fair treatment, but to nothing more. So that the citizens of two countries long friendly, and evidently destined to yet closer friendliness, may now calmly and safely pursue an argument which, from either of the opposing points of view, has the most direct bearing on the wealth, comfort, and well-being of the people on both sides of the water.

II. AN OLD FRIEND WITH A NEW FACE.

The appeal of the champion whose call has brought me into the field is very properly made "to the wage-earners of the United States." He exhibits the deplorable condition of the British workingman, and asks whether our commercial supremacy is not upheld at his expense. The constant tenor of the argument is this: high wages by protection, low wages by free trade. It is even as the recurring burden of a song. Now, it sometimes happens that, while we listen to a melody presented to us as new, the idea gradually arises in the mind, "I have heard this before." And I can state with truth that I have heard this very same melody before; nay, that I am familiar with it. It comes to us now with a pleasant novelty; but once upon a time we British folk were surfeited, nay, almost bored to death, with it. It is simply the old song of our squires, which they sang with perfect assurance to defend the Corn Laws, first from within the fortress of an unreformed Parliament, and then for a good many years more, with their defences fatally and fast crumbling before their eyes, after Parliament had been reformed. Mr. McKay and Protection, now made vocal in him, terrify the American workman by threatening him with the wages of his British comrade, precisely as the English landlord coaxed our rural laborers, when we used to get our best wheats from Dantzig, by exhibiting the starvation wages of the Polish peasant.

But there is also a variation in the musical phrase. Our low wages, it is said, form the basis of our cheap production. So it is desired, as Mr. McKay apprises me, to "get some relief from the American government"; by which I understand that he calls for more protection. For example: I have learned that turfs are occasionally sent from Ireland to America to supply the Irish immigrant with a rude memorial of the country he was forced to leave, but has not ceased to love; and that these turfs are dear to

his affectionate patriotism, and have been bought by him at prices relatively high. But they are charged (I am told) as unenumerated articles, at fifteen per cent. on the value. I hope there is no strong turbary interest in America, for I gather that, to secure high wages to the diggers, you would readily, and quite consistently, raise this, say, to five-and-twenty. The protective argument, however, at this stage rather is, How can the capitalist engaged in manufacture compete with his British rival, who obtains labor at half the price? But this also is to us neither more nor less than the repetition of an old and familiar strain. The argument is so plausible that, in the early days of our well-known Corn-Law controversy, it commended itself even to some of the first champions of Repeal. They pointed out that during the great French war the trade of our manufacturers was secured by our possession of the sea; but that, when, by the establishment of peace, that became an open highway, it was impossible for our manufacturers, who had to pay their workmen wages based upon protection prices for bread as the first necessary of life, any longer to compete with the cheap bread and cheap labor of the continent. And, in truth, they could show that their trade was at the time, to a great extent, either stationary or even receding. These arguments were made among us, in the alleged interest of labor and of capital, just as they are now employed by you; for America may at present be said to diet on the cast-off reasonings of English protectionism. They were so specious that they held the field until the genius of Cobden recalled us from conventional phrases to natural laws, and until a series of bad harvests (about 1838–41) had shown the British workman that what enhanced the price of his bread had no corresponding power to raise the rate of his wages, but distinctly tended to depress them.

Let me now mark the exact point to which we have advanced. Like a phonograph of Mr. Edison, the American Protectionist simply repeats on his side of the Atlantic what has been first and often, and long ago, said on ours. Under protection our wages were, on the whole, higher than those of the Continent. Under protection American wages are higher than those of Great Britain. We then argued, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* He now argues (just listen to his phonograph), *post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* But our experience has proceeded a stage further than that of the American people. Despite the low wages of the Continent,

we broke down every protective wall and flooded the country (so the phrase then ran) with the corn and the commodities of the whole world; with the corn of America first and foremost. But did our rates of wages thereupon sink to the level of the Continent? Or did it rise steadily and rapidly to a point higher than had been ever known before?

That the American rate of wages is higher than ours I concede. Some, at least, of the causes of this most gratifying fact I shall endeavor to acknowledge. My enumeration may be sufficient or may be otherwise. Whether it be exhaustive or not, the facts will of themselves tend to lay upon protectionism the burden of establishing, by something more than mere concomitancy, a causal relation between commercial restraint and wages relatively high. But what if, besides doing this, I show (and it is easy) that wages which may have been partially and relatively high under protection, have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade?

That protection may coexist with high wages, that it may not of itself neutralize all the gifts and favors of nature, that it does not as a matter of course make a rich country into a poor one—all this may be true, but is nothing to the point. The true question is whether protection offers us the way to the maximum of attainable wage. This can only be done by raising to the utmost attainable height the fund out of which wages and profits alike are drawn. If its tendency is not to increase, but to diminish, that fund, then protection is a bar to high wages, not their cause; and is, therefore, the enemy, not the friend, of the classes on whose wages their livelihood depends. This is a first outline of the propositions which I shall endeavor to unfold and to bring home.

III. BRITISH WAGES.

Mr. McKay greatly relied upon a representation which he has given as to the rate of wages in England. It is only incidental to the main discussion, for the subject of this paper is not England, but America. Yet it evidently requires to be dealt with; and I shall deal with it broadly, though briefly, asking leave to contest alike the inferences and the facts which he presents. My contention on this head will be two-fold. First, he has been misled as to the actual rate of wages in England. Secondly, the question is not whether that rate is lower than the rate in America, nor even

whether the American workman (and this is a very different matter) is always better off than the workman in England. It is, What are English wages now under free trade, compared with what they formerly were under protection ?

And first, as to the actual rates in particular cases to which he has referred, I must draw a line between the case of the English chain-makers, on which he has dwelt, and the case of the great coal industry, of which he has taken the town of Wigan as a sample.

In an old society like this, with an indefinite variety of occupations, there are usually some which lie, as it were, out of the stream, and which represent the traditions of a former time, or peculiarities of circumstance, not yet touched by that quickening breath of freedom in trade and labor under which I shall show it to be unquestionable that an overwhelming proportion of our population have found their way to a great and, indeed, extraordinary improvement. In particular, we may expect to find a lamentable picture in those cases where hand labor is destined to be supplanted by machinery, but where the transition, though at hand, has not yet taken effect. These chain-makers are represented as earning, man and wife together, four dollars per week. Small as is this amount, it would not have drawn on that account the least notice in the days when humanity took its standards from the facts supplied by protection. Under the present circumstances, it happens to have attracted marked attention in Parliament, and elsewhere, and I believe that it is at this very time the subject of public inquiry. But the true answer to the argument from isolated cases is that there is no relation whatever between the condition of this or that small, antiquated, and solitary employment, and the general condition of our wage-earning population.

It is otherwise, however, with reference to Wigan. Employment at this important centre is subject to the economical currents of the time, and undoubtedly the facts it may exhibit must be held to bear upon the general question of the condition of the people. But it so happens that I have the best means of obtaining information about Wigan, and I had better state at once that I am at issue with Mr. McKay's report upon the facts. The statements made by him have doubtless done their work ; but it is still a matter of interest to clear up the truth.

The steeple, of which he declares that the parish church has been denuded, never, as I am assured, had any existence. The temperature in Rosebridge mine, which he states at ninety-three degrees, does not exceed seventy degrees. The wages of men are not three shillings a day, but vary from a minimum of three shillings and threepence up to the sum of four shillings and sixpence. The minimum for women on the bank is not one shilling, but one shilling and sixpence, and the maximum not one shilling and ninepence, but two shillings. Yards such as he estimates at forty-five inches wide are forbidden by by-laws of the Local Board issued in 1883, and similar laws issued in 1860 require that cottages shall have an open space, at the rear or side, of not less than one hundred and fifty square feet. Barrows are not in use for wheeling coal underground. In a word, so far as the only place I have been able to make the subject of examination is concerned, the accuracy of the supposed statements of fact is contested all along the line by persons on the spot, whom I know to be of the highest trustworthiness and authority.

We are, however, happily in a condition to bring upon the arena evidence of far higher moment than assertions or denials founded upon a few rapid glances of a traveller, even had he not been laden with a foregone conclusion, or than denials offered against those assertions. So far as Great Britain is concerned, it is obvious enough to what point we should address our inquiries, if they are to be of any serious force in determining by results the controversy upon the respective merits of protection and free trade. We must endeavor to ascertain the general rate of wages now, in comparison with what it was under the protective system, and with constant regard to the cost of living as exhibited by the prices of commodities.

And, in order to try the question for this country at large, whether free trade has been a curse or a blessing to the people who inhabit it, I shall repair at once to our highest authority, Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, whose careful and comprehensive disquisitions are before the world, and are known to command, in a very high degree, the public confidence. He supplies us with tables* which compare the wages of 1833 with those of 1883 in such a way as to speak for the principal branches of

* Progress of the Working Classes During the Last Half Century: in "Essays on Finance." London. 1886. P. 372.

industry, with the exception of agricultural labor. The wages of miners, we learn, have increased in Staffordshire (which almost certainly is the mining district of lowest increment) by 50 per cent. In the great exportable manufactures of Bradford and Huddersfield, the lowest augmentations are 20 and 30 per cent., and in other branches they rise to 50, 83, 100, and even to 150 and 160 per cent. The quasi-domestic trades of carpenters, bricklayers, and masons, in the great marts of Glasgow and Manchester, show a mean increase of 63 per cent. for the first, 65 per cent. for the second, and 47 per cent. for the third. The lowest weekly wage named for an adult is twenty-two shillings (as against seventeen shillings in 1833), and the highest thirty-six shillings. But it is the relative rate with which we have to do; and, as the American writer appears to contemplate with a peculiar dread the effect of free trade upon shipping, I further quote Mr. Giffen on the monthly wages of seamen* in 1833 and 1883 in Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool, and London. The percentage of increase, since we have passed from the protective system of the Navigation Law into free trade, is in Bristol 66 per cent., in Glasgow 55 per cent., in Liverpool (for different classes) from 25 per cent. to 70 per cent., and in London from 45 per cent. to 69 per cent. Mr. Giffen has given the figures in all the cases where he could be sufficiently certain of exactitude. No such return, at once exact and comprehensive, can be supplied in the case of the rural workman. But here the facts are notorious. We are assured that there has been an universal rise (somewhat checked, I fear, by the recent agricultural distress), which Caird and other authorities place at 60 per cent.† Mr. Giffen apparently concurs; and, so far as my own personal sphere of observation reaches, I can with confidence confirm the estimate and declare it to be moderate. Together with this increase of pay there has been a general diminution of the hours of work, which Mr. Giffen places at one-fifth.‡ If we make this correction upon the comparative table, we shall find that the cases are very few in which the increment does not range as high as from 50 and towards 100 per cent.

In a later essay, of January, 1886,§ Mr. Giffen touches the case of the unskilled laborer. He observes that the aggregate proportion of unskilled to skilled labor has diminished—a fact

* P. 373. † P. 575. ‡ *Ibid.* § Pp. 424, 425.

which of itself forcibly exhibits the advance of the laboring population as a whole. I will not enter upon details; but his general conclusion is this: the improvement is from 70 to 90 per cent. in the wages of unskilled non-agricultural labor. And again, comparing the laborer with the capitalist between 1843 and 1883, he estimates that, while the income from capital has risen in this country from 190 to 400 millions, or by 210 per cent., the working-class income, below the standard which entails liability to income-tax, has risen from 235 millions to 620, or at the rate of 160 per cent. Within the same period the prices of the main articles of popular consumption have not increased, but have certainly declined.* The laborer's charges, except for his abode, have actually diminished as a whole. For his larger house-rent he has a better house. To the government he pays much less than he did, and from the government he gets much more; and "the increase of his money wages corresponds to a real gain."†

Such, then, have been the economical results of free trade as compared with protection. Of its political, moral, and social results, at least so far as they regard the masses of the people, an account in no way less satisfactory could be given, were this the proper occasion for entering on the subject. If it be said that the tale I have told is insufficient, and that wages ought still to rise, this may be so; and rise I hope they will; but protection had no such tale to tell at all. For the working population at large it meant stagnation, depression, in many cases actual and daily hunger and thirst, in some unquestionable and even gross degradation. I will venture to say that, taking the case as a whole, it would be difficult to match in history the picture which Great Britain now presents of progress, achieved mainly through wise laws, from stinted means and positive want towards comfort and abundance for the people.

IV. PROTECTION VIEWED IN ITS FIRST ASPECTS.

With a view to presenting the argument for leaving trade to the operation of natural laws in the simplest manner, I shall begin with some postulates which I suppose to be incapable of dispute.

International commerce is based, not upon arbitrary or fanciful considerations, but upon the unequal distribution among men

* P. 405. † Pp, 332, 333.

and regions of aptitudes to produce the several commodities which are necessary or useful for the sustenance, comfort, and advantage of human life.

If every country produced all commodities with exactly the same degree of facility or cheapness, it would be contrary to common-sense to incur the charge of sending them from one country to another.

But the inequalities are so great that (for example) region A can supply region B with many articles of food, and region B can in return supply region A with many articles of clothing, at such rates that, although in each case the charge of transmission has of necessity been added to the first cost, the respective articles can be sold after importation at a lower rate than if they were home-grown or home-manufactured in the one or the other country respectively.

The relative cost, in each case, of production and transmission, as compared with domestic production, supplies, while all remain untrammelled by state law, a rule, motive, or mainspring of distribution which may be termed natural.

The argument of the Free-Trader is that the legislator ought never to interfere, or only to interfere so far as imperative fiscal necessity may require it, with this natural law of distribution.

All interference with it by a government in order to encourage some dearer method of production at home, in preference to a cheaper method of production abroad, may fairly be termed artificial. And every such interference means simply a diminution of the national wealth. If region A grows corn at home for fifty shillings with which region B can supply it at forty, and region B manufactures cloth at twenty shillings with which region A can supply it at fifteen, the national wealth of each is diminished by the ten and the five shillings respectively.

And the capitalists and laborers in each of these countries have so much the less to divide into their respective shares, in that competition between capital and labor which determines the distribution between them of the price brought in the market by commodities.

In my view, and I may say for my countrymen in our view, protection, however dignified by the source from which it proceeds, is essentially an invitation to waste, promulgated with the authority of law. It may be more violent and prohibitory, or it may

be less; but, up to the point to which it goes, it is a promise given to dear production to shield it against the competition of cheap production, or given to dearer production to hold it harmless against cheaper; to secure for it a market it could not otherwise hold, and to enable it to exact from the consumer a price which he would not otherwise pay.

Protection says to a producer, Grow this or manufacture that at a greater necessary outlay, though we might obtain it more cheaply from abroad, where it can be produced at a smaller necessary outlay. This is saying, in other words, waste a certain amount of labor and of capital; and do not be afraid, for the cost of your waste shall be laid on the shoulders of a nation which is well able to bear it. So much for the waste unavoidably attaching to dearness of production. But there are other and yet worse descriptions of waste, as to which I know not whether America suffers greatly from them, but I know that in this country we suffered from them grievously under the sway of protection. When the barrier erected by a protective duty is so high that no foreigner can overleap it, that duty enables the home manufacturer not only to charge a high price, but to force on the consumer a bad article. Thus, with an extravagant duty on foreign corks, we had for our own use the worst corks in Europe. And yet again, protection causes waste of another kind in a large class of cases. Suppose the natural disadvantages of the home producer to equal 15 per cent., but the protective duty to be 30. But cheapness requires minute care, economy, and despatch at all the stages through which production has to pass. This minute care and thrift depend mainly on the pressure of competition. There were among us, and there may be elsewhere, many producers whom indolence tempts to neglect; who are not sufficiently drawn to resist this *inertia* by the attraction of raising profit to a maximum; for whom the prospect of advantage is not enough without the sense of necessity, and whom nothing can spur to a due nimbleness of movement except the fear of not being able to sell their articles. In the case I have supposed, the second 15 per cent. is a free margin whereupon this indolence may disport itself: the home producer is not only covered for what he wastes through necessity, but for what he wastes from negligence or choice; and his fellow-countrymen, the public, have to pay alike for both. We suffered grievously from this

in England, for oftentimes the rule of the producer is, or was, to produce not as well as he can, but as badly as he can, and as well only as he must. And happy are you if, through keener energy or more troublesome conscience in production, you have no similar suffering in America.

If protection could be equably distributed all round, then it would be fair as between class and class. But it cannot possibly be thus distributed in any country until we have discovered a country which will not find its interest in exporting some commodity or other. For the price of that commodity at home must be determined by its price in foreign or unprotected markets, and therefore, even if protective duties are inscribed on the statute-book at home, their effect must remain absolutely null, so far as this particular article is concerned. It is beyond human wit and power to secure to the cotton-grower, or to the grower of wheat or maize in the United States, the tenth part of a cent per bale or per bushel beyond what the price in the markets of export will allow to him. If, under these circumstances, he is required to pay to the iron-master of Pennsylvania, or to the manufacturer at Lowell, an extra price on his implements or on his clothing, for which he can receive no compensation whatever, such extra price is at first sight much like robbery perpetrated by law.

If such be the ugly physiognomy presented, at the present stage of our inquiry, by this ancient and hoary-headed wizard in relation to the claim for equal dealing between class and class, the presumptive case is not a whit better in regard to the aggregate wealth of the nation. Wealth is accumulation; and the aggregate of that accumulation depends upon the net surplus left by the prices of industrial products after defraying out of them the costs of production. To make this surplus large is to raise national wealth to its maximum. It is largest when we produce what we can produce cheapest. It is diminished, and the nation is so far impoverished, whenever and wherever and to whatever extent, under the cover of protective laws, men are induced to produce articles leaving a smaller surplus instead of articles leaving a larger one. But such is the essence of protection. In England (speaking roughly) it made us produce more wheat at high prices instead of more tissues at low prices. In America it makes you produce more cloth and more iron at high prices

instead of more cereals and more cotton at low prices. And your contention is that by making production thus costly you make wages high. To this question let us pass onwards; yet not without leaving behind us certain results which I think you will find it hard to attack, unless it be in flank and rear. Such as these: First, that extra price imposed on class A for the benefit of class B, without compensation, is robbery, and robbery not rendered (in the abstract) more respectable because the state is the culprit. Secondly, that protection means dear production, and dear production means, *pro tanto,* national impoverishment.

But the view of the genuine Protectionist is the direct opposite of all this. I understand his contention to be that protection is (as I should say freedom is) a mine of wealth; that a greater aggregate profit results from what you would call keeping labor and capital at home than from letting them seek employment wherever in the whole world they can find it most economically. But if this really is so, if there be this inborn fertility in the principle itself, why are the several States of the Union precluded from applying it within their own respective borders? If the aggregate would be made richer by this internal application of protection to the parts, why is it not so applied? On the other hand, if the country as a whole would by this device be made not richer, but poorer, through the interference with the natural laws of production, then how is it that by similar interference the aggregate of the States, the great commonweath of America, can be made, in its general balance-sheet, not poorer, but richer?

What is the value of this argument about keeping capital at home, by means of protection, which, but for protection, would find its way abroad? The contention seems to be this: capital which could be most profitably employed abroad ought by legal inducement to be inveigled into remaining here, in order that it may be less profitably employed at home. Our object ought to be, not to pursue those industries in which the return is the largest when compared with the outlay, but to detain in this country the largest quantity of capital that we can. Now, here I really must pursue the argument into its hiding-places by testing it in extremes. If the proper object for the legislator is to keep and employ in his country the greatest possible amount of capital, then the British Parliament (*exempli gratiâ*) ought to protect not only wheat but

pineapples. A pineapple is now sold in London for eight shillings sixpence, which, before we imported that majestic fruit from the tropics, would have sold for two pounds. Why not protect the grower of pineapples at two pounds by a duty of 400 per cent. ? Do not tell me that this is ridiculous. It is ridiculous upon my principles ; but upon your principles it is allowable, it is wise, it is obligatory—as wise, shall I say? as it is to protect cotton fabrics by a duty of 50 per cent. No ; not as wise only, but even more wise, and therefore even more obligatory. Because according to this argument we ought to aim at the production within our own limits of those commodities which require the largest expenditure of capital and labor to rear them, in proportion to the quantity produced ; and no commodity could more amply fulfil this condition.

If protection be, as its champions (or victims) hold, in itself an economical good, then it holds in the sphere of production the same place as belongs to truth in the sphere of philosophy, or to virtue in the sphere of morals. In this case, you cannot have too much of it; so that, while mere protection is economical good in embryo, such good finds its full development only in the prohibition of foreign trade. I do not think the argument would be unfair. It really is the logical corollary of all your utterances on the high wages which (as you believe) protection gives in America, and on the low wages which (as you believe) our free trade, now impartially applied all round, inflicts upon England. But I refrain from pressing the point, because I do not wish to be responsible for urging an argument which tends to drive the sincere Protectionist deeper and deeper into, not the mud, but (what we should call) the mire.

But now I suppose the answer might be that the case which I have put is an extreme case; and that arguments are not well judged by their extremes. In some matters, for instance in moral matters, where virtue often resides in a mean, this may be so. But the laws of economy, which we are now handling, approach much more to the laws of arithmetic ; and if your reasoning is that we ought to prefer, among the fields for the investment of capital, what is domestic to what is profitable, it is at least for the Protectionist to show—and he never has shown—why it is worth a nation's while on this account to lose five shillings in the pound, but not to lose (say) ten or fifteen.

I will, however, instead of relying on an unanswered chal-

lenge, push the war into the enemy's country. I shall boldly contend that the whole of this doctrine—that capital should be tempted into an area of dear production for the sake or under the notion of keeping it at home—is a delusion from top to bottom. It says to the capitalist, Invest (say) a million dollars in mills or factories to produce yarn and cloth which we could obtain more cheaply from abroad—that is, be it remembered, which could be produced abroad and sent here at a smaller cost of production, or, in other words, with less waste ; for all expenditure in production beyond the measure of necessity—call it what we may—is simple waste. To induce him to do this, you promise that he shall receive an artificial instead of a natural price ; and, in order that the foreigner may not drive him from the market, this artificial price shall be saddled, through the operation of an import duty, upon the competing foreign commodity ; not in order to meet the wants of the state, which is the sole justifying purpose of an import duty, but in order to cover the loss on wasteful domestic production, and to make it yield a profit. And all this in order, as is said, that the capitalist may be induced to keep his capital at home. But, in America, besides the jealously-palisaded field of dear production, there is a vast open expanse of cheap production, namely, in the whole mass (to speak roughly) of the agricultural products of the country, not to mention such gifts of the earth as its mineral oils. In raising these, the American capitalist will find the demand of the world unexhausted, however he may increase the supply. Why, then, is he to carry his capital abroad when there is profitable employment for it at home? If protection is necessary to keep American capital at home, why is not the vast capital now sustaining your domestic agriculture, and raising commodities for sale at free-trade prices, exported to other countries ? Or, conversely, since vast capitals find an unlimited field for employment in cheap domestic production without protection, it is demonstrated that protection is not required in order to keep your capital at home.

No adversary will, I think, venture upon answering this by saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries. First, because the best opinions seem to testify that in your protected trades profits are hard pressed by wages—a state of things very likely to occur, because protection, resting upon artificial stimulants, tends to disturb and banish all natural adjust-

ment. But, secondly, there can hardly be any votary of protection sufficiently Quixotic to contend that waste ought to be encouraged in economical processes, and the entire community taxed without fiscal necessity, in order to secure to a particular order of capitalists profits higher than those reaped by another order—the public claim (such you hold it) of both resting upon exactly the same basis; namely, this—that they keep their capitals at home.

There is yet another point which I cannot pass without notice. I have not admitted that protection keeps at home any capital which would otherwise go abroad. But I now for the moment accept and reason upon the assumption that this is effected. And I ask—indeed, by the force of argument I may almost require—you to make an admission to me which is of the most serious character; namely, this: that there is a great deal of capital undoubtedly kept at home by protection, not for the purpose of dear production, which is partial waste, but for another kind of waste, which is sheer and absolute and totally uncompensated. This is the waste incurred in the great work of distributing commodities. If the price of iron or of cotton cloth is increased 50 per cent. by protection, then the capital required by every wholesale and every retail distributor must be increased in the same proportion. The distributor is not and cannot be, in his auxiliary and essentially domestic work, protected by an import duty, any more than can the scavenger or the chimney-sweep. The import duty adds to the price he pays, and consequently to the circulating capital which he requires in order to carry on his traffic; but it adds nothing to the rate of profit which he receives, and nothing whatever to the employment which he gives. This forced increment of capital sets in motion no labor, and is compelled to work in the uncovered field of open trade. It has not the *primâ-facie* apology (such as that apology may be) which the iron-maker or the mill-owner may make, that he is employing American labor which would not otherwise be employed. If the waste under a protective duty of 50 per cent. be a waste of 50 per cent., the waste of the extra capital required in distribution is a waste of 100 per cent. on the cost of the operation; for it accomplishes absolutely nothing on behalf of the community which would not be accomplished equally if the commodity were 50 per cent. less in price; just as the postman distributing letters at a shilling performs no

better or other service than the postman distributing letters at a penny. But of distributors the name is legion : they constitute the vast army of the wholesale and retail tradesmen of a country, with all the wants appertaining to them. As consumers, they are taxed on all protected commodities ; as the allies of producers in the business of distributing, they are forced to do with more capital what could be done as well with less.

V. RELATION BETWEEN PROTECTION AND HIGH WAGES.

Admitting that we see in the United States a coexistence of high wages with protection, but denying the relation of cause and effect between them, I may be asked whether I am prepared to broaden that denial into an universal proposition and contend that in no case can wages be raised by a system of protection.

My answer is this : A country cannot possibly raise its aggregate wage fund by protection, but must inevitably reduce it. It is a contrivance for producing dear and for selling dear, under cover of a wall or fence which shuts out the cheaper foreign article, or handicaps it on admission by the imposition of a heavy fine. Yet I may for the moment allow it to be possible that, in some particular trade or trades, wages may be raised (at the expense of the community) in consequence of protection. There was a time when America built ships for Great Britain ; namely, before the American Revolution. She now imposes heavy duties to prevent our building ships for her. Even my own recollection goes back to the period, between sixty and seventy years ago, when by far the most, and also the best, part of the trade between us was carried in American bottoms. Mr. McKay refers in his letter to a period before the War when she could compete with British labor, but when, as he informs us, your shipwright was paid six shillings a day, whereas now he has fourteen; which means that, as the profits of capital are not supposed to have declined, the community pays for ships more than twice as much as it used to pay, and your ship-builders do a small trade with a large capital instead of doing (as before) a large trade with a (relatively) small capital.

I will not now stop to dilate on my admiration for the resources of a community which can bear to indulge in these impoverishing processes; nor even to ask whether the shipwright in the small trade has the same constancy of wage as he had in

the large one, or whether his large receipt is countervailed by his large outlay on the necessaries and comforts of life. But I will look simply to the question whether protection in this case raises wages. I do not undertake to say it is, in a limited way, impossible. If it be true, the steps in the process are, I conceive, as follows: America absolutely requires for her own use a certain number and tonnage of vessels. Congress lays such duties upon foreign ships and materials that they shall not be obtained from abroad at less than double the price at which they are sold in the open market. Therefore the American ship-builder can force his countrymen to pay him any sum, not exceeding two prices, for his commodity. The remaining point is the division of the amount between the capitalist and the workman. That is governed by the general state of the labor market in the country. If the labor market, although open to the world, is insufficiently supplied, then the wage-earner may possibly, in a given case, come in for a share of the monopoly price of ships. If the hand-work be one requiring a long apprenticeship (so to call it), and thereby impeding the access of domestic competitors, this will augment his share. Then why not the like, some one will ask, in all cases? Because the community in the given case pays the price of the monopoly—that is to say, throws the price to waste, and because, while a trader in a multitude of commodities may lose upon one of them, and yet may have a good balance-sheet upon the whole, he must not and cannot lose upon them all without ceasing to be a trader; and a nation, with respect to its aggregate of production, is as a single trader.

Without, then, absolutely denying it to be possible that in some isolated and exceptional cases there may be a relation between protection (and all protection, so far as it goes, is monopoly) and high wages, I contend that to refer generally the high rate of wages in the United States to this cause would be nothing less than preposterous. And on this part of the case I desire to propound what appears to me to be in the nature of a dilemma, with some curiosity to know how the champions of protection would be disposed to meet it. Let me assume, for the purpose of trying the issue, that one-half of the salable products of the United States are agricultural and one-half manufactured, and that the manufactured moiety are covered by protection, while the agricultural half, since they are articles of large export, bear only such

a price as is assigned to them by foreign competition in the markets where they are sold. I take this rough estimate for the sake of simplicity, and in the same view I overlook the fact that the sugar which you grow is still covered, as it used to be covered, by an operative protection. One-half, then, of American labor enjoys protective wages; the other half of the products of the United States is furnished by mere "free-trade toilers." Now, I want to ask whether the wages of the agricultural half are raised by the existence of protective laws which cover the artisan half. This you cannot possibly affirm, because it is an elementary fact that (given the quantity of labor in the market) they are governed by the prices of the commodities they produce, and that those prices are free-trade prices. You have "free-trade toilers" all over your country, and by their side you have protected artisans. I ask, then, next, this question: Is the remuneration of the "free-trade toilers," all things taken into account, equivalent to that of the protected artisans? If it is not, why do not the agricultural men pass over into the provinces of demand for manufacturing and mining labor, and, by augmenting the supply, reduce and equalize the rate? Which is like asking, How comes it that a man is content with one loaf when two are offered him? The answer would be, He is not content: whenever he can, he takes the two and leaves the one. It follows that in this case there exists no excess of wage for him to appropriate. The loaf, meaning by the loaf not a mere money rate, but that money rate together with all its incidents of all kinds, is equal as between the protected and the unprotected laborer. The proportions of the two kinds of labor are governed in the long run (and perhaps in America more certainly and rapidly than anywhere else) by the advantages attaching to each respectively. In other words, the free-trade wages are as good as the protected wages; and (apart from small and exceptional cases) the idea that protection raises the rate of wages on any large scale or in any open field is an illusion.

But I proceed to consider the vast exceptional advantages which as a country the United States enjoy; which enable them to bear the process of depletion that, through the system of protection, it is their pleasure to undergo, and which for them cause the question to be one not of absolute retrogression, but only of hampered and retarded progress.

VI. ON THE REASONS WHY PROTECTION ONLY INJURES, AND DOES NOT RUIN, THE UNITED STATES.

I hold that dear production, even if compensated to the producer by high price, is a wasteful and exhausting process. I may still be asked for a detailed answer to the question, "How, then, is it that America, which, as you say, makes enormous waste by protection, nevertheless outstrips all other countries in the rapid accumulation of her wealth?" To which my general answer is that the case is like that of an individual who, with wasteful expenditure, has a vast fortune, such as to leave him a large excess of receipts. But for his waste that excess would be larger still.

I will, then, proceed to set forth some of the causes which, by giving exceptional energy and exceptional opportunity to the work of production in America, seem to allow (in homely phrase) of her making ducks and drakes of a large portion of what ought to be her accumulations, and yet, by virtue of the remainder of them, to astonish the world.

1. Let me observe, first, that America produces an enormous mass of cotton, cereals, meat, oils, and other commodities, which are sold in the unsheltered market of the world at such prices as it will yield. The producers are fined for the benefit of the protected interests, and receive nothing in return; but they obtain for their country, as well as for the world, the whole advantage of a vast natural trade—that is to say, a trade in which production is carried on at a minimum cost in capital and labor as compared with what the rest of the world can do.

2. America invites and obtains in a remarkable degree from all the world one of the great elements of production, without tax of any kind—namely, capital.

3. While securing to the capitalist producer a monopoly in the protected trades, she allows all the world to do its best, by a free immigration, to prevent or qualify any corresponding monopoly in the class of workmen.

4. She draws upon a bank of natural resources so vast that it easily bears those deductions of improvidence which simply prevent the results from being vaster still.

Let me now mention some at least among those elements of the unrivalled national strength of America which explain to us why she is not ruined by the huge waste of the protective system.

And first of these I place the immense extent and vastness of her territory, which make her not so much a country as in herself a world, and not a very little world. She carries on the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen. Of all the staple products of human industry and care, how few are there which, in one or another of her countless regions, the soil of America would refuse to yield. No other country has the same diversity, the same free choice of industrial pursuit, the same option to lay hold not on the good merely, but on the best. Historically, all international trade has had its broadest basis in the interchange between tropical or southern commodities and those of the temperate or northern zone. And even this kind of exchange America possesses on a considerable scale within her own ample borders.

Apart from this wide variety, I suppose there is no other country of the whole earth in which, if we combine together the surface and that which is below the surface, Nature has been so bountiful to man. The mineral resources of our own Britannic Isle have, without question, principally contributed to its commercial preëminence. But when we match them with those of America, it is Lilliput against Brobdingnag. I believe that your coal-field, for example, is to ours nearly in the proportion of thirty-six to one. Now, this vast aggregate superiority of purely natural wealth is simply equivalent to the gift, say, of a queen in a game of chess, or to a start allowed in a race by one boy to another; with this difference: that America could hold her own against all comers without the queen, and that, like her little Lord Fauntleroy, she can, if she likes, run the race, and perhaps win it, upon equal terms. By protection she makes a bad move, which helps us to make fight, and ties a heavy clog upon her feet, so that the most timid among us need not now to greatly dread her competition in the international trade of the world.

Again, the international position of America may, in a certain light, be illustrated by comparing together the economical conditions under which coal has been produced in the different districts of this island. The royalty upon coal represents that surplus over and above estimated trading profit from a mine which the lessee can afford to pay the landlord. In England, generally, royalties have varied from about sixpence a ton to ninepence in a few cases; scarcely ever higher. But in Staffordshire,

owing to the existence of a remarkable coal-measure, called the ten-yard coal, and to the presence of ironstone abundantly interstratified with the coal, the royalty has often amounted to no less than three shillings. This excess has a real analogy to the surplus bounty of Mother Earth in America. And when I see her abating somewhat of her vast advantages through the trick of protection, I am reminded of the curious fact that (as it happens) this unusual abundance of the mineral made the getting of it in Staffordshire singularly wasteful, and that fractions, and no small fractions, of the ten-yard coal are now irrecoverably buried in the earth, like the tribute which America has, and has, as it seems, contentedly, been paying to her protected interests.

In most of the elements of cheapness, America wholly surpasses us; as, for example, in the natural, indefeasible advantages she enjoys through the vastness not only of the soils which produce, but of the markets which consume, her productions. I have lately seen a penny periodical, published by Messrs. Harper, of New York, which far surpasses all that the enterprise and skill of our publishers have been able to produce. But all these *plus* quantities she works hard to convert into *minuses* through the devouring agency of protection.

There are two other particulars which I have to notice before quitting this portion of the subject. Each of them involves a compliment—the one to us, the other to yourselves. As there is an invidious element in all self-praise, I will get rid first of what touches us. It is this: Trade is, in one respect at least, like mercy. It cannot be carried on without conferring a double benefit. Again, trade cannot be increased without increasing this benefit, and increasing it (in the long run) on both sides alike. Freedom has enormously extended our trade with the countries of the world, and, above all others, with the United States. It follows that they have derived immense benefit, that their waste has been greatly repaired, their accumulations largely augmented, through British legislation. We have not on this ground any merit or any claims whatever. We legislated for our own advantage, and are satisfied with the benefit we have received. But it is a fact, and a fact of no small dimensions, which, in estimating the material development of America, cannot be lost sight of.

My second point touches the circumstances of the national infancy and growth. It would be alike futile and unjust, in

pointing out the singular advantages over the outer world which nature has given to America, not to take notice of those advantages which her people have earned or created for themselves. In no country, I suppose, has there been so careful a cultivation of the inventive faculty. And if America has surpassed in industrial discoveries the race from which her people sprang, we do not grudge her the honor or the gain. Americans are economists in inventions and do not let them slip. For example, the reaping-machine of modern times, I believe, was invented in Forfarshire, but did not pass into any general use. Still-born there, it disappeared; but it was appreciated and established in America, and then came back among us as an importation from thence, and was at last appreciated and established here. The scarcity of labor has, in truth, supplied the great Republic with an essential element of severe and salutary discipline.

The youth of America was, especially in New England, a youth not of luxury, but of difficulty. Nature dealt somewhat sternly with your ancestors; and to their great advantage. They were reared in a mold of masculine character, and were made fit to encounter, and turn to account, all vicissitudes. As the country opened, they were confronted everywhere with one great and crying want, the scarcity of labor. So they were put upon the application of their mental powers to labor-saving contrivances, and this want grew as fast as, or faster than, it was supplied. Thus it has come about that a race endued with consummate ability for labor has also become the richest of all races in instruments for dispensing with labor. The provision of such instruments has become with you a standing tradition, and this to such a degree that you have taken your place as (probably) the most inventive nation in the world. It is thus obvious enough that a remarkable faculty and habit of invention, which goes direct to cheapness, helps to fill up that gap in your productive results which is created by the wastefulness of protection. The leakage in the national cistern is more than compensated by the efficiency of the pumps that supply it.

America makes no scruple, then, to cheapen everything in which labor is concerned, and she gives the capitalist the command of all inventions on the best terms she can contrive. Why? Only because this is the road to national wealth. Therefore, she has no mercy upon labor, but displaces it right and left. Yet

when we come to the case where capital is most in question, she enables her ship-builders, her iron-masters, and her mill-owners to charge double or semi-double prices; which, if her practice as to labor-saving be right, must be the road to national poverty. *E converso,* if she be right in shutting out foreign ships and goods to raise the receipts of the American capitalist, why does she not tax the reaping-machine and the American "devil"* to raise the receipts of the American laborer? Not that I recommend such consistency. I rejoice in the anomalies and contradictions by virtue of which the applications of science everywhere abound through the States for the benefit of their populations, and without doubt, though more circuitously, of ours also, and of the world at large.

I have still to notice one remaining point. It is this: I do not doubt that production is much cheapened in America by the absence of all kinds of class legislation except that which is termed protection; an instance alike vicious and gigantic, but still an instance only. In our British legislation, the interest of the individual or the class still rather largely prevails against that of the public. In America, as I understand the matter, the public obtains full and equal justice. I take for example the case of the railroads; that vast creation, one of almost universal good to mankind, now approaching to one-tenth or one-twelfth of our entire national possessions. It is believed that in unnecessary Parliamentary expenditure, and in abnormal prices paid for land, the railways of this country were taxed to between fifty and a hundred millions sterling beyond the natural cost of their creation. Thus does the spirit of protection, only shifting its form, still go ravening about amongst us. Nothing is so common here as to receive compensation; and we get it not only for injuries, but for benefits. But while the great nation of the Union rightly rejoices in her freedom from our superstitions, why should she desire, create and worship new superstitions of her own?

VII. THE MORAL ASPECT OF THE SUBJECT.

I am sorry to say that, although I have closed the economical argument, I have not yet done with the counts of my indictment against protection. I have, indeed, had to ask myself whether I

* So called here on its first introduction. I rather believe it has recently acquired some more euphonious name.

should be within my right in saying hard things, outside the domain of political economy, about a system which has commended itself to the great American state and people, although those hard things are, in part at least, strictly consequent upon what has been said before. Indeed, the moral is so closely allied to the economical argument as to be intertwined with it rather than consequent upon it. Further, I believe the people of the United States to be a people who, like that race from which they are sprung, love plain speaking ; and I do not believe that to suppress opinions deliberately and conscientiously held would be the way to win your respect.

I urge, then, that all protection is morally as well as economically bad. This is a very different thing from saying that all Protectionists are bad. Many of them, without doubt, are good, nay, excellent, as were in this country many of the supporters of the Corn Law. It is of the tendencies of a system that I speak, which operate variously, upon most men unconsciously, upon some men not at all; and surely that system cannot be good which makes an individual, or a set of individuals, live on the resources of the community and causes him relatively to diminish that store, which duty to his fellow-citizens and to their equal rights should teach him by his contributions to augment. The habit of mind thus engendered is not such as altogether befits a free country or harmonizes with an independent character. And the more the system of protection is discussed and contested, the more those whom it favors are driven to struggle for its maintenance, the farther they must insensibly deviate from the law of equal rights, and, perhaps, even from the tone of genuine personal independence.

In speaking thus, we speak greatly from our own experience. I have personally lived through the varied phases of that experience, since we began that battle between monopoly and freedom which cost us about a quarter of a century of the nation's life. I have seen and known, and had the opportunity of comparing, the temper and frame of mind engendered first by our protectionism, which we now look back upon as servitude, and then by the commercial freedom and equality which we have enjoyed for the last thirty or forty years. The one tended to harden into positive selfishness; the other has done much to foster a more liberal tone of mind.

The economical question which I have been endeavoring to discuss is a very large one. Nevertheless, it dwindles, in my view, when it is compared with the paramount question of the American future viewed at large. There opens before the thinking mind when this supreme question is propounded a vista so transcending all ordinary limitation as requires an almost preterhuman force and expansion of the mental eye in order to embrace it. Some things, and some weighty things, are clear so far as the future admits of clearness. There is a vision of territory, population, power, passing beyond all experience. The exhibition to mankind, for the first time in history, of free institutions on a gigantic scale, is momentous, and I have enough faith in freedom, enough distrust of all that is alien from freedom, to believe that it will work powerfully for good. But together with and behind these vast developments there will come a corresponding opportunity of social and moral influence to be exercised over the rest of the world. And the question of questions for us, as trustees for our posterity, is, What will be the nature of this influence? Will it make us, the children of the senior races, who will have to come under its action, better or worse? Not what manner of producer, but what manner of man, is the American of the future to be?

I am, I trust, a lover of human advancement; but I know of no true progress except upon the old lines. Our race has not lived for nothing. Their pilgrimage through this deeply shadowed valley of life and death has not been all in vain. They have made accumulations on our behalf. I resent, and to the best of my power I would resist, every attempt to deprive us either in whole or in part of the benefit of those accumulations. The American love of freedom will, beyond all doubt, be to some extent qualified, perhaps in some cases impaired, by the subtle influence of gold, aggregated by many hands in vaster masses than have yet been known.

> **Aurum per medios ire satellites,**
> **Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius**
> **Ictu fulmineo.**

But, to rise higher still, how will the majestic figure, about to become the largest and most powerful on the stage of the world's history, make use of his power? Will it be instinct with moral life in proportion to its material strength! Will he uphold and propagate the Christian tradition with that surpassing energy

which marks him in all the ordinary pursuits of life? Will he maintain with a high hand an unfaltering reverence for that law of nature which is anterior to the Gospel, and supplies the standard to which it appeals, the very foundation on which it is built up? Will he fully know, and fully act upon the knowledge, that both reverence and strictness are essential conditions of all high and desirable well-being? And will he be a leader and teacher to us of the old world in rejecting and denouncing all the miserable degrading sophistries by which the arch-enemy, ever devising more and more subtle schemes against us, seeks at one stroke perhaps to lower us beneath the brutes, assuredly to cut us off from the hope and from the source of the final good? One thing is certain: his temptations will multiply with his power; his responsibilities with his opportunities. Will the seed be sown among the thorns? Will worldliness overrun the ground and blight its flowers and its fruit? On the answers to these questions, and to such as these, it will depend whether this new revelation of power upon the earth is also to be a revelation of virtue; whether it shall prove a blessing or a curse. May Heaven avert every darker omen, and grant that the latest and largest growth of the great Christian civilization shall also be the brightest and the best!

W. E. GLADSTONE.

MR. BLAINE:

THERE can be no doubt that Mr. Gladstone is the most distinguished representative of the free-trade school of political economists. His addresses in Parliament on his celebrated budget, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1853, were declared by Lord John Russell "to contain the ablest exposition of the true principles of finance ever delivered by an English statesman." His illustrious character, his great ability, and his financial experience point to him as the leading defender of free trade applied to the industrial system of Great Britain.

Mr. Gladstone apologizes for his apparent interference with our affairs. He may be assured that apology is superfluous. Americans of all classes hold him in honor: Free-Traders will rejoice in so eminent an advocate, and Protectionists, always the representatives of liberality and progress, will be glad to learn his opinions upon a question of such transcendent importance to the past, the present, and the future of the Republic.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the argument of Mr. Gladstone, as indeed of every English Free-Trader except John Stuart Mill, is the universality of application which he demands for his theory. In urging its adoption he makes no distinction between countries; he takes no account of geographical position —whether a nation be in the eastern or the western hemisphere, whether it be north or south of the equator; he pays no heed to climate, or product, or degree of advancement; none to topography—whether the country be as level as the delta of the Nile, or as mountainous as the Republic of Bolivia; none to pursuits and employments, whether in the agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial field; none to the wealth or poverty of a people; none to population, whether it be crowded or sparse; none to area, whether it be as limited as a German principality or as extended as a continental Empire. Free trade he believes advantageous for England: therefore, without the allowance of any modifying condition, great or small, the English economist declares it to be advantageous for the United States, for Brazil, for Australia; in short, for all countries with which England can establish trade relations. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Gladstone to find any principle of administration or any measure of finance so exactly fitted to the varying needs of all countries as he assumes the policy of free trade to be. Surely it is not unfair to maintain that, deducing his results from observation and experience in his own country, he may fall into error and fail to appreciate the financial workings of other countries geographically remote and of vastly greater area.

The American Protectionist, let t not be discourteous to urge, is broader in his views than the English Free-Trader. No intelligent Protectionist in the United States pretends that every country would alike realize advantage from the adoption of the protective system. Human government is not a machine, and even machines cannot be so perfectly adjusted as to work with equal effectiveness at all times and under all conditions. Great Britain and the United States certainly resemble one another in more ways than either can be said to resemble any other nation in the world; yet, when we compare the two on the question at issue, the differences are so marked that we almost lose sight of the resemblance. One is an insular monarchy with class government; the other a continental republic with popular govern-

ment. One has a large population to the square mile; the other a small population to the square mile. One was old in a rich and complex civilization before the establishment of the other was even foreseen. One had become the wealthiest nation of the world while the other was yet in the toils and doubts of a frontier life and a primitive civilization. One had extensive manufactures for almost every field of human need, with the civilized world for its market, while the population of the other was still forced to divide its energies between the hard calling of the sea and the still harder calling of a rude and scantily-remunerative agriculture.

The physical differences between the two countries are far more striking than the political and social differences. They are, indeed, almost incalculable. Great Britain is an island less than ninety thousand square miles in extent. It lies in the far north. Its southernmost point is nearly thirty degrees of latitude above the tropics. Its northernmost point is but nine degrees below the arctic circle. Within its area the exchange of natural products is necessarily limited. Its life depends upon its connection with other countries. Its prosperity rests upon its commerce with the world. On the other hand, a single State of the Union is nearly three times as large as Great Britain. Several other States are each quite equal to it in area. The whole Union is well-nigh forty times as large. Alaska excepted, the northernmost point of the Union is sixty miles south of the southernmost point of Great Britain, and the southernmost point of the Union is but little more than a hundred miles from the tropics. Its natural products are more varied, more numerous, and of more valuable character than those of all Europe. To quote one of Mr. Gladstone's phrases, we constitute "not so much a country in ourselves, as a world." He tells us that we carry on "the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen." Our foreign commerce, very large in itself, is only as one to twenty-five compared to our internal trade. And yet Mr. Gladstone thinks that a policy which is essential to an island in the northern ocean should be adopted as the policy of a country which even to his own vision is "a world within itself."

With these fundamental points of difference between the two countries, I assume that varied financial and industrial systems, wrought by the experience of each, would be the nat-

ural and logical result. Hence I do not join issue with Mr. Gladstone on both of his propositions. He defends free trade in Great Britain. He assails protection in the United States. The first proposition I neither deny nor affirm. Were I to assume that protection is in all countries and under all circumstances the wisest policy, I should be guilty of an error similar to that which I think Mr. Gladstone commits. It might be difficult to prove that free trade is not the wisest financial policy for Great Britain. So far from guarding herself against material imported from other countries, her industrial system would wither and die if foreign products were withheld for even a brief period. She is in an especial degree dependent upon the products of other nations. Moreover, she does not feel bound to pay heed to the rate of wages which her labor may receive. That, like the fabrics which her labor creates, must take its chance in the markets of the world.

On many points and in many respects it was far different with Great Britian a hundred years ago. She did not then feel assured that she could bear the competition of Continental nations. She was, therefore, aggressively, even cruelly, protective. She manufactured for herself and for her net-work of colonies reaching around the globe. Into those colonies no other nation could carry anything. There was no scale of duty upon which other nations could enter a colonial port. What the colonies needed outside of British products could be furnished to them only in British ships. This was not protection! It was prohibition, absolute and remorseless, and it was continued even to the day when Mr. Gladstone entered upon his long and splendid career in Parliament. It was not broken, though in some respects it was relaxed, until in the fulness of time British energy had carried the wealth and the skill of the kingdom to the point where no competition could be feared.

During the last thirty years of her protective system, and especially during the twenty years from 1826 to 1846, Great Britain increased her material wealth beyond all precedent in the commercial history of the world. Her development of steam power gave to every British workman the arms of Briareus, and the inventive power of her mechanicians increased the amount, the variety, and the value of her fabrics beyond all anticipation. Every year of that period witnessed the addition of millions upon millions of

sterling to the reserve capital of the kingdom ; every year witnessed a great addition to the effective machinery whose aggregate power was already the wonder of the world. The onward march of her manufacturing industries, the steady and rapid development of her mercantile marine, absorbed the matchless enterprise and energy of the kingdom. Finally, with a vast capital accumulated, with a low rate of interest established, and with a manufacturing power unequalled, the British merchants were ready to underbid all rivals in seeking for the trade of the world.

At that moment Great Britain had reason to feel supremely content. She found under her own flag, on the shores of every ocean, a host of consumers whom no man might number. She had Canada, Australia, and India with open ports and free markets for all her fabrics ; and, more than all these combined, she found the United States suddenly and seriously lowering her tariff and effectively abolishing protection at the very moment England was declaring for free trade. The traffic of the world seemed prospectively in her control. Could this condition of trade have continued, no estimate of the growth of England's wealth would be possible. Practically it would have had no limit. Could she have retained her control of the markets of the United States as she held it for the four years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, the American people would have grown commercially dependent upon her in a greater degree than is Canada or Australia to-day.

But England was dealing with an intelligence equal to her own. The American people had, by repeated experience, learned that the periods of depression in home manufactures were those in which England most prospered in her commercial relations with the United States, and that these periods of depression had, with a single exception, easily explained, followed the enactment by Congress of a free-trade tariff,* as certainly as effect follows cause. One of the most suggestive experiments of that kind had its origin in the tariff to which I have just referred, passed in 1846 in apparent harmony with England's newly-declared financial policy. At that moment a Southern President (Mr. Polk) and a Southern Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Robert J. Walker) were

* The phrase "free-trade tariff" involves a contradiction of terms. It is used to designate that form of duty which is levied with no intention to protect domestic manufactures.

far more interested in expanding the area of slave territory than in advancing home manufactures, and were especially eager to make commercial exchanges with Europe on the somewhat difficult basis of cotton at high prices and returning fabrics at low prices.

Under ordinary circumstances the free-trade tariff of 1846 would have promptly fallen under popular reprobation and been doomed to speedy repeal. But it had a singular history and for a time was generally acquiesced in, even attaining in many sections a certain degree of popularity. Never did any other tariff meet with so many and so great aids of an adventitious character to sustain it as did this enactment of 1846. Our war with Mexico began just as the duties were lowered, and the consequence was the disbursement of more than one hundred millions of dollars in a way that reached all localities and favorably affected all interests. This was a great sum of money for that period, and for the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 it considerably more than doubled the ordinary outlay of the government. In the middle of this period the Irish famine occurred and called for an immense export of breadstuffs at high prices. The discovery of gold in California, the succeeding year, flushed the channels of business as never before, by rapidly enlarging the circulation of coin in all parts of the country. Before this outpouring of gold had ceased, the three great nations of Europe, as precedence was reckoned at that time,—England, France, and Russia,—entered upon the Crimean War. The export of manufactures from England and France was checked ; the breadstuffs of Russia were blockaded and could not reach the markets of the world. An extraordinary stimulus was thus given to all forms of trade in the United States. For ten years—1846 to 1856—these adventitious aids came in regular succession and exerted their powerful influence upon the prosperity of the country.

The withdrawal or termination of these influences, by a treaty of peace in Europe and by the surcease of gold from California, placed the tariff of 1846 where a real test of its merits or its demerits could be made. It was everywhere asked with apprehension and anxiety, Will this free-trade tariff now develop and sustain the business of the country as firmly and securely as it has been developed and sustained by protection ? The answer was made in the ensuing year by a widespread financial panic, which

involved the ruin of thousands, including proportionately as many in the South as in the North, leaving the country disordered and distressed in all the avenues of trade. The disastrous results of this tariff upon the permanent industries of the country are described in President Buchanan's well-remembered message, communicated to Congress after the panic: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the elements of national wealth, our manufacturers have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want." This testimony as to the result of a free-trade tariff is all the more forcible from the fact that Mr. Buchanan, as a member of President Polk's Cabinet, had consented to the abandonment of protection, which in his earlier career he had earnestly supported.

If these disasters of 1857, flowing from the free-trade tariff, could have been regarded as exceptional, if they had been without parallel or precedent, they might not have had so deadly a significance. But the American people had twice before passed through a similar experience. On the eve of the War of 1812, Congress guarded the national strength by enacting a highly protective tariff. By its own terms this tariff must end with the war. When the new tariff was to be formed, a popular cry arose against "war duties," though the country had prospered under them despite the exhausting effect of the struggle with Great Britain. But the prayer of the people was answered, and the war duties were dropped from the tariff of 1816. The business of the country was speedily prostrated. The people were soon reduced to as great distress as in that melancholy period between the close of the Revolutionary War and the organization of the National Government—1783 to 1789. Colonel Benton's vivid description of the period of depression following the reduction of duties comprises in a few lines a whole chapter of the history of free trade in the United States:

"No price for property; no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshal; no purchasers at execution-sales except the creditor or some hoarder of money; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farm; no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand."

Relief came at last with the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824, to the support of which leading men of both parties pa-

triotically united for the common good. That act, supplemented by the act of 1828, brought genuine prosperity to the country. The credit of passing the two protective acts was not due to one party alone. It was the work of the great men of both parties. Mr. Clay and General Jackson, Mr. Webster and Mr. Van Buren, General William Henry Harrison and Richard M. Johnson, Silas Wright and Louis McLane, voted for one or the other of these acts, and several of them voted for both. The coöperation of these eminent men is a great historic tribute to the necessity and value of protection. Plenty and prosperity followed, as if by magic, the legislation to which they gave their support. We have their concurrent testimony that the seven years preceding the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824 were the most discouraging which the young Republic in its brief life had encountered, and that the seven years which followed its enactment were beyond precedent the most prosperous and happy.

Sectional jealousy and partisan zeal could not endure the great development of manufactures in the North and East which followed the apparently firm establishment of the protective policy. The free-trade leaders of the South believed—at least they persuaded others to believe—that the manufacturing States were prospering at the expense of the planting States. Under the lead of Calhoun, South Carolina rebelled, and President Jackson, who had so strikingly shown his faith in the policy of protection, was not able to resist the excitement and resentment which the Free-Traders had created in the Cotton States. He stood between hostile policies, represented by his two bitterest personal enemies—Clay for protection; Calhoun for free trade. To support Clay would ruin Jackson politically in the South. He could not sustain Calhoun, for, aside from his opposition to free trade, he had cause for hating him personally. He believed, moreover, that Calhoun was at heart untrue to the Union, and to the Union Jackson was as devoted as Clay. Out of this strange complication came, not unnaturally, the sacrifice of the protective tariff of 1824–28 and the substitution of the compromise tariff of 1833, which established an *ad-valorem* duty of 20 per cent. on all imports, and reduced the excess over that by a 10 per cent. annual sliding scale for the ensuing ten years. Like all compromises, it gave complete satisfaction to neither party, but it was received with general acquiescence from the belief that

it was the best practicable solution of the impending difficulties. The impending difficulties were two. One was the portentous movement which involved the possibility of dissolving the Union. The other was the demand for a free-trade tariff as the only measure that could appease the Southern Nullifiers. Disunion and free trade from that time became associated in the public mind—a source of apprehension in the North, a source of political power in the South. Calhoun was the master-spirit who had given the original impulse both to disunion and free trade. Each in turn strengthened the other in the South and both perished together in the War of the Rebellion.

For a time satisfaction was felt with the tariff adjustment of 1833, because it was regarded as at least a temporary reconciliation between two sections of the Union. Before the sliding scale was ruinously advanced, there was great stimulus to manufacturing and to trade, which finally assumed the form of dangerous speculation. The years 1834, 1835, and 1836 were distinguished for all manner of business hazard, and before the fourth year opened, the 30-per cent. reduction (three years of 10 per cent. each) on the scale of duties was beginning to influence trade unfavorably. The apprehension of evil soon became general, public confidence was shaken, the panic of 1837 ensued, and business reversals were rapid, general, and devastating.

The trouble increased through 1838, 1839, and 1840, and the party in power, held responsible for the financial disasters, fell under popular condemnation. Mr. Van Buren was defeated, and the elder General Harrison was elevated to the Presidency by an exceptionally large majority of the electoral votes. There was no relief to the people until the protective tariff of 1842 was enacted; and then the beneficent experience of 1824 was repeated on even a more extensive scale. Prosperity, wide and general, was at once restored. But the reinstatement of the Democratic party to power, two years later, by the election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency, followed by a perverse violation of public pledges on the part of men in important places of administration, led to the repeal of the protective act and the substitution of the tariff of 1846, to which I have already adverted, and whose effects upon the country I have briefly outlined.

Measuring, therefore, from 1812, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in

the approaching war with Great Britain, to 1861, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the impending revolt of the Southern States, we have fifty years of suggestive experience in the history of the Republic. During this long period free-trade tariffs were thrice followed by industrial stagnation, by financial embarrassment, by distress among all classes dependent for subsistence upon their own labor. Thrice were these burdens removed by the enactment of a protective tariff. Thrice the protective tariff promptly led to industrial activity, to financial ease, to prosperity among the people. And this happy condition lasted in each case, with no diminution of its beneficent influence, until illegitimate political combinations, having their origin in personal and sectional aims, precipitated another era of free trade. A perfectly impartial man, unswerved by the excitement which this question engenders in popular discussion, might safely be asked if the half-century's experience, with its three trials of both systems, did not establish the wisdom of protection in the United States. If the inductive method of reasoning may be trusted, we certainly have a logical basis of conclusion in the facts here detailed.

And by what other mode of reasoning can we safely proceed in this field of controversy? The great method of Bacon was by "rigid and pure observation, aided by experiment and fructified by induction." Let us investigate "from effects to causes, and not from causes to effects." Surely it is by a long series of experiments, and by that test only, that any country can establish an industrial system that will best aid in developing its hidden wealth and establishing its permanent prosperity. And each country must act intelligently for itself. Questions of trade can no more be regulated by an exact science than crops can be produced with accurate forecast The unknown quantities are so many that a problem in trade or agriculture can never have an absolute answer in advance. But Mr. Gladstone, with an apparent confidence in results as unshaken as though he were dealing with the science of numbers, proceeds to demonstrate the advantage of free trade. He is positively certain in advance of the answer which experiment will give, and the inference is that nothing is to be gained by awaiting the experiment. Mr. Gladstone may argue for Great Britain as he will, but for the United States we must insist on being guided by facts, and not by theories; we must insist on ad-

hering to the teachings of experiments which "have been carried forward by careful generalization to well-grounded conclusions."

As an offset to the charge that free-trade tariffs have always ended in panics and long periods of financial distress, the advocates of free trade point to the fact that a financial panic of great severity fell upon the country in 1873, when the protective tariff of 1861 was in full force, and that, therefore, panic and distress follow periods of protection as well as periods of free trade. It is true that a financial panic occurred in 1873, and its existence would blunt the force of my argument if there were not an imperatively truthful way of accounting for it as a distinct result from entirely distinct causes. The panic of 1873 was widely different in its true origin from those which I have been exposing. The Civil War, which closed in 1865, had sacrificed on both sides a vast amount of property. Reckoning the money directly expended, the value of property destroyed, and the production arrested and prevented, the total is estimated to be nine thousand millions of dollars. The producers of the country had been seriously diminished in number. A half-million men had been killed. A million more had been disabled in various degrees. Help was needed in the honorable form of pensions, and the aggregate required for this purpose exceeded all anticipation and has annually absorbed an immense proportion of the national income. The public debt that must be funded reached nearly three thousand millions, demanding at the beginning more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars for annual interest. A great proportion of the debt, when funding was complete, was held in Europe, calling for an enormous export of gold, or its equivalent, to meet the interest.

Beside these burdens upon the people, the country was on a basis of paper money, and all gold payments added a heavy premium to the weight of the obligation. The situation was without parallel. The speculative mania which always accompanies war had swollen private obligations to a perilous extent, and the important question arose of restoring coin payment. On the one hand, it was contended that to enforce the measure would create a panic by the shrinkage of prices which would follow; and on the other hand, it was urged with equal zeal that to postpone it longer would increase the general distrust among

the people as to the real condition of the country, and thus add to the severity of the panic if one should be precipitated.

Notwithstanding the evil prophecies on both sides, the panic did not come until eight and a half years after the firing of the last gun in the Civil War. Nor did it come until after two great calamities in the years immediately preceding had caused the expenditure of more than two hundred millions of dollars, suddenly withdrawn from the ordinary channels of business. The rapid and extensive rebuilding in Chicago and Boston after the destructive fires of 1871 and 1872 had a closer connection with the panic of 1873 than is commonly thought. Still further, the six-years' depression, from 1873 to 1879, involved individual suffering rather than general distress. The country as a whole never advanced in wealth more rapidly than during that period. The entire experience strengthened the belief that the war for the Union could not have been maintained upon a free-trade basis, and that the panic of 1873 only proved the strength of the safeguard which protection supplies to a people surrounded by such multiform embarrassments as were the people of the United States during the few years immediately following the war. And, strongest of all points, the financial distress was relieved and prosperity restored under protection, whereas the ruinous effects of panics under free trade have never been removed except by a resort to protection.

Does Mr. Gladstone maintain that I am confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc* in these statements? He must show, then, that the United States during the war could have collected a great internal revenue on domestic manufactures and products, when under the system of free trade similar fabrics would daily have reached New York from Europe to be sold at prices far below what the American manufacturer, with the heavy excise then levied, could afford to set upon his goods. And if the government could collect little from the customs under free trade, and nothing from internal products, whence could have been derived the taxes to provide for the payment of interest on public loans, and what would have become of the public credit? Moreover, with free trade, which Mr. Gladstone holds to be always and under all circumstances wiser than protection, we should have been compelled to pay gold coin for European fabrics, while at home and during the tremendous strain of the war legal-tender paper was

the universal currency. In other words, when the life of the country depended upon the government's ability to make its own notes perform the function of money, the Free-Traders' policy would have demanded daily gold for daily bread.

The Free-Trader cannot offset the force of the argument by claiming that the laws regulating revenue and trade are, like municipal laws, silent during the shock of arms; because the five closing years—indeed almost six years—of the decade in which the Rebellion occurred were passed in peace, and during those years the ravages of war were in large degree repaired and new wealth rapidly acquired. But I shall not give to Mr. Gladstone or to the American Free-Trader the advantage of seeming to rest the defence of protection upon its marvellous value during the exhaustive period of war. Viewing the country from 1861 to 1889,—full twenty-eight years—the longest undisturbed period in which either protection or free trade has been tried in this country,—I ask Mr. Gladstone if a parallel can be found to the material advancement of the United States.

Mr. Gladstone admits the wonderful increase of wealth acquired under a protective tariff, but he avers that the results would have been larger under free trade. That, of course, is a speculative opinion, and is entitled to respect according to the knowledge and experience of the man who utters it. Every statement of Mr. Gladstone carries weight, but in this case his opinion runs directly counter to the fifty years of financial experience through which this country has passed with alternate trials of the two systems. Moreover, it is fair to say that Mr. Gladstone does not in this utterance represent European judgment. He speaks only for the free trade party of Great Britain and their followers on this side of the ocean. The most eminent statesman on the continent of Europe holds opinions on this subject directly the reverse of those held by the most eminent statesman of Great Britain. We feel assured in America that so far as the question of protection may be affected, either favorably or adversely, by the weight of individual judgment, we may safely leave Mr. Gladstone to be answered by Prince Bismarck.

But better than the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, better than the opinion of Prince Bismarck, are the simple facts of the case, of open record in both countries. A brief rehearsal of these facts, with the pertinent comparison which they suggest, will

give the best answer to Mr. Gladstone's assumption that the United States would have made more rapid progress under a system of free trade. I take the official figures of the census in the United States, and for the United Kingdom I quote from Mr. Giffen, who is commended by Mr. Gladstone as the best authority in England :

—In 1860 the population of the United States was in round numbers 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingdom was in round numbers 29,000,000. The wealth of the United States at that time was fourteen thousand millions of dollars; the wealth of the United Kingdom was twenty-nine thousand millions of dollars. The United Kingdom had, therefore, nearly the same population, but more than double the wealth of the United States, with machinery for manufacturing four-fold greater than that of the United States. At the end of twenty years (1880), it appeared that the United States had added nearly thirty thousand millions of dollars to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly fifteen thousand millions, or about one-half.

—During this period of twenty years the United States had incurred the enormous loss of nine thousand millions of dollars by internal war, while the United Kingdom was at peace, enjoyed exceptional prosperity, and made a far greater gain than in any other twenty years of her history—a gain which during four years was in large part due to the calamity that had fallen upon the United States. The United Kingdom had added six millions to her population during the period of twenty years, while the addition to the United States exceeded eighteen millions.

—By the compound ratio of population and wealth in each country, even without making allowance for the great loss incurred by the Civil War, it is plainly shown by the statistics here presented that the degree of progress in the United States under protection far exceeded that of the United Kingdom under free trade for the period named. In 1860 the average wealth, *per capita*, of the United Kingdom was $1,000, while in the United States it was but $450. In 1880 the United Kingdom had increased her *per-capita* wealth to $1,230, while the United States had increased her *per-capita*

wealth to $870. The United Kingdom had in twenty years increased her *per-capita* wealth 23 per cent., while the United States had increased her *per-capita* wealth more than 93 per cent. If allowance should be made for war losses, the ratio of gain in the United States would far exceed 100 per cent. Upon these results, what ground has Mr. Gladstone for his assertion?

With great confidence, Mr. Gladstone proposes to carry the war for free trade into the enemy's country. Perhaps the enemy, who are only modest Protectionists, may embarrass the march of his logic with a few pertinent questions, or at least abate the rate of speed which he proposes for his triumphant movement. I shall not give counter-theories. I shall only cite established facts, and allow the facts to establish their own theories:

—1. John Edgar Thompson, late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, purchased one hundred tons of steel rails in 1862 at a price (freight paid to New York; duty of 45 per cent. unpaid) of $103.44 gold coin. (By way of illustrating Mr. Gladstone's claim to superior quality of manufactures under free trade, the railroad company states that many of the rails broke during the first winter's trial.) In 1864 English rails had fallen to $88 per ton in New York, the freight paid and the duty unpaid. English manufacturers held the market for the ensuing six years, though the sales at the high prices were limited. In 1870 Congress laid a specific duty of $28 per ton on steel rails. From that time the home market has been held by our own manufacturers, with a steady annual fall in price, as the facilities of production increased, until the past summer and autumn, when steel rails were selling in Pittsburg, Chicago, and London at substantially the same prices. Does any Free-Trader on either side of the ocean honestly believe that American rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails, except by the sturdy competition which the highly protective duty of 1870 enabled the American manufacturers to maintain against the foreign manufacturers in the first place, and among American manufacturers themselves in the second place? It is not asserted that during the nineteen years since the heavy duty was first established (except during the past few months) American rails have been as cheap in America as English rails have been in England, but it is asserted with

perfect confidence that, steadily and invariably, American railroad companies have bought cheaper rails at home than they would have been able to buy in England if the protective duty had not stimulated the manufacture of steel rails in the United States, and if the resulting competition had not directly operated upon the English market.*

—2. English steel for locomotive tires imported in 1865, duty paid, was thirty-four cents per pound in gold. The American competition, under a heavy protective duty, had by 1872 reduced the price to thirteen cents per pound, duty paid. At the present time (1889) American steel for locomotive tires, of as good quality as the English steel formerly imported, is furnished at four and three-quarter cents per pound and delivered free of cost at the point where the locomotives are manufactured. The lowering of price was not a voluntary act on the part of the English manufacturer. It was the direct result of American competition under a protective duty —a competition that could not have been successfully inaugurated under free trade.

—3. In the year 1860, the last under a free-trade policy, the population of thirty-one millions in the United States bought carpets to the amount of twelve millions of dollars. Nearly half of the total amount was imported. In 1888, with a population estimated at sixty-three millions, the aggregate amount paid for carpets was nearly sixty millions of dollars, and of this large sum less than one million was paid for

*In 1870 only 30,000 tons of steel rail were manufactured in the United States. But the product under the increased duty of that year rapidly increased. The relative number of tons produced in England and the United States for a period of twelve years is shown as follows:

	England.	*United States.*
1877	508,400	385,865
1878	622,390	491.427
1879	520,231	610,682
1880	732,910	852,196
1881	1,023,740	1,187,770
1882	1,235,785	1,284,067
1883	1,097,174	1,148,709
1884	784,968	996,983
1885	706,583	959,471
1886	730,343	1,574,703
1887	1,021,847	2,101,904
1888	979,083	1,386,277
Total in 12 years.	9,963,454	12,980,054

For the same period, 1877-1888 inclusive, the following table will show the number of tons of steel ingots produced in the two countries respectively:

	England.	*United States.*
1877	750,006	500,524
1878	807,527	653,773
1879	834,511	829,439
1880	1,044,382	1,074,262
1881	1,441,719	1,374,247
1882	1,673,649	1,514,687
1883	1,553,380	1,477,345
1884	1,299,676	1,575,531
1885	1,304,127	1,519,430
1886	1,570,520	2,269,190
1887	2,089,403	2,936,033
1888	2,032,794	2,511,161
Total in 12 years,	16,401,688	18,035 622

Under the protective duty of 1870 the United States soon manufactured annually a much larger quantity of steel than Great Britain, and reduced the price from $100 per ton in gold to less than $35 per ton in gold.

foreign carpets and about half a million for Oriental rugs. Does any Free-Trader in England believe that the United States, without a protective tariff, could have attained such control of its own carpet manufacture and trade? It will not be unnoticed, in this connection, that under a protective tariff, the population, by reason of better wages, was enabled to buy a far greater proportion of carpets than under free trade. Nor must it escape observation that carpets are now furnished to the American buyer under a protective tariff much cheaper than when a non-protective tariff allowed Europe to send so large a proportion of the total amount used in the United States.

These illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied. In woollens, in cottons, in leather fabrics; in glass, in products of lead, of brass, of copper; indeed, in the whole round of manufactures, it will be found that protection has brought down the price from the rate charged by the importers before protection had built up the competing manufacture in America. For many articles we pay less than is paid in Europe. If we pay higher for other things than is paid across the sea to-day, figures plainly indicate that we pay less than we should have been compelled to pay if the protective system had not been adopted; and I beg Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact that the American people have much more wherewith to pay than they ever had or could have under free trade.*

* In spite of these facts, President Cleveland made the following statements, which I quote from his free-trade message to Congress in December, 1887:

"Our present tariff laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers *to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty.* So it happens that, while *comparatively a few use* the imported articles, *millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products,* purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, *and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles.*"

I recall this quotation primarily for two reasons: *First,* Mr. Cleveland stands without a rival at the head of the free-trade party in the United States, and it is instructive to see how exactly he adopts the line of argument used by the English Free-Trader. *Second,* It is a valuable admission from the head of the free-trade party when he affirms that "comparatively a few of our people use imported articles," and that there are "millions of our people who never use and never saw any of the foreign products." In what words could the complete success of the protective policy in the United States be more fitly expressed?

But when Mr. Cleveland asserted that our people pay for our domestic fabrics "nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported

Mr. Gladstone boldly contends that "keeping capital at home by protection is dear production, and is a delusion from top to bottom." I take direct issue with him on that proposition. Between 1870 and the present time considerably more than one hundred thousand miles of railroad have been built in the United States. The steel rail and other metal connected therewith involved so vast a sum of money that it could not have been raised to send out of the country in gold coin. The total cost could not have been less than five hundred millions of dollars. We had a large interest to pay abroad on the public debt, and for nine years after 1870 gold was at a premium in the United States. During those years nearly forty thousand miles of railway were constructed, and to import English rail and pay for it with gold bought at a large premium would have been impossible. A very large proportion of the railway enterprises would of necessity have been abandoned if the export of gold to pay for the rails had been the

articles," he evidently spoke without investigating facts, and accepted as true one of those fallacious statements which have been used in the interest of foreign importers to deceive the people. Mr. Cleveland's argument would have been strengthened if he had given a few examples—nay, if he had given one example—to sustain his charge. As he omitted all illustrations of his position, I venture to select a few which apparently establish the exact reverse of Mr. Cleveland's statement:

—India rubber goods are protected by a duty of 25 per cent.; but, instead of those goods being 25 per cent. higher in price than the foreign goods, they are, in fact, cheaper. They undersell the English article in Canada and successfully compete with Canada's goods, which are protected by a duty of 20 per cent.

—Patent leather is subject to a duty of 20 per cent.; but patent leather is not, there, fore, 20 per cent. higher in the United States than elsewhere. On the contrary, it is cheaper. Five years ago the city government of London advertised for bids for a large amount of patent leather to be used in connection with the uniforms of the police. There were bids from several countries, but the lowest bid was offered by a manufacturer of Newark, N. J. He secured the contract, and furnished the goods at a fair profit.

— Steel rails are selling in London for seven pounds sterling per ton. The duty is $15 per ton. The price, therefore, in the United States ought to be, according to Mr. Cleveland's doctrine, $50 per ton. But in fact the price is but $35 per ton, and during the last summer and autumn was as low as $25 per ton, and large sales were made at $30 per ton.

— Boots and shoes are subject to 30 per cent. duty. According to Mr. Cleveland, they should be 30 per cent. higher than the foreign article. As a matter of fact, they are cheaper. American boots and shoes hold the Canadian market against the European manufacture.

Examples of this kind could be shown on almost the whole tariff list where an American manufacture is firmly established. In fact, the whole history of protection has vindicated what Alexander Hamilton said of it when he was at the head of the Treasury: "The internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the *minimum* of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience." Mr. Hamilton thus effectually answers both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cleveland.

condition precedent to their construction. But the manufacture of steel rails at home gave an immense stimulus to business. Tens of thousands of men were paid good wages, and great investments and great enrichments followed the line of the new road and opened to the American people large fields for enterprise not theretofore accessible.

I might ask Mr. Gladstone what he would have done with the labor of the thousands of men engaged in manufacturing rail, if it had been judged practicable to buy the rail in England? Fortunately he has given his answer in advance of the question, for he tells us that "in America we produce more cloth and more iron at high prices, instead of more cereals and more cotton at low prices." The grain-growers of the West and the cotton-growers of the South will observe that Mr. Gladstone holds out to them a cheerful prespect! They "should produce more cereals and more cotton at low prices"! Mr. Gladstone sees that the protective system steadily tends to keep up the price of "cereals and cotton," and he asks that manufactures of "cloth and iron" be abandoned, so that we may raise "more cereals and more cotton at low prices." Mr. Gladstone evidently considers the present prices of cereals and cotton as "high prices."

Protectionists owe many thanks to Mr. Gladstone for his outspoken mode of dealing with this question of free trade. He gives us his conclusions without qualification and without disguise. The American Free-Trader is not so sincere. He is ever presenting half-truths and holding back the other half, thus creating false impressions and leading to false conclusions. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely frank. He tells the laborers on protected articles that they would be better engaged in "raising more cereals and more cotton at low prices." Where does Mr. Gladstone suggest a market for the additional grain and cotton to be raised by American mechanics becoming farmers and increasing the production of those great staples? The foreign market is filled with a competing grain-supply to such a degree that already the price of wheat is unduly lowered to the Western farmer. The farmer needs a still larger home consumption of his grain, while Mr. Gladstone thinks he needs a still larger home production. The legitimate involvement of Mr. Gladstone's argument is that all mechanical and manufacturing enterprises in America producing articles of higher price than the same produced in Europe should

be abandoned, and the laborers so engaged should be turned to the production of "more cereals and more cotton at low prices"! The Western farmer's instinct is wiser than Mr. Gladstone's philosophy. The farmer knows that the larger the home market the better are his prices, and that as the home market is narrowed his prices fall.

Mr. Gladstone's pregnant suggestion really exhibits the thought that lies deep in the British mind: that the mechanic arts and the manufacturing processes should be left to Great Britain and the production of raw material should be left to America. It is the old colonial idea of the last century, when the establishment of manufactures on this side of the ocean was regarded with great jealousy by British statesmen and British merchants. Some years before the Revolutionary struggle began, Parliament had declared that "the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tends to lessen their dependence on Great Britain." A few years later the British Board of Trade reported to Parliament that "manufactures in the American colonies interfere with profits made by British merchants." The same body petitioned Parliament that "some measures should be provided to prevent the manufacturing of woollen and linen goods in the colonies." Finally Parliament declared that "colonial manufacturing was prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain." These outrageous sentiments (the colonists characterized them much more severely) were cherished in the time of the glorious Georges, in the era of Walpole and the elder Pitt.

I do not mean to imply that Mr. Gladstone's words carry with them an approval, even retrospectively, of this course toward the colonies, but there is a remarkable similarity to the old policy in the fundamental idea that causes him in 1889 to suggest that Americans produce "too much cloth and too much iron," and should turn their labor to "low-priced cereals and low-priced cotton." Are we not justified in concluding that Mr. Gladstone's theory of free trade, in all its generalizations and specifications, is fitted exactly to the condition of Great Britain, and that British hostility to American protection finds its deep foundation in the fact —to quote the old phrases—that "it is prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain," that "it lessens our dependence upon Great Britain," and that "it interferes with profits made by British merchants"?

Mr. Gladstone makes another statement of great frankness and of great value. Comparing the pursuits in the United States which require no protection with those that are protected, he says: "No adversary will, I think, venture upon saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries." This is very true, and Mr. Gladstone may be surprised to hear that the constant objection made by American Free-Traders against the "protected industries," as he terms them, is that the profits derived from them are illegitimately large. Mr. Gladstone sees clearly that as a rule this is not true, and he at once discerns the reason. He says "the best opinions seem to testify that in your protected trades profits are hard pressed by wages." The Free-Traders of America try by every cunning device to hide this fact. Its admission is fatal to their cause. Not one free-trade organ or leader among them all dares to take his position beside Mr. Gladstone and plainly tell the truth to the American laborer. Not one free-trade organ or leader dares frankly to say to the great body of American workmen that the destruction of protection inevitably and largely reduces their daily wages. I thank Mr. Gladstone for this testimony, at once accurate and acute. It is fair to presume that he intends it to be applied to the unprotected manufacturer in England and to the protected manufacturer in America, both producing the same article. His logic gives, and I have no doubt truly, as large profit to the manufacturer of England, selling at a low price, as to the manufacturer of America, selling at a high price—the difference consisting wholly in the superior wages paid to the American mechanic.

There is another important effect of protective duties which Mr. Gladstone does not include in his frank admission. He sees that the laborers in what he calls the "protected industries" secure high pay, especially as compared with the European school of wages. He perhaps does not see that the effect is to raise the wages of all persons in the United States engaged in what Mr. Gladstone calls the "unprotected industries." Printers, bricklayers, carpenters, and all others of that class are paid as high wages as those of any other trade or calling, but if the wages of all those in the protected classes were suddenly struck down to the English standard, the others must follow. A million men cannot be kept at work for half the pay that another million men

are receiving in the same country. Both classes must go up or must go down together.

Mr. Gladstone makes another contention, in which, from the American point of view, he leaves out of sight a controlling factor, and hence refers an effect to the wrong cause. Regarding the advance of wages in England, he says: "Wages which have been partially and relatively higher under protection have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade." I do not doubt the fact, but I venture to suggest that such advance in wages as there has been in England is referable to another and a palpable cause—namely, the higher wages in the United States, which have constantly tempted British mechanics to emigrate, and which would have tempted many more if the inducement of an advance in wages at home had not been interposed. Especially have wages been high and tempting in the United States since 1861, when the country became firmly protective by the enactment of the Morrill tariff. It will be found, I think, that the advance of wages in England corresponds precisely in time, though not in degree, with the advance in the United States, and the advance in both cases was directly due to the firm establishment of protection in this country as a national policy. But it must not be forgotten that American wages are still from 70 per cent. to 100 per cent. higher than British wages. If a policy of free trade should be adopted in the United States, the reduction of wages which would follow here would promptly lead to a reduction in England. The operatives of Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield recognize this fact as clearly as do the proprietors who pay the advanced wages, and more clearly than do certain political economists who think the world of commerce and manufactures can be unerringly directed by a theory evolved in a closet without sufficient data, and applied to an inexact science.

The zeal of Mr. Gladstone for free trade reaches its highest point in the declaration that "all protection is *morally* as well as economically bad." He is right in making this his strongest ground of opposition, if protection is a question of morals. But his assertion leaves him in an attitude of personal inconsistency. There is protection on sea as well as on land. Indeed, the most palpable and effective form of protection is in the direct payment of public money to a line of steamers that could not be

maintained without that form of aid. I do not say that such aid is unwise protection ; least of all do I say it is immoral. On the contrary, I think it has often proved the highest commercial wisdom, without in the least infringing upon the domain of morals. Mr. Gladstone, however, commits himself to the principle that "all protection is morally bad." If this has been his belief ever since he became an advocate of free trade, his conscience must have received many and severe wounds as session after session, while Chancellor of the Exchequer, he carried through Parliament a bounty—may I not say a direct protection ? —of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling to a line of steamers running between England and the United States,—a protection that began six years before free trade was proclaimed in English manufactures, and continued nearly twenty years after. In the whole period of twenty-five years an aggregate of many millions of dollars was paid out to protect the English line against all competition.

It may be urged that this sum was paid for carrying the Anglo-American mails, but that argument will not avail a Free-Trader, because steamers of other nationalities stood ready to carry the mails at a far cheaper rate. Nay, a few years ago, possibly when Mr. Gladstone was Premier of England, public bids were asked to carry the Anglo-Indian mails. A French line offered a lower bid than any English line, but the English Government disregarded the French bid and gave the contract to the Peninsular and Oriental line, owned by a well-known English company. Still later, the German Lloyd Company contracted to carry the Anglo-American mails cheaper than any English line offered, and the German company actually began to perform the duty. But Englishmen did not want that kind of free trade, and they broke the contract with the German line and again gave protection to the English ships. Does not this justify the opinion that the English policy of free trade is urged where England can hold the field against rivals, and that when competition leaves her behind she repudiates free trade and substitutes the most pronounced form of protection ?

Does Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the immorality of protection apply only to protection on land, or is supremacy on the sea so important to British interests that it is better to throw morals to the wind and resort to whatever degree of protection may be nec-

essary to secure the lead to English ships? The doctrine of improving harbors in the United States by the National Government was for many years severely contested, the strict-construction party maintaining that it must be confined to harbors on the sea-coast at points where foreign commerce reaches the country. During one of the many discussions over this narrow construction, an Ohio member of Congress declared that he "could not think much of a Constitution that would not stand being dipped in fresh water as well as salt." I fear that Mr. Gladstone's code of morals on this question of protection will not secure much respect in other countries so long as it spoils in salt water.

It will not escape Mr. Gladstone's keen observation that British interests in navigation flourish with less rivalry and have increased in greater proportion than any other of the great interests of the United Kingdom. I ask his candid admission that it is the one interest which England has protected steadily and determinedly, regardless of consistency and regardless of expense. Nor will Mr. Gladstone fail to note that navigation is the weakest of the great interests in the United States, because it is the one which the National Government has constantly refused to protect. If since the Civil War the United States had spent in protecting her shipping merely the annual interest on the great sum which England has expended to protect her ocean traffic, American fleets would now be rivalling the fleets of England, as they rivalled them before the war, on every sea where the prospect of commercial gain invites the American flag.

The failure of the United States to encourage and establish commercial lines of American ships is in strange contrast with the zealous efforts made to extend lines of railway inside the country, even to the point of anticipating the real needs of many sections. If all the advances to railway companies, together with the outright gifts by towns, cities, counties, States and Nation be added together, the money value would not fall short of a thousand millions of dollars. No effort seems too great for our people when the interior of the country is to be connected with the seaboard. But when the suggestion is made to connect our seaboard with commercial cities of other countries by lines of steamships, the public mind is at once disturbed by the cry of "subsidy." We really feel as much afraid of protection at sea

as Mr. Gladstone is of protection on land. The positions of the American Congress and the English Parliament on this subject are precisely reversed. England has never been affrighted by the word subsidy, and, while we have stood still in impotent fear, she has taken possession of the seas by the judicious, and even the lavish, interposition of pecuniary aid. I have already said that the interest on the amount which England has paid for this object since she began it with great energy, fifty years ago, would give all the stimulus needed for the rapid expansion of our commerce. Let it be added that if the government of the United States will for twenty years to come give merely the interest upon the interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., on the amount which has been a free gift to railroads, every steam line needed on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf will spring into existence within two years from the passage of the act. It is but a few years since Congress twice refused to give even $125,000 per annum to secure an admirable line of steamers from New York to the four largest ports of Brazil. And the sum of $125,000 is but the interest upon the interest of the interest, at 5 per cent., of the gross amount freely given to the construction of railroads within the Union. Is it any wonder that we have lost all prestige on the sea?

The opposition to the policy of extending our foreign commerce by aiding steamship lines with a small sum, just as we have aided internal commerce on railroads with a vast sum, originates with the American Free-Trader. Mr. Gladstone cannot fail to see how advantageous the success of this free-trade effort in the United States must prove to Great Britain. The steady argument of the Free-Trader is that, if the steamship lines were established, we could not increase our trade because we produce under our protective tariff nothing that can compete in neutral markets with articles of the like kind from England. How then can the Free-Trader explain the fact that a long list of articles manufactured in the United States find ready and large sale in Canada? The Canadian tariff is the same upon English and American goods. Transportation from England to Quebec or Montreal is cheaper than from the manufacturing centres of the United States to the same points. The difference is not great, but it is in favor of the English shipper across the seas, and not of the American shipper by railway. It is for the Free-Trader to explain why, if the cost

of transportation be made the same, the United States cannot compete with England in every country in South America in all the articles of which we sell a larger amount in Canada than England does. I append a note naming the American articles sold in Canada, and the Free-Trader, if candid, will admit that the list is one which is constantly and rapidly increasing.*

Giving heed to the cry of the professional Free-Trader in America, Mr. Gladstone feels sure that, though the protected manufacturers in the United States may flourish and prosper, they do so at the expense of the farmer, who is in every conceivable form, according to the free-trade *dictum*, the helpless victim of protection. Both Mr. Gladstone and the American Free-Trader have, then, the duty of explaining why the agricultural States of the West have grown in wealth during the long period of protection at a more rapid rate than the manufacturing States of the East. The statement of the Free-Trader can be conclusively answered by referring to the census of the United States for the year 1860, and also for the year 1880 :

— In 1860, eight manufacturing States of the East (the six of New England, together with New York and Pennsylvania) returned an aggregate wealth of $5,123,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880, the same States returned an aggregate wealth of $16,228,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was slightly more than 216 per cent.

— Let us see how the agricultural States fared during this period. By the census of 1860, eight agricultural States of the West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin) returned an aggregate wealth of $2,271,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880 (protection all the while in full force), these same States returned an aggregate wealth of $11,268,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 396 per cent.,

*The following articles of American manufacture are sold in Canada more largely than like articles of English manufacture:

Brass goods, copper goods, cordage, ginghams, bottles, flasks, india-rubber goods, printing-ink, ingrain carpets, wood manufactures, twines, tinware, ship-rigging, wall-paper, writing-paper, envelopes, blank books, strawboard paper, boots and shoes, leather and skins, sole leather, leather goods, patent leather, figured oil-cloths, grain drills, harrows, harvesters, hoes, forks, mowing-machines, scythes, spades, shovels, builders' and cabinet-makers' hardware, house-furnishing hardware, nails, fire-arms, sewing-machines, screws, stoves, axes, jewelry (sterling and plated), silver-ware, lamps, locomotives, hatchets, hammers, saws, mechanics' tools, organs, pianos, "notions," plain house-furniture, especially hotel furniture.

or 180 per cent. greater than the increase in the eight manufacturing States of the East.

—The case will be equally striking if we take the fifteen Southern States that were slaveholding in 1860. By the census of that year, the aggregate return of their property was $6,792,000,000. But $2,000,000,000 was slave property. Deducting that, the total property amounted to $4,792,000,000. Their aggregate return of wealth by the census of 1880 was $8,633,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 80 per cent. Consider that during this period eleven States of the South were impoverished by civil war to an extent far greater than any country has been despoiled in the wars of modern Europe. Consider that the labor system on which previous wealth had been acquired in the South was entirely broken up. And yet, at the end of twenty years, the Southern States had repaired all their enormous losses and possessed nearly double the wealth they had ever known before. Do not these figures incontestably show that the agricultural sections of the country, West and South, have prospered even beyond the manufacturing sections, East and North? And all this not merely with protection, but because of protection!

As Mr. Gladstone considers protection immoral, he defines its specific offence as "robbery." To have been fully equal to the American standard of free-trade vituperation, Mr. Gladstone should have denounced our manufacturers as "Robber Barons." This is the current phrase with a class who are perhaps more noisy than numerous. The intention of the phrase is to create popular prejudice against American manufacturers as growing rich at the expense of the people. This accusation is so persistently repeated that its authors evidently regard it as important to their cause. It may perhaps surprise Mr. Gladstone to be told that out of the fifty largest fortunes in the United States—those that have arrested public attention within the last ten years—certainly not more than one has been derived from protected manufacturing; and this was amassed by a gentleman of the same Scotch blood with Mr. Gladstone himself. The forty-nine other fortunes were acquired from railway and telegraph investments, from real-estate investments, from the import and sale of foreign goods, from banking, from speculations in the stock market, from fort-

unate mining investments, from patented inventions, and more than one from proprietary medicines.

It is safe to go even farther and state that, in the one hundred largest fortunes that have been viewed as such in the past ten years, not five have been derived from the profits of protected manufactures. Their origin will be found in the fields of investment already referred to. Moreover, the fear of the evil effect of large fortunes is exaggerated. Fortunes rapidly change. With us wealth seldom lasts beyond two generations. There is but one family in the United States recognized as possessing large wealth for four consecutive generations. When Mr. Jefferson struck the blow that broke down the right of primogeniture and destroyed the privilege of entail, he swept away the only ground upon which wealth can be secured to one family for a long period. The increase in the number of heirs in successive generations, the rightful assertion of equality among children of the same parents, the ready destruction of wills that depart too far from this principle of right, and, above all, the uncertainty and the accidents of investment, scatter fortunes to the wind and give to them all the uncertainty that betides human existence.

In no event can the growth of large fortunes be laid to the charge of the protective policy. Protection has proved a distributor of great sums of money; not an agency for amassing it in the hands of a few. The records of our savings-banks and building associations can be appealed to in support of this statement. The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The auspicious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has comfort been enjoyed, education acquired, and independence secured by so large a proportion of the total population as in the United States of America.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

ROBERT E. LEE.

BY JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Robert Edward Lee, gentleman, scholar, gallant soldier, great general, and true Christian, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on January 19, 1807. He was the youngest son of General Henry Lee, who was familiarly known as "Light-Horse Harry" in the traditions of the war of the Revolution, and who possessed the marked confidence and personal regard of General Washington.

R. E. Lee entered the United States Military Academy in the summer of 1825, after which my acquaintance with him commenced. He was, as I remember him, larger and looked more mature than the average "pleb," but less so than Mason, who was destined to be the head of his class. His soldierly bearing and excellent conduct caused him in due succession to rise through the several grades and to be the adjutant of the corps of cadets when he was graduated. It is stated that he had not then a "demerit" mark standing against him, which is quite credible if all "reports" against him had been cancelled, because they were not for wanton or intentional delinquency. Though numerically rated second in his class, his proficiency was such that he was assigned to the engineer corps, which for many years he adorned both as a military and civil engineer.

He was of the highest type of manly beauty, yet seemingly unconscious of it, and so respectful and unassuming as to make him a general favorite before his great powers had an opportunity for manifestation. His mind led him to analytic rather than perceptive methods for obtaining results.

From the date of his graduation in 1829 until 1846 he was engaged in various professional duties, and had by regular promotion attained to the grade of captain of engineers. As such he

was assigned to duty with the command of Brigadier-General Wool in the campaign to Chihuahua. Thence the command proceeded to make a junction with General Z. Taylor in front of Buena Vista. Here Captain Lee was employed in the construction of the defensive work, when General Scott came, armed with discretionary orders, and took Lee for service in the column which Scott was to command, with much else that General Taylor could ill afford to spare. Subsequent events proved that the loss to General Taylor's army was more than compensated by the gain to the general cause.

Avoiding any encroachment upon the domain of history by entering upon a description of campaigns and battles, I cannot forbear from referring to a particular instance of Lee's gallantry and devotion to duty. Before the battle of Contreras, General Scott's troops had become separated by the field of Pedrigal, and it was necessary to communicate instructions to those on the other side of this barrier of rocks and lava. General Scott says in his report that he had sent seven officers since about sundown to communicate instructions; they had all returned without getting through, "but the gallant and indefatigable Captain Lee, of the engineers, who has been constantly with the operating forces, is just in from Shields, Smith, Cadwallader," etc. Subsequently General Scott, while giving testimony before a court of inquiry, said: "Captain Lee, engineers, came to me from Contreras with a message from Brigadier-General Smith, I think, about the same time (midnight); he, having passed over the difficult ground by daylight, found it just possible to return to St. Augustine in the dark—the greatest feat of physical and moral courage performed by any individual, in my knowledge, pending the campaign."

This field of Pedrigal, as described, was impassable on horseback, and crossed with much difficulty by infantry in daylight. After consultation with the generals near to Contreras, it being decided that an attack must be made at daylight, Captain Lee, through storm and darkness, undertook, on foot and alone, to recross the Pedrigal, so as to give General Scott the notice which would insure the coöperation of his divided forces in the morning's attack. This feat was well entitled to the commendation that General Scott bestowed upon it; but the highest praise belongs to Lee's inciting and sustaining motive, *duty*. To bear to the commanding general the needful information, he dared and suf-

fered for that which is the crowning glory of man: he offered himself for the welfare of others.

He went to Mexico with the rank of captain of engineers, and by gallantry and meritorious conduct rose to the rank of colonel in the army, commission by brevet. After his return he resumed his duties as an officer of the Engineer Corps. While employed in the construction of Fort Carroll, near Baltimore, an event occurred which illustrates his nice sentiment of honor. Some members of the Cuban Junta called upon him and offered him the command of an expedition to overthrow the Spanish control of the island. A very large sum of money was to be paid immediately upon his acceptance of their proposition, and a large sum thenceforward was to be paid monthly. Lee came to Washington to converse with me upon the subject. After a brief discussion of the military problem, he said it was not that he had come to consult me about; the question he was considering was whether, while an officer in the United States Army and because of any reputation he might have acquired as such, he could accept a proposition for foreign service against a government with which the United States were at peace. The conclusion was his decision to decline any further correspondence with the Junta.

In 1852 Colonel Lee was made superintendent of the United States Military Academy; a position for which he seemed to be peculiarly fitted as well by his attainments as by his fondness for young people, his fine personal appearance, and impressive manners. When, a year or two thereafter, I visited the academy, and was surprised to see so many gray hairs on his head, he confessed that the cadets did exceedingly worry him, and then it was perceptible that his sympathy with young people was rather an impediment than a qualification for the superintendency.

In 1855 four new regiments were added to the army, two of cavalry and two of infantry. Captain Lee, of the engineers, brevet-colonel of the army, was offered the position of lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment of cavalry, which he accepted. He was a bold, graceful horseman, and the son of Light-Horse Harry now seemed to be in his proper element; but the chief of engineers endeavored to persuade him that it was a descent to go from the Engineer Corps into the cavalry. Soon after the regiment was organized and assigned to duty in Texas, the colonel,

Albert Sidney Johnston, was selected to command an expedition to Utah, and the command of the regiment and the protection of the frontier of Texas against Indian marauders devolved upon Colonel Lee. There, as in every position he had occupied, diligence, sound judgment, and soldierly endowment made his service successful. In 1859, being on leave of absence in Virginia, he was made available for the suppression of the John Brown raid. As soon as relieved from that special assignment he returned to his command in Texas, and on April 25, 1861, resigned from the United States Army.

Then was his devotion to principle subjected to a crucial test, the severity of which can only be fully realized by a "West-Pointer" whose life has been spent in the army. That it was to sever the friendships of youth, to break up the habits of intercourse, of manners, and of thought, others may comprehend and estimate; but the sentiment most profound in the heart of the war-worn cadet, and which made the change most painful to Lee, he has partially expressed in the letters he wrote at the time to his beloved sister and to his venerated friend and commander, General Winfield Scott.

Partisan malignants have not failed to misrepresent the conduct of Lee, even to the extent of charging him with treason and desertion; and, unable to appreciate his sacrifice to the allegiance due to Virginia, they have blindly ascribed his action to selfish ambition. It has been erroneously asserted that he was educated at the expense of the general government, and an attempt has been made thence to deduce a special obligation to adhere to it.

The cadets of the United States Military Academy are apportioned among the States in proportion to the number of representatives they severally have in the Congress; that is, one for each congressional district, with ten additional for the country at large. The annual appropriations for the support of the army and navy include the commissioned, warrant, and non-commissioned officers, privates, seamen, etc., etc. The cadets and midshipmen are warrant officers, and while at the academies are receiving elementary instruction in and for the public service. At whose expense are they taught and supported? Surely at that of the people, they who pay the taxes and imposts to supply the treasury with means to meet appropriations as well to pay generals and admirals as cadets and midshipmen. The cadet's

obligation for his place and support was to the State, by virtue of whose distributive share he was appointed, and whose contributions supplied the United States treasury; through the State, as a member of the Union, allegiance was due to it, and most usefully and nobly did Lee pay the debt both at home and abroad.

No proposition could be more absurd than that he was prompted by selfish ambition to join the Confederacy. With a small part of his knowledge of the relative amount of material of war possessed by the North and South, any one must have seen that the chances of war were against us; but if thrice-armed Justice should enable the South to maintain her independence, as our fathers had done, notwithstanding the unequal contest, what selfish advantage could it bring to Lee? If, as some among us yet expected, many hoped, and all wished, there should be a peaceful separation, he would have left behind him all he had gained by long and brilliant service, and could not have in our small army greater rank than was proffered to him in the larger one he had left. If active hostilities were prosecuted, his large property would be so exposed as to incur serious injury, if not destruction. His mother, Virginia, had revoked the grants she had voluntarily made to the Federal Government, and asserted the state sovereignty and independence she had won from the mother-country by the war of the Revolution; and thus, it was regarded, the allegiance of her sons became wholly her own. Above the voice of his friends at Washington, advising and entreating him to stay with them, rose the cry of Virginia calling her sons to defend her against threatened invasion. Lee heeded this cry only; alone he rode forth, as he had crossed the Pedrigal, his guiding star being duty, and offered his sword to Virginia. His offer was accepted, and he was appointed to the chief command of the forces of the State. Though his reception was most flattering and the confidence manifested in him unlimited, his conduct was conspicuous for the modesty and moderation which had always been characteristic of him.

The South had been involved in war without having made due preparation for it. She was without a navy, without even a merchant marine commensurate with her wants during peace; without arsenals, armories, foundries, manufactories, or stores on hand to supply those wants. Lee exerted himself to the utmost to raise and organize troops in Virginia, and when the State joined

the Confederacy he was invited to come to Montgomery and explain the condition of his command; but his engagements were so pressing that he sent his second officer, General J. E. Johnston, to furnish the desired information.

When the capital of the Confederacy was removed from Montgomery to Richmond, Lee, under the orders of the President, was charged with the general direction of army affairs. In this position the same pleasant relations which had always existed between them continued, and Lee's indefatigable attention to the details of the various commands was of much benefit to the public service. In the meantime disasters, confusion, and disagreement among the commands in western Virginia made it necessary to send there an officer of higher rank than any then on duty in that section. The service was disagreeable, toilsome, and in no wise promising to give distinction to a commander. Passing by all reference to others, suffice it to say that at last Lee was asked to go, and, not counting the cost, he unhesitatingly prepared to start. By concentrating the troops, and by a judicious selection of the position, he compelled the enemy finally to retreat.

There is an incident in this campaign which has never been reported, save as it was orally given to me by General Lee, with a request that I should take no official notice of it. A strong division of the enemy was reported to be encamped in a valley which, one of the colonels said he had found by reconnoissance, could readily be approached on one side, and he proposed, with his regiment, to surprise and attack. General Lee accepted his proposition, but told him that he himself would, in the meantime, with several regiments, ascend the mountain that overlooked the valley on the other side; and at dawn of day on a morning fixed the colonel was to make his assault. His firing was to be the signal for a joint attack from three directions. During the night Lee made a toilsome ascent of the mountain and was in position at the time agreed upon. The valley was covered by a dense fog. Not hearing the signal, he went by a winding path down the side of the mountain and saw the enemy preparing breakfast and otherwise so engaged as to indicate that they were entirely ignorant of any danger. Lee returned to his own command, told them what he had seen, and, though the expected signal had not been given by which the attacking regiment and another detachment were to engage in the assault, he proposed that the regi-

ments then with him should surprise the camp, which he believed, under the circumstances, might successfully be done. The colonels went to consult their men and returned to inform him that they were so cold, wet, and hungry as to be unfit for the enterprise. The fog was then lifting, and it was necessary to attack immediately or to withdraw before being discovered by the much larger force in the valley. Lee therefore withdrew his small command and safely conducted them to his encampment.

The colonel who was to give the signal for the joint attack, misapprehending the purpose, reported that when he arrived upon the ground he found the encampment protected by a heavy abatis, which prevented him from making a sudden charge, as he had expected, not understanding that if he had fired his guns at any distance he would have secured the joint attack of the other detachments, and probably brought about an entire victory. Lee generously forbore to exonerate himself when the newspapers in Richmond criticised him severely, one denying him any other consideration except that which he enjoyed as "the President's pet."

It was an embarrassment to the Executive to be deprived of the advice of General Lee, but it was deemed necessary again to detach him to look after affairs on the coast of Carolina and Georgia, and so violent had been the unmerited attacks upon him by the Richmond press that it was thought proper to give him a letter to the Governor of South Carolina, stating what manner of man had been sent to him. There his skill as an engineer was manifested in the defences he constructed and devised. On his return to Richmond he resumed his functions of general supervisor of military affairs.

In the spring of 1862 Bishop Meade lay dangerously ill. This venerable ecclesiastic had taught General Lee his catechism when a boy, and when he was announced to the bishop the latter asked to have him shown in immediately. He answered Lee's inquiry as to how he felt by saying, "Nearly gone, but I wished to see you once more," and then in a feeble voice added: "God bless you, Robert, and fit you for your high and responsible duties!" The great soldier stood reverently by the bed of his early preceptor in Christianity, but the saintly patriot saw beyond the hero the pious boy to whom he had taught the catechism; first he gave his dying blessing to Robert, and then, struggling against exhaustion, invoked Heaven's guidance for the general.

After the battle of Seven Pines Lee was assigned to the command of the army of Virginia. Thus far his duties had been of a kind to confer a great benefit, but to be unseen and unappreciated by the public. Now he had an opportunity for the employment of his remarkable power of generalization while attending to the minutest details. The public saw manifestation of the first, but could not estimate the extent to which the great results achieved were due to the exact order, systematic economy, and regularity begotten of his personal attention to the proper adjustment of even the smallest part of that mighty machine, a well-organized, disciplined army. His early instructor, in a published letter, seemed to regard the boy's labor of finishing a drawing on a slate as an excess of care. Was it so ? No doubt, so far as the particular task was concerned ; but this seedling is to be judged by the fruit the tree bore. That little drawing on the slate was the prototype of the exact investigations which crowned with success his labors as a civil and military engineer as well as a commander of armies. May it not have been, not only by endowment but also from these early efforts, that his mind became so rounded, systematic, and complete that his notes written on the battle-field and in the saddle had the precision of form and lucidity of expression found in those written in the quiet of his tent ? These incidents are related, not because of their intrinsic importance, but as presenting an example for the emulation of youths whose admiration of Lee may induce them to follow the toilsome methods by which he attained to true greatness and enduring fame.

In the early days of June, 1862, General McClellan threatened the capital, Richmond, with an army numerically much superior to that to the command of which Lee had been assigned. A day or two after he had joined the army, I was riding to the front and saw a number of horses hitched in front of a house, and among them recognized General Lee's. Upon dismounting and going in, I found some general officers engaged in consultation with him as to how McClellan's advance could be checked, and one of them commenced to explain the disparity of force and with pencil and paper to show how the enemy could throw out his boyaus and by successive parallels make his approach irresistible. "Stop, stop," said Lee; "if you go to ciphering we are whipped beforehand." He ordered the construction of earthworks, put guns in position for a defensive line on the south side of the Chickahom-

iny, and then commenced the strategic movement which was the inception of the seven-days' battles, ending in uncovering the capital and driving the enemy to the cover of his gunboats in the James River.

There never was a greater mistake than that which has attributed to General Lee what General Charles Lee in his reply to General Washington called the "rascally virtue." I have had occasion to remonstrate with General Lee for exposing himself, as I thought, unnecessarily in reconnoissance, but he justified himself by saying he "could not understand things so well unless he saw them." In the excitement of battle his natural combativeness would sometimes overcome his habitual self-control; thus it twice occurred in the campaign against Grant that the men seized his bridle to restrain him from his purpose to lead them in a charge.

He was always careful not to wound the sensibilities of any one, and sometimes, with an exterior jest or compliment, would give what, if properly appreciated, was instruction for the better performance of some duty; for example, if he thought a general officer was not visiting his command as early and as often as was desirable, he might admire his horse and suggest that the animal would be improved by more exercise.

He was not of the grave, formal nature that he seemed to some who only knew him when sad realities cast dark shadows upon him; but even then the humor natural to him would occasionally break out. For instance, General Lee called at my office for a ride to the defences of Richmond, then under construction. He was mounted on a stallion which some kind friend had recently sent him. As I mounted my horse, his was restive and kicked at mine. We rode on quietly together, though Lee was watchful to keep his horse in order. Passing by an encampment, we saw near a tent two stallions tied at a safe distance from one another. "There," said he, "is a man worse off than I am." When asked to explain, he said: "Don't you see he has two stallions? I have but one."

His habits had always been rigidly temperate, and his fare in camp was of the simplest. I remember on one battle-field riding past where he and his staff were taking their luncheon. He invited me to share it, and when I dismounted for the purpose it proved to have consisted only of bacon and cornbread. The

bacon had all been eaten, and there were only some crusts of corn-bread left, which, however, having been saturated with the bacon gravy, were in those hard times altogether acceptable, as General Lee was assured in order to silence his regrets.

While he was on duty in South Carolina and Georgia, Lee's youngest son, Robert, then a mere boy, left school and came down to Richmond, announcing his purpose to go into the army. His older brother, Custis, was a member of my staff, and, after a conference, we agreed that it was useless to send the boy back to school, and that he probably would not wait in Richmond for the return of his father; so we selected a battery which had been organized in Richmond and sent Robert to join it. General Lee told me that at the battle of Sharpsburg this battery suffered so much that it had to be withdrawn for repairs and some fresh horses ; but, as he had no troops even to form a reserve, as soon as the battery could be made useful it was ordered forward. He said that as it passed him a boy mounted as a driver of one of the guns, much stained with powder, said, "Are you going to put us in again, general?" After replying to him in the affirmative, he was struck by the voice of the boy and asked him, "Whose son are you?" to which he answered, "I am Robbie," whereupon his father said, "God bless you, my son, you must go in."

When General Lee was in camp near Richmond his friends frequently sent him something to improve his mess-table. A lady noted for the very good bread she made had frequently favored him with some. One day, as we were riding through the street, she was standing in her front door and bowed to us. The salutation was, of course, returned. After we had passed he asked me who she was. I told him she was the lady who sent him such good bread. He was very sorry he had not known it, but to go back would prove that he had not recognized her as he should have done. His habitual avoidance of any seeming harshness, which caused him sometimes, instead of giving a command, to make a suggestion, was probably a defect. I believe that he had in this manner indicated that supplies were to be deposited for him at Amelia Court-House, but the testimony of General Breckenridge, Secretary of War, of General St. John, Commissary General, and Louis Harvey, president of the Richmond and Danville Railroad, conclusively proves that no such requisition was made upon either of the persons who should have received

it; and, further, that there were supplies both at Danville and Richmond which could have been sent to Amelia Court-House if information had been received that they were wanted there.

Much has been written in regard to the failure to occupy the Round Top at Gettysburg early in the morning of the second day's battle, to which failure the best judgment attributes our want of entire success in that battle. Whether this was due to the order not being sufficiently positive or not, I will leave to the historians who are discussing that important event. I have said that Lee's natural temper was combative, and to this may be ascribed his attack on the third day at Gettysburg, when the opportunity had not been seized which his genius saw was the gate to victory. It was this last attack to which I have thought he referred when he said it was all his fault, thereby sparing others from whatever blame was due for what had previously occurred.

After the close of the war, while I was in prison and Lee was on parole, we were both indicted on a charge of treason; but, in hot haste to get in their work, the indictment was drawn with the fatal omission of an overt act. General Grant interposed in the case of General Lee, on the ground that he had taken his parole and that he was, therefore, not subject to arrest. Another grand jury was summoned, and a bill was presented against me alone, and amended by inserting specifications of overt acts. General Lee was summoned as a witness before that grand jury, the object being to prove by him that I was responsible for certain things done by him during the war. I was in Richmond, having been released by virtue of the writ of habeas corpus. General Lee met me very soon after having given his testimony before the grand jury, and told me that to the inquiry whether he had not, in the specified cases, acted under my orders, he said that he had always consulted me when he had the opportunity, both on the field and elsewhere; that after discussion, if not before, we had always agreed, and therefore he had done with my consent and approval only what he might have done if he had not consulted me, and that he accepted the full responsibility for his acts. He said he had endeavored to present the matter as distinctly as he could, and looked up to see what effect he was producing upon the grand jury. Immediately before him sat a big black negro, whose head had fallen back on the rail of the bench he sat on; his mouth was wide open, and

he was fast asleep. General Lee pleasantly added that, if he had had any vanity as an orator, it would have received a rude check.

The evident purpose was to offer to Lee a chance to escape by transferring to me the responsibility for overt acts. Not only to repel the suggestion, but unequivocally to avow his individual responsibility, with all that, under existing circumstances, was implied in this, was the highest reach of moral courage and gentlemanly pride. Those circumstances were exceptionally perilous to him. He had been indicted for treason; the United States President had vindictively threatened to make treason odious; the dregs of society had been thrown to the surface; judicial seats were held by political adventurers; the United States judge of the Virginia district had answered to a committee of Congress that he could pack a jury so as to convict Davis or Lee,—and it was under such surroundings that he met the grand jury and testified as stated above. Arbitrary power might pervert justice and trample on right, but could not turn the knightly Lee from the path of honor and truth.

Descended from a long line of illustrious warriors and statesmen, Robert Edward Lee added new glory to the name he bore, and, whether measured by a martial or an intellectual standard, will compare favorably with those whose reputation it devolved upon him to sustain and emulate.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

THE BORDER-LAND OF SCIENCE.

BY R. H. THURSTON, DIRECTOR OF SIBLEY COLLEGE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

EVERY intelligent reader and thinker who has studied the history of those marvellous developments of physical science which have characterized the progress of civilization during the last half-century, and who continues to watch the wonderful acceleration of its progress, which seems to-day its most striking feature, must inevitably recognize in its growth an element of vastly greater importance than the merely material and utilitarian side which so disturbed the mind of the eccentric and unfortunate, but always artistic and poetical, Ruskin. Science has been to the world a great comforter, civilizer, and enlightener. It is a moral as well as a physical agent, promoting morality as well as aiding humanity in its physical and intellectual progress. It has generated "sweetness and light" as well as those coarser, but no less essential, elements of our onward and upward movement which seemed to Matthew Arnold so insignificant. Its growth and its effects have been like those of that light described, in Genesis and by Geology, at the beginning of the world's history. At first glimmering, faint, uncertain, hardly visible, exhibiting to the senses only the fact of the existence of infinite darkness, it has gradually spread over the world, growing brighter as it expanded; enlightening wider and wider areas; revealing the good to be sought, the bad to be evaded; its brightness increasing more and more rapidly this side the "dark ages," until we are more than satisfied with the brilliancy of its rays; and as we endeavor to accustom ourselves to the sunlight of our own century, we wonder if it be possible that the race can adapt itself to the requirements of further progress.

But as the light gains in intensity and illuminates more and more brightly the world about us, and as it extends its enlight-

ening rays further and further into the dark regions that always border its field, there always exists a border-land, more or less distinctly seen and more or less defined, in which are included those wonders which we may hope yet to see. We continually marvel at the inventions and discoveries of to-day, and wonder still more what will come to-morrow. We are continually expecting to see a limit reached by the inventor and by the discoverer, and are as constantly finding that we are simply on a frontier which is being steadily pushed further and further out into the infinite unknown; and the more we learn and the more we discover, the greater the opportunity for greater and more rapid progress. We are daily learning a more thorough appreciation of our own ignorance and of the insignificance of our finite in the midst of the infinite. We have groped our way with our rushlight, have made better speed with the modern candle, have congratulated ourselves on the excellence of our oil-lamps, have boasted of our gas-lights, and now take exceeding pride in the radiant brightness of our electric lights; yet we are far from an approximation to the volume, the intensity, and the quality of sunlight, and can see that the path ahead is still too long for our measurement, and that, in comparison, the distance already traversed is microscopic. The border-land is still ahead of us, constantly enlarging as we move on. The more we gain, the more is seen to be achievable.

The progress observed by the student of history from rushlight to electric light, and from barbarism to civilization, has always been an accelerated motion. From insignificant beginnings we have seen the race advance by a movement, slow at first, gradually increasing, continually gaining in rate of motion as well as in position, until, especially during the last generation, the velocity of onward movement has been such that the brightest intellect, the most powerful mind, is utterly unable to follow it in all its paths, and every worker and every student has become a specialist. Each is well content to contribute his mite to the general treasury and to assist by aiding ever so little through his labors in his own restricted field. No Humboldt can ever again grasp the whole of existing pantology; no Bacon can ever again hope to see the limits of the ever-widening field; no Compte can ever again safely attempt to plan a scheme for the development of all minor lines of scientific investigation.

Excursions into the border-land of science must hereafter be planned and conducted by men who have already made themselves familiar with the previously-explored adjacent territory; and we find that the accelerated progress of the past and of the present is likely to be assured by a greater and greater body of such specialists. A hundred philosophers follow Bacon; a thousand seek the ends proposed to them by Compte; and innumerable scientific students and investigators endeavor to make known the unknown by entering upon the paths of which the beginnings were revealed by earlier Humboldts. A few years ago Faraday studied chemistry and physics; to-day he would be either a very stupid or a very rash man who should claim to be at once chemist and physicist. In the last generation we had chemists and physicists; to-day the chemist finds ample scope for all his powers in the study of the molecular structure of an organic compound, or in the investigation of the petroleums, or in the examination of the effects of varying proportions of manganese upon the properties of the modern "mild" steels; while the physicist has become an electrician, a student of the spectra, an investigator of the form of the sound-wave; or he studies the conditions affecting the liquefiability of the so-called "permanent" gases. Thus specializing, he becomes competent to attempt researches in the border-land of his science and to attack problems now vaguely looming up ahead like great icebergs, far away on the distant sea, obscured by their own mists—problems which are even grander and more important than those which the nineteenth century has already seen solved.

Thus, as a glance at the history of the past and its progress toward the present readily shows, the movement of the great current, while always more or less variable in rate and in direction, under the irregular action of impressed forces, has always, on the whole, been onward, and with, on the whole, an accelerated motion. The forces which have acted to modify, to change, to retard, or to accelerate this progress have been as apparently variable as those of the winds and the tides; but, like those of wind and tide, every force so acting, whether moral, physical, or intellectual, has been controlled by law, and the resultant effect has always and invariably been an onward motion, with continual acceleration.

Looking back, then, upon this past of the race, we have seen

mankind emerge from barbarism, become civilized and enlightened, growing in every possible direction of application of his faculties; passing through a long period of slowly-progressing advancement with still less easily perceived acceleration; gaining a hold upon one after another of the sciences and the arts; securing, one by one, the means of self-preservation and self-aid; all through the middle ages working for safe and stable forms of government; finally, after a certain stability had been reached, entering upon an era of thought and scientific investigation that was like the action of a new impulsive force driving the peoples of Europe along their rising pathway toward higher and greater life, with a now more and more perceptible gain in rate of motion. A century ago, the first fruits of the first efforts of scientific investigators of the preceding century began to be seen; and since the days of Lord Bacon and of Shakespeare, of Milton, and of Boyle and Young, into and through the times of Lavoisier, of Humphrey Davy, of Rumford, and of Faraday and Watt, of Stephenson, Fulton, Morse, and Wheatstone, of Stevens and Evans, and of the wonderful train of discoverers in science and of inventors in the arts who accompanied and followed those pioneers in exploration of all the innumerable fields opened by them in the last and in the present century, this acceleration has been more observable than ever before, and its effects have been more than ever impressive in their magnitude and in their results in the promotion of the welfare of humanity.

The centenarians of to-day—and they are more numerous than we commonly think—have seen the growth of nearly all that makes modern life. They saw the steam-engine introduced and applied to the turning of the busy wheels of countless mills, producing all the fabrics and all the apparatus essential to our life and comfort. They saw the railway laid in lines of iron and steel across continents, and forming bonds of far more strength than any treaties to hold State to State and to preserve the nation and the liberties for which our fathers and our grandfathers fought and died. They saw the inception and all the growth of steam navigation, and the construction of ships of continually increasing magnitude and speed, crossing the oceans like mighty shuttles, weaving the web of union between countries separated by thousands of miles of seas, and netting all nations in a community of interests that shall, in good time, become the grandest and most

efficient safeguard against internecine feuds, and the most effective security against that most terrible and most shameful of all "relics of barbarism"—War. They have seen the lightning captured and harnessed for the noblest purposes of life, giving man conference with man across continents and seas, carrying his messages under the Atlantic, over all Europe and Asia, among the islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans, and under thousands of miles of water and over thousands of miles of land to farthest Australia. They have seen all energies converted to the use of mankind. They have seen the stored heat-energy of the rays of the sun, converted, as they were, millions of years before man came on this planet in visible form, reconverted into power and applied by the steam-engine to the production of electricity, and this new force set at work to transmit power over the world, to give us light in our streets and dwellings, and to the production of new forces in endless ways.

On these great forces which are the life of industry, the vital forces of steam and of electricity, are resting all the social edifices of modern life. All that we eat, all that we wear, our houses, every comfort, and all our luxuries are brought us to-day by these invisible, but almost omnipotent, genii of the fire and the lamp and the thunder-storm. The steamboat, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the modern printing-press, all our machinery of the arts, and every recent invention and applied scientific principle, are brought us or are worked for us by them. The result is that our humblest neighbors, having health, and with habits of industry and wise forethought, may readily gain such comforts, and such once so-called luxuries, as no royal family could boast in the days of our grandparents—comforts and luxuries that were not then in existence and which no wealth could then procure. A nation may now become educated; a people may now be safe against poverty or famine; the world is even now, probably, past the critical point and sure of unintermitted future progress.

What more can we ask? What more may we expect? What more have we any right to hope for? Is this advance to be never-ceasing? What does science and what does the judgment of wise men justify us in hoping for? What are the discoveries and the inventions that science and art may be expected to give us in the future? These questions cannot, as a matter of course,

be fully or definitely answered; but it is, perhaps, possible to obtain some idea of the extent and direction of this motion of the life of Man, this approximately, if not accurately, straight line of progress, for a little way ahead. We may, at least, ask what is the path now open, and what may we hope to find as we advance a little way further along it. Perhaps we may even be allowed to indulge in some speculation, if we carefully endeavor to distinguish between the results of our "scientific use of the imagination" and the reasonable deductions of permissible argumentation. We will take our speculations first and our more thoroughly founded deductions afterwards.

I am always inclined to ask, first, what may we believe to be the probable form and likeness of the coming man and his wife. I imagine that, when we look back from our home in the unseen universe, ages hence, we shall see, without much doubt, a race of men differing from those of to-day much as the man of to-day differs from his simious, perhaps simian, ancestors. The brain will be developed to meet the more complex and serious taxation of a more complex and trying civilization; the vital powers will be intensified; the man, reducing the powers of Nature still more completely to his service, will depend less on the exertions of his muscles, and they will be correspondingly and comparatively less powerful, though they will probably, nevertheless, I imagine, continue to grow somewhat in size, as they unquestionably have grown since the middle ages; the lungs must supply aëration to a larger and more rapidly circulated volume of blood richer in the phosphatic elements especially needed for the building-up of brain and nerve; the digestion must supply its nutriment in similarly increased amount and altered character and composition; the whole system must be capable of more rapid, more thorough, and more manageable conversion of the energies of the natural forces to the uses of the intellect and the soul which inhabits it.

If so much be granted, it is easy to see something of the nature of the change in the physical man that must gradually take place. The brain will enlarge in its anterior even more than in its posterior parts, and the great forehead will probably overhang a heavy but mobile face, having a god-like intelligence of countenance; with eyes large and prominent; with large nostrils; with a set of jaws at once fitted for the reduction of grain foods to pulp and to give basis for muscles capable of expressing great

ideas by word and by play of feature. The chest will be large; the lungs capacious and free in operation, promptly self-adjusting to all demands and all variations of demand, and fitted to aërate enormous volumes of fluid flowing in from the veins. The digestive organs will necessarily be suited to develop and apply the phosphatic nutriment of grain and fruit foods; the liver, and spleen especially, producing those fats which make the main part of brain and nerve tissue—the abdomen thus growing with the lungs. The limbs may probably be longer; better cushioned with fat than now; smaller in proportion to the rest of the body, as to weight at least; though we may presume that this change will be made with positive gain, on the whole, in grace and general power. A more generally intelligent race will pay more attention to the preservation and cultivation of the physical powers by exercise and every sanitary device, and this will unquestionably aid in the development of a noble physique. The coming man will be tall, and free and lofty of carriage, as will befit a being full of noble thoughts and high aspirations, and his progress toward the infinite in all that is good and great will be commensurate with his ennobled powers of body and mind.

The woman of the coming race will have a similar development. Mind and body altering in similar directions, her intellectual face and her noble head will be carried above a no less impressive form. Ages of further growth of her always-controlling affections will have conferred upon her, even more than upon her consort, those beautiful perfections of manner and those attractions of face and figure, coming of the freer and freer play of the affections and graces of home, which must always distinguish in a superlative degree the lovelier sex. She will grow with the ages and through the ages; her form will gain in grace and strength, in roundness and beauty; and she will, as always, lead man in his approach toward heaven. Easier lives and more intelligence, a better application of knowledge, and in all respects a better life, will give to both the most that nature can confer. As evil dies and virtue survives and strengthens, they will, hand in hand, advance continually, and with continually greater ease and speed, toward the perfect life.

"What may we hope from science?" No man can say; but perhaps vastly more than the most sanguine to-day venture to predict. We have seen steam applied to the propulsion of the

steamship and the railway train. Within a few years the steamboat has grown from the dimensions of a yacht to the size of the "Great Eastern" and of the "Sardegna" and the "City of Paris," driven by the power of 15,000 to 20,000 horses, crossing the Atlantic in less than a week. Another generation or two may see the size doubled and speed still further increased, the voyage reduced to less than four days. What all this means it is difficult to conceive; but perhaps it may aid the imagination to say that the engineer's horse-power is about a half more than the actual power of the average horse; that the engineer's horse works unremittingly twenty-four hours a day, and thus does the work of three real horses; that this means that he must find a way to stow the equivalent power of about a quarter of a million of horses in his ship of the next generation; that he must put the power of nearly 150,000 tons of horses into 8,000 tons of engine; that he must snugly pack in a ship 1,000 feet long, or perhaps less, the power of a "string-team" 500 miles long. But all this seems perfectly possible, and not altogether improbable, to the hopeful engineer of to-day. He thinks it may prove to be only a matter of time and money.

On land, steam is likely yet to show powers that may astonish the spectator of its performances as much as at sea. Speeds of sixty miles an hour and over have been already frequently attained, and there seems no reason to doubt that this is but a beginning. Boys living to-day may very probably see speeds exceeding a hundred miles an hour attained, and the continent crossed in two days or less. In fact, I have reason to believe that a speed of ninety miles an hour has already been maintained by an ordinary engine and light train for a short distance, with one of my over-bold boys at the throttle-valve; and it may not be long before engines are built for such speeds. Such an engine leaving New York in the morning would reach San Francisco the next night. But before this can be done much work will be required on the road-bed, as well as in the improvement of the machine itself. The engineer, however, given the demand and the capital, can unquestionably find ways of securing such speeds and maintaining them continuously and with safety.

But both these advances may become commonplace beside other wonders that we may reasonably believe possible to the wonder-working mind and hand of man, to the inventor and the

mechanic aided by all the resources of modern and future sciences.

We are already familiar with the telegraph, transmitting messages across land and under sea around the world; we have even discovered a method of sending over its wires the *fac simile* of a written, or a printed, or an engraved page; the hand which writes a letter at one end of the line is imitated at the other by the pen of the lightning, and his every line, curve, and dot and dash exactly reproduced under the eye of his waiting correspondent. Who knows but that the time may come when his portrait may go with his letter, or even the words of his mouth, sent through line of telephone, be apparently the issue of the familiar face speaking, like a voice from the Arabian Nights, across the world? The Morses, the Bells, and the Edisons of coming years may be relied on to perform no less wonders than those which now astonish us; and the phonographs and graphophones of later days and of future ages will record in their own voices and their own language, for all the eternities of earth-existence, their thoughts and their triumphs, in dormant, but ever-living, form. The great electricians of to-day are teaching us how to convert the energy of the steam-engine into the newer form and to apply it to the illumination of our streets and our dwellings, and to employ it in the operation of all the machinery of shop and mill and home. The time may yet come when, by the employment of this wonderful conveyer of power, the energy of all the coal-mines, or of the immeasurable tons and tons of water pouring over that tremendous precipice of Niagara into the abysses of the whirlpool and the rushing rapids below—over three millions of horse-power—may be transmitted along a copper wire to distant cities to furnish the motive power of factories, of workshops, and of innumerable home industries, doing its share of the great work yet to be performed, of breaking up the present factory system and enabling the home-worker once more to compete on living terms with great aggregations of capital in unscrupulous hands. Great steam-engines will undoubtedly become generally the sources of power in our larger cities, and will send out over the electric wire, into every corner of the town, their Briarean arms, helping the sewing woman at her machine, the weaver at his pattern loom, the mechanic at his engine lathe, giving every house the mechanical aids needed in the

kitchen, the laundry, the elevator, and, at the same time, giving light, and possibly even heat, in liberal quantity and intensity. It may become a more powerful genius than was ever dreamed of by Scheherazade, and described in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments."

There are some other directions in which we may certainly hope to see as marvellous changes in the future as have been witnessed in the past. It is not impossible that we may see fleets of submarine boats doing the work of peace and of war. A century ago, nearly, Robert Fulton, following in the path opened by Bushnell still earlier, built in France a boat which, sailing about on the surface like any other craft, would then strike its sails and plunge beneath the surface, moving about at the will of its commander by the hour, would reappear where least expected, shake off the floods from its decks, and, raising its mast again, steadily sail across the sea to its destination. In our own days, my friend Holland, the most persistent, the bravest, and most reliable of inventors in this art, has built his submarine boats to carry himself and friends about the harbor of New York, spending the hours under water or on the surface, as he might choose, and showing his turtle-shaped deck at one time off the docks of the city, and, an hour or two later, astonishing and frightening the passengers of a steamer in the Lower Bay by his sudden rise alongside. Such boats will probably be used in submarine explorations, and will undoubtedly be employed in naval warfare, to the confusion of nations spending their millions upon the monster iron-clads now familiar to us. The limited experiences of our people during our own Civil War, with their rude "davids" of that time, showed what may be anticipated when these submarine craft are made capable of life at sea and of traversing long routes. Possibly we even may hope that the time will come when we, with some later Captain Nemo, may thus cross the Atlantic, unaffected by gale or wave, in comfort and safety, winter and summer alike. The problem is unquestionably in a promising state of semi-solution. When the submarine boat, the Howell or other torpedo, and the Zalinski gun are brought together in one such craft, the death of all naval warfare at a very early date is assured. The work of the inventor will insure the peace of the world.

Storage batteries, with their stored energy in the form of elec-

tricity, may be useful in submarine navigation and in the propulsion of carriages on land; and it looks as if they were likely at an early date to be of service in the solving of that greatest of all the visible problems of the engineer, the navigation of the air. For this purpose it seems possible that steam, too, may yet be of service, to at least a limited extent. It was shown, many years ago, by the distinguished French engineer Dupuy de Lôme that balloons might be made "dirigeable" by hand and impelled by power, and his work has been repeated in later years by the Messrs. Renard and Krebs, using stored electricity and attaining a speed of nearly fifteen miles an hour. An English engineer also, Mr. Pole, the veteran authority on applications of steam power, asserts that, taking the lifting power of the balloons as given by latest good work, and assuming that they may be propelled by engines no heavier than those sometimes employed in torpedo-boats, it would be possible to drive a cigar-shaped balloon, four hundred feet long and thirty feet in diameter, at the rate of thirty miles an hour. That this will be realized, and more, we may hardly doubt. But it remains a question whether the balloon can be dispensed with and the flying-machine made self-sustaining as well as self-impelling. This is greatly doubted by many; but it is impossible to say positively that it cannot be done.* We may possibly yet see the air navigated by flying-machines of enormous size, conveying passengers and important despatches, and perhaps light articles of merchandise, at rates of speed exceeding the flight of the swiftest birds; but few men of science or engineers imagine that such machines will ever become vehicles of general use, or as reliable as to time and dates as are the steamships or the railway trains of to-day. Should the inventor of the successful flying-machine ever come forward, he will meet with a welcome such as has rarely been accorded any one of his predecessors. He will have performed a more wonderful task than any one of them.

A still more wonderful work will be done by the genius, should he ever appear and should the thing be possible, who shall find a way of producing that beautiful and incomprehensible light emitted by the fire-fly or the glow-worm—a light which is with-

* Recent experimental investigations by Professor Langley, the distinguished astronomer and physicist, prove that the difficulties here met with are vastly less than had been previously supposed.

out heat and illustrates probably the only known case of at least approximately complete transformation of vital or heat-energy into light without waste and at low temperature. Such a transformation occurs less perfectly in phosphorous combustion, and the hint given by the animal and by the mineral cannot be supposed to be quite beyond the limit of thought of coming discoverers and inventors. He who turns the glow-worm's light to the use and benefit of mankind will confer an inestimable boon upon the race. It seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that this, at least a problem already solved by Nature, is not entirely beyond the reach of the ever-fruitful mind of man. It would seem no more improbable that the chemist should detect the secret of the composition of the fire-fly's illuminant than it once appeared that he should ever effect the synthesis of madder and revolutionize a great industry. Not only would the solution of this problem be a benefit to the race, as giving them a most beautiful and mild light, but the conversion of heat or other energy into this form of light, without wastes, would result in the most extraordinary economy. It is estimated that, in the case of the more common forms of light-producing apparatus, not over 5 per cent. of the energy is made useful, the remaining 95 per cent. being wasted as heat, and worse than wasted, as the heat produced is always a source of annoyance and loss of health. He who shall give us the secret of the flashing out-of-door lights of the summer evening will enable us to secure twenty times as much light with a given expenditure of fuel as we now obtain, and will in that proportion both cheapen the production of light and reduce the amount of injury done by combustion. We boast to-day of our electric lights; but, this invention or discovery made, we shall have a far less expensive, though perhaps not more healthful, light.

The direct conversion of heat into electricity, or the direct production of that fluid by the combustion of fuel, is another of those problems which are thought by many men of science to be possibly capable of solution, and some rather promising efforts have been made to reach a result so attractive. This may even prove to be the true solution of the problem of the glow-worm. Should the time ever come when, by the burning of a little coal in our houses, we may at once heat them comfortably, derive all the power needed to do the domestic drudgery, secure a beautiful

moon-like light, and preserve them, at the same time, against sensible vitiation of the atmosphere, we shall have attained a state of beatitude which might well be taken as a foretaste of paradise. We can, and actually do, transform heat and other energies already within our own bodies at a constant temperature: why may we not repeat these processes outside of them ? It does not seem possible that we must always submit to the now inevitable thermal and thermo-dynamic waste of three-quarters to nine-tenths, or more, of the stored energy of our fuels.

We can, at best, only speculate about these coming blessings of a future time and the coming race; but we may, at least, be permitted to hope that much of this possible may become actual. We may be allowed to hope that later generations may continue to see an interminable succession of advances made by coming men of science, and by learned engineers and mechanics, that shall continually add to the sum of human happiness in this world, and make it continually easier to prepare for a better world and a brighter. Who knows but that the telescope, the spectroscope, and other as yet uninvented instruments may aid us in this by revealing the secrets of other and more perfect lives, in other and more advanced worlds than ours, despite the head-shaking of those who know most of the probabilities ? Who can say that the life of the race may not be made in a few generations, by this ever-accelerating progress of which the century has seen but the beginning, a true millennial introduction into the unseen universe and the glorious life that every man, Christian or sceptic, optimist or pessimist, would gladly hope for and believe possible ? Of this we may be certain : no one can imagine the reach and limit of the results of the application of the intellect of man to the problems of life to-day, any more than could our ancestors of two centuries ago have imagined or believed in the progress that we to-day may look back upon. The border-land of science still stretches on into the unknown.

R. H. Thurston.

A ROMANCE OF OLD ROME.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL.D., PH.D., F.A.S., ETC.

IN THE early morning of May 12 I was called to witness the opening of two marble coffins which had been discovered two days before under the foundations of the new Palazzo di Giustizia (Halls of Justice), in the neighborhood of Hadrian's mausoleum. Orders had been given for the removal of both sarcophagi to the City Museum of the Capitol, where the ceremony of cutting the brass clamps which fastened their lids and of examining and describing their contents could be quietly and carefully accomplished. This plan, however, was not found practicable, because both coffins happened to be filled with water, which had in by-gone centuries filtered within, drop by drop, through the interstices of the lids. Under such circumstances it was found impossible to remove the coffins to the Capitol, not only on account of the excessive increase in weight produced by the water, but also because the violent shaking of the liquid mass would have damaged and otherwise disordered the skeletons and the objects which, perchance, had been buried within. I hastened to the spot to see the matter properly attended to, and this is what I saw in the course of that memorable morning.

At a depth of twenty-five feet below the level of the city—that is to say, four or five feet only above the level of the Tiber, which runs close by—the two marble coffins were lying side by side, embedded in the soft damp clay. The one on the left-hand side was inscribed with the simple name

CREPEREIA TRYPHAENA,

and decorated with a bas-relief representing the scene of her death. The young maiden is lying on the funeral bed, with the head bending gently on the left shoulder. A veiled lady, sitting at the foot of the bed, seems to gaze intently at the dying girl. At the opposite end, near the pillow, is a male standing figure, absorbed in intense grief.

The other coffin, inscribed with the name

L[ucio] CREPEREIO EVHODO,

appeared to be perfectly plain and simple. Enough to say that it contained no objects of interest but the skeleton of a man about sixty years of age. The contents of the first coffin were far more precious, and almost unique of their kind.

No sooner had the seals been broken and the lid put aside than my assistants and myself, and, in fact, the whole crowd of workmen which had congregated around on the first announcement of the "find," were almost horrified at the sight before us. Gazing at the skeleton, through the veil of the pure water, we saw the skull covered, as it were, with dense long masses of brown hair floating in the liquid crystal. The comments made by the simple and excited crowd by which we were surrounded were almost as interesting as the discovery itself; the news concerning the prodigious hair spread like wild-fire among the commères of the district; and so the exhumation of Crepereia Tryphaena was accomplished with unexpected solemnity, and its remembrance will last for many years to come in the popular traditions of the new quarter of the Halls of Justice (prati di Castello). The mystery of the hair is easily explained. Together with the spring water, germs or bulbs of an aquatic plant had entered the sarcophagus, settled on the convex surface of the skull, and developed into long glossy threads of a dark shade.

The skull was bending gently towards the left shoulder, as represented, by chance, in the bas-relief. On the same shoulder was lying an exquisite little doll carved in oak. On each side of the head there were gold ear-rings with drops of pearls. Mingled in a heap with the vertebræ of the neck and of the backbone there were a gold necklace, woven as a chain, with thirty-seven pendants of green jasper, and a large brooch with an intaglio in amethyst, of Greek workmanship, representing the fight of a griffin and a deer. Where the left hand had been lying, we found four rings of solid gold. One is an engagement-ring, with an engraving in red jasper representing two hands clasped together. The second has the name

PHILETVS

engraved on the stone. The third and the fourth rings are plain gold bands and need no special account.

Proceeding further with the exploration of the coffin, we discovered next to the right hipbone a box containing toilet articles. The box is made of thin sheets of hard wood, inlaid *alla Certosina*, as we Italians say, viz., with lines, squares, circles, triangles, and diamonds of bone, ivory, and wood of different kinds and colors. The box, however, had been completely disjointed by the long immersion, and I am afraid it will be very difficult to reconstruct it. Among its contents we noticed a couple of fine combs, in excellent preservation, with the teeth larger on one side than on the other; a small disk of polished steel, very likely a mirror; and a small silver box for cosmetics. There were also a hairpin, six inches long, made of three pieces of amber, an oblong piece of soft leather, and a few fragments probably of a sponge—a substance so often found in the *cistae* at Palestrina, the ancient Praeneste.* The most impressive discovery was made after the removal of the water and the drying-up of the coffin. It was found then that the woman had been buried in a shroud of fine white linen, large pieces of which are still encrusted and cemented against the bottom of the coffin, and that she had been laid down with a wreath of myrtle fastened on the forehead with a silver clasp. The preservation of the leaves is really remarkable, and we have been able to put together a considerable portion of the wreath.

Who was this woman, whose sudden and unexpected appearance has created such a sensation among us? When did she live? At what age did she die? What was her condition in life? Did she have a happy existence, loving and loved? Was she handsome? Why was she buried with her doll? The careful examination of the tomb, as described above, enables us to answer satisfactorily all these questions—with certainty in some cases, with probability in others.

Crepereia Tryphaena must have lived at the beginning of the third century after Christ, under the empire of Septimius Severus or Caracalla, as shown by the form of the letters and by the style of the bas-relief engraved on the sarcophagus. She was not a noble woman by birth; her Greek surname, Tryphaena, proves that she belonged to a family of freedmen—that is to say, of former

* I have had the opportunity of examining the contents of twelve *cistae* discovered lately at Palestrina, and now in the possession of Signor Eliseo Borghi. They comprise sponges, combs of various kinds and shapes, hairpins, boxes still full of well-preserved powders and cosmetics, and other articles of the *mundus muliebris*,

servants of the noble family of the Creperei. She was well proportioned, tall, and erect. Professor Alessandro Ceccarelli, the distinguished surgeon, who at our request has kindly examined and rearranged the skeleton, states her age as seventeen or eighteen. We know nothing about her features, but we can at least state that she had a strong and fine set of teeth.

There is no doubt that she was betrothed to the young man Philetus, whose name is engraved on the stone of the second ring, and that the two happy and loving youths had exchanged the oath of faith and mutual devotion for life, as represented by the symbol of the two hands clasped together.

The story of her sad death, and of the sudden grief which overtook her family on the very eve of a joyful wedding, is told plainly by the presence in her coffin of the doll and of the myrtle wreath.

Beginning from this last emblem, there is no doubt that it was meant to represent the *corona nuptialis*, the myrtle being notoriously the sacred plant of Venus. I believe, in fact, that the girl was buried in her full bridal costume, and then covered with the white shroud. Together with the pieces of this latter, other fragments of stuff have been found which have not yet been tested by microscopical or chemical analysis. It will be very interesting to ascertain whether or not they correspond to the quality and nature of the various articles connected with a wedding costume. This costume comprised a white tunic, called *tunica recta* or *regilla*, the specialty of which consisted in being "woven on a *tela*, the *stamen* of which was not drawn horizontally, but vertically, and woven, besides, upwards from below."* The *regilla* was fastened by a woollen girdle tied in a Hercules knot. It comprised also a bridal veil, called *flammeum*, of a bright yellow hue. The shoes, called *socci*, were probably of the same color. In the antique fresco known by the name of Nozze Aldobrandine, the bride wears yellow shoes : the same detail has been noticed very often in the wall paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii. The dressing of the hair is described by Festus : there were three locks or curls on each side of the forehead—a characteristic arrangement shown by many portrait statues and busts.

Let us now turn our attention to the beautiful doll.

Human nature, notwithstanding the changes which the differences of time, of manners, and of education have brought about,

* See Becker, "Gallus," 165.

has always been the same since the beginning of the world. The same passions have never ceased to stir and to govern mankind, with the same alternations of good and evil, of joys and sorrows, of infantile simplicity and maturity of older age.* Then we no longer wonder on finding that the children of by-gone ages had toys and games absolutely identical with those of the present day. These playthings have mostly been found in tombs, pagan as well as Christian, and consist chiefly of dolls and marionettes, of *crepundia* (any kind of rattling instrument), money-boxes, little silver bells, used against the *jettatura* or evil-eye, ivory masks, Medusa's heads, little carts and boats, caricatures of men and beasts, and sometimes pigs with children on their backs. The origin of these last objects can be traced in the ancient Spartan custom of sacrificing young pigs to Diana on the occasion of the *Tithenidia*, the feast day of wet-nurses. There are also articulated serpents, with which children used to frighten each other. Such is evidently the serpent represented in a bas-relief now in the Villa Celimontana of Baron von Hoffmann, which shows the graceful figure of a boy concealed behind a large scenic mask, through the open mouth of which he flourishes a snake, with the intention of frightening a playmate who stands before the mask.

In the excavations of the Roman cemeteries on the Esquiline Hill I have found many curious objects in lead, which must be classed among toys. Such are, for instance, wheels for little carts, the spokes of which represent figures of charioteers; frames for diminutive mirrors; *passe-partouts* for portraits or medallions, and imitations of domestic utensils. The early explorers of the Catacombs speak of an infinite variety of playthings discovered in children's *loculi*, and especially of ivory blocks with letters in alto-relievo, used to learn the alphabet, as described by Quintilian and St. Jerome, who call them "instructive amusements for childhood." The manufacture and the use of toys are not peculiar to the Greco-Roman times and lands. In Egyptian tombs contemporary with the earliest dynasties many have been found, and distributed through the various museums of Europe, such as small mummies and mummy-cases, miniature boats manned by miniature sailors, and even little crocodiles, whose jaws can be opened or shut as you like. Among our own "finds"

* See the excellent memoir on ancient children's toys by Countess Ersilia Lovatelli Caetani, in *Nuova Antologia*, May, 1888, from which I have largely quoted.

we must mention little clay vases, with a ball inside, which, on being shaken, sound like a *sistrum*. They were used, together with the *sistra*, by nurses to amuse and quiet their young charges, accompanying the rattling with their own slow and monotonous singing, the *kata-ban-kalesis* of the Greek, the *neniae* of the Latins, the *ninna-nanna* of the Italians. Many of these objects have been discovered in Pompeian nurseries, whereas the brass *sistra* abound especially in the bed of the Tiber. Why they should be found in such quantities in the bed of the Tiber is one of the many mysteries connected with the history and nature of that remarkable river.

It was customary among the ancients to load the new-born child with gifts of every description. Mothers, friends, and even old family servants congregated around the cradle, admiring, caressing, and embracing the baby, while the venerable grandmother blessed and anointed him, wishing that roses and lilies might spring up along his path, and that palaces and rich domains might become his portion.

When a child was abandoned and deserted, the *crepundia* were either hung to his neck or were put in a basket by his side —a practice which signified that the poor lonely infant was put under the care of Bacchus, who had shared the same fate, and that, like this little god, it was hoped that he would be tended and cared for. In the Pio-Clementino section of the Vatican Museum there is a graceful statuette of a child, with many *crepundia* round his neck, by means of which the foundling could be identified in progress of time. In scene fourth, act fourth, of the "Rudens," Plautus describes minutely the objects concealed in *Palestra's* basket, which help the father to identify the long-lost daughter. Aristophanes and Terentius are very fond of constructing their plays on this plot of exposed infants, recognized in due time by their parents with the help of *gnorismata*.

The custom of modelling or moulding little figures in wax or clay was also a great diversion for Greek and Roman children. Lucianus refers to this practice both in "Alkyon" and in "Dream," comparing most happily the innumerable changes which nature undergoes by the hands of God to the thousand forms which a bit of wax or clay receives in the hands of children. Artists of great value have condescended sometimes to model excessively small works, elegant and costly "nothings,"

to be compared to our French *bibelots.* Pliny speaks of Kallistratos having carved in ivory ants and other insects so tiny and minute that it was almost impossible to discover and appreciate their exact shape and proportions. Myrmekides is said to have cut first in ivory and then in marble a chariot drawn by four horses, which could be screened and concealed under the wings of a fly; and also a man-of-war, or *quadriremis,* not larger than the body of a bee.

The smallest of the many hundred marble figures which I have discovered is only nine-tenths of an inch high. It represents a lady attending to her toilet, with a mirror in the right hand. It is exhibited in the new Museum of the Orto Botanico, near the Coliseum.

To come back, however, to the special subject of dolls: the fact that they have been constantly found in Greece as well as in Italy, in pagan as well as in Christian tombs, shows how generally and constantly they must have been used. These dolls are of every kind and description, of wood, of clay, of ivory, of wax, and mostly articulated. Varro compares the fascination which dolls exert on children to the fascination of flowers, of gems, of money, of cakes. Plutarch, in writing affectionate words of comfort to his wife for the loss of their sweet Timossena, dwells upon the charming disposition of the child, and relates, among other traits, how she begged the nurse to give her milk not only to other children, but also to her doll.

The ancient custom of placing children's toys either inside or above tombs is too well known to need further illustration. To it refers the graceful story told by Vitruvius apropos of the Corinthian maiden on whose tomb the nurse had placed a round basket containing her former playthings. A plant of acanthus having surrounded the basket with its delicate tendrils and leaves, suggested to Kallimakos the first idea of the Corinthian capital.

The Museo Cristiano annexed to the Vatican Library is perhaps the richest in this modest but interesting class of antiques, especially in dolls and marionettes carved in bone, and articulated so that they could move and gesticulate by means of threads or wires.

All that I have said on the subject may seem not to pertain to the case of Crepereia Tryphaena, who must be supposed to have

given up her playthings many years before her death. A passage which we find in the second Satire of Persius (v. 70) enables us to explain the case very easily ; but, first, let me give a more detailed description of the little work of art.

The *pupa* is carved in oak, to which the combined action of age and water has given the hardness of metal. Although not different in size and shape from another doll, illustrated by Biscari in plate V. of the *"Antichi Ornamenti e Trastulli dei Cambini,"* ours is modelled with a far more perfect imitation of the woman's form, and is considered by Visconti and Castellani the finest of its kind yet found in Roman excavations. The hands and feet are carved with the utmost skill. The arrangement of the hair is characteristic of the age of the Antonines, and differs but little from the style of Faustina the elder. The doll was probably dressed, and in the thumb of her right hand were inserted two gold key-rings, in imitation of those worn by housewives. The figure, the articulations of which at the hips, knees, shoulders, and elbows are still in good condition, is thirty centimetres high.

The verse of Persius above referred to—

Nempe hoc, quod Veneri donatae a virgine puppae—

signifies that dolls and playthings are not a specialty of children's tombs. It was customary for young ladies to offer their dolls to Venus or Diana on their wedding-day. But this was not the end reserved for Crepereia's doll. She was doomed to share the sad fate of her young mistress, and lie down by her corpse before the marriage ceremony could be accomplished.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

BY-GONE DAYS IN BOSTON.

BY THE HON. CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

I HAVE school-boy recollections, chiefly anecdotical, of certain notable men in Boston, which, though affording mere glimpses of their personal characteristics, may be worth recording. These men belonged to a class which shed a distinct influence over society from the rostrum, the lecture-room, and the pulpit in a city which esteems itself—and not without some claim to the title—*the* literary metropolis of the country. I refer to the days of Webster and Everett, the Adamses, Otis, and Quincy, among statesmen; Judge Story and Rufus Choate, among lawyers; Prescott and Ticknor, among historians; Emerson and Alcott, among philosophers; Channing, Lyman Beecher, Blagden, Ware, and Pierpont, among clergymen; and a host of lesser lights. I must confine myself to a few of those whose personal traits made an impression, at the time, upon my youthful mind.

Daniel Webster, chiefly from his public fame, but in large measure from the fact that many of his glowing periods were familiar to us school-boys in the pages of our "Lovell's Speaker," was to me an object of profound admiration. I see him now, "in his habit as he walked," a man of grand physique, with a dark, commanding countenance and penetrating eyes, dressed in a blue swallow-tailed coat, with gilt buttons, and a buff waistcoat, below which dangled his watch-chain and keys.

The announcement that the great orator was to speak from the rostrum or in court was sufficient to fill the room to suffocation long before he appeared. I was once, when a small boy, packed in a dense crowd at a political meeting in Faneuil Hall when Webster held forth, and I came near being crushed to death —a pigmy among giants—as the multitude within the hall, pressed by those who were endeavoring to enter from without, began to

sway to and fro, a solid mass of human bodies, as helpless to counteract the movement as if Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty," was being rocked by an earthquake. The orator was in the midst of a stirring appeal, urging the necessity for individual exertion and unflinching patriotism to avert the dangers that threatened the political party whose principles he espoused, when he perceived the terrible sway of the packed assembly and the imminent danger that might ensue. Webster stopped short in the middle of a sentence, advanced to the edge of the platform, extended his arm in an authoritative attitude, and, in a stentorian voice of command, cried out: "Let each man stand firm!" The effect was instantaneous. *Each* man stood firm; the great heaving mass of humanity regained its equilibrium, and, save the long breath of relief that filled the air, perfect stillness ensued. "*That,*" exclaimed the great orator, "is what we call self-government!"—so apt an illustration of the principle he was expounding that the vast assembly responded with deafening cheers.

I was scarcely less an admirer of Edward Everett, whose cold, classical, and studied style was in marked contrast to the massive warmth and energy of his great rival in public oratory. The one struck the quarry with the emphasis of a discoverer; the other chiselled the marble with the delicacy of a finished sculptor. To listen to Webster was to be warmed with an unexpected emotion: to hang upon the periods of Everett was to feel the charms of cultured rhetoric.

I had been smuggled between some friendly petticoats into the gallery "exclusively reserved for ladies" that I might hear Everett's famous eulogy on the death of Lafayette, and I listened to it with devouring ears. On a pedestal at the right of the orator stood a bust of the illustrious Frenchman, and a full-length portrait of him in oil was suspended from the wall behind, on a background of crape. All this was prearranged to assist the orator in his peroration, and to these he turned with graceful action and impassioned expression as he addressed each symbol with the final words of his address: "Speak, marble lips! Speak, votive canvas! Teach us the love of liberty protected by law!" I thought the applause would never end.

Twenty years after, I mentioned to Mr. Everett the impression his address on that occasion had made on my youthful mind, and repeated his closing words. He complimented me on my "excel-

lent memory." I did not, however, tell him what a shock my young imagination had received when I subsequently discovered that the "marble lips" he had invoked to teach the love of liberty were—*plaster!* Unfortunately for Boston, no "quarried marble's sculptured glow" from classic Paros, or even from Carrara, representing Lafayette, was obtainable in the city at the time; hence the ignoble substitute.

That Everett resorted occasionally to accessories "to catch the *eyes* of the groundlings" may seem not altogether worthy of a man of such cultivated tastes and talents; but these studied effects, like his studied oratory, served to "bring down" the house and the banquet-table; which, after all, is the object of the moment with the orator or the actor, or both combined. It was always successful with Everett. A gentleman who sat near him at a public dinner in Boston related a little incident in illustration of this. Among the ornamented dishes on the table was a grand *plat* fancifully decorated, including two miniature silk flags on sticks, which were stuck into the viand previously to its being served. This dish stood directly in front of Everett. Before he was aware of it it was removed from the table for the purpose of being carved at the sideboard. When he missed it, he appeared to be seriously annoyed, and, beckoning to one of the waiters, whispered to him to bring back the dish and place it where it was before. This was accordingly done. My friend, one of the few who had observed the little by-scene, could not at all understand it, or know why the great man had appeared so disconcerted at the loss of the dish and so immensely relieved at its reappearance; but when the cloth was removed and Everett made his speech, in response to a national toast, the mystery was explained. As the orator warmed with his theme, and expatiated in glowing language upon the greatness of the Republic, and the patriotic emotions excited by the flag of the Union, whose folds they all beheld gracefully festooned around the walls of the banquet-hall, he seized—as if moved by the impulse of the moment—the two little flags from the dish before him and waived them, one in each hand, above his head, until his accents were drowned in the murmurs of applause that followed the graceful, appropriate, and, so to speak, *inspired* act.

In one of his speeches Edward Everett spoke of "the leaden weight of successful ambition." With him the leaden weight was

disappointed ambition. Like Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and a host of others who were worthy to receive the highest gift at the hands of the people, and by patriotic and earnest work had striven to obtain it, he failed. As a scholar, a true patriot, and a finished orator, he was thoroughly appreciated by a large and discriminating class; but his natural temperament and exclusiveness, perhaps as much as anything, did not commend him as an eligible candidate for the Presidency. Webster, on the other hand, was "in touch" with the people, and his name was a watchword of strength; but his strong advocacy of partisan measures had severed the sympathies of a large section whose vote would have been necessary to his success.

On my way to and from school I had to pass the Court-House, and would occasionally slip in to enjoy the cross-examination of a witness, the pleading of the barrister, or the charge to the jury of Chief-Justice Story. There I heard Rufus Choate seduce the obtuse minds of unintellectual jurymen by his fervent, almost womanly, appeals to their sympathies in behalf of the prisoner at the bar, who, in the majority of cases, richly deserved punishment. In this class of oratory Choate had no equal. I once heard him defend a man charged with obtaining goods under false pretences, who had represented himself to his creditors as possessing a large capital when in point of fact he was a bankrupt. Not a word of evidence could be extracted in favor of the prisoner, whose guilt was fully established. But Choate had ascertained that, many years before, when a very young man, the accused had, on one or two occasions, taken charge of a Sunday-school class to relieve a teacher who was ill. The great barrister seized upon this fact as a drowning man a straw, and clung to it with a tenacity and impressiveness of appeal that astonished judge and jury. His argument was something like this: Could such a self-devoted Christian, a young man surrounded by the allurements of a great city, voluntarily resist them and give himself up to the religious training of little children, teaching them the word of God and elevating their minds and hearts with lessons of morality, if he was himself corrupt and unprincipled. No, No,—a thousand times No! His failings in life were the common failings of humanity. He was self-deceived, sanguine, impracticable—a man whose ideas were rose-colored, and who imagined, as he looked over his stock in trade and built castles-in-the-air of future

prosperity, that he was already a man of means, and in reality possessed the amount which, under this self-delusion, he represented to his creditors to be his capital. And so forth and so forth. Then followed the illustration of a mirage in the desert, when the wearied traveller, deceived by the aërial phenomenon, fancies that he beholds in the distance palaces and verdure and gushing fountains, which, alas! on a nearer approach dissolve into airy nothings. Tears bedewed the eyes of the eloquent pleader; at least, he frequently wiped them with his handkerchief, and as frequently had recourse to the glass of water on the table to relieve his choking utterances. This was too much for the sensibilities of the juryman, and they acquitted the rascal at the bar without leaving their seats.

Choate's deeply-furrowed face and unhealthy expression indicated an overtaxed brain at the expense of irregularity in living. I believe he had no time to compress his preparation of cases within office hours, and did an immense deal of work at home. Not that "he took his briefs to bed with him,"—as is said to be the case with a celebrated London barrister,—but that his briefs kept him out of bed for the greater part of the night, and that he drank an inordinate quantity of tea to keep off the sleepy god.

As the demi-god of literary Boston, whose temple of worship was chiefly the lecture-room, I remember the thin features, the turned-down collar, displaying an excess of uncovered throat, and the calm, self-asserting expression of Ralph Waldo Emerson as he indulged in his somewhat mystical utterances to the crowded assemblages of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. A large part of the audience was composed of merchants, some of whom declared "on 'change," the following day, that the mystical Sage of Concord was "too much for *them*, but that their daughters understood and appreciated him thoroughly." But for the limitations of space I should yield to the temptation to repeat here many of the anecdotes current at the time in connection with this preëminently great and original philosopher. We must content ourselves with one, as illustrative of that extravagance of expression which occasionally betrayed his sense of keen humor. Emerson was at the theatre one evening, in company with his æsthetic friend Margaret Fuller, to see the renowned Fanny Ellsler. As the "*divine danseuse*" was executing one of her inimitable *pirouettes*, balancing her supple body on the toe of her

left foot, while she extended her right one to a dangerous—not to say questionable—height into space, and revolved slowly on her satin pivot in the golden glow of the footlights, Miss Fuller turned to Emerson and whispered: "Ralph, this is poetry!" "Margaret," responded the Sage, "it is religion!"

The word "religion" reminds me of what might well be termed "the City of Churches," for public worship was sanctimoniously observed in more sacred edifices than seemed to be required by the number of the population. Unitarianism was the popular faith, and, if I remember rightly, this denomination was represented by ten or twelve churches, or, rather, "meeting-houses," while the Episcopalians did not number more than two or three. Much as the Church of England regards the dissenting places of worship, the Unitarians of Boston looked upon the worshippers at other altars than their own. Overtopping all others in the force of argument, elegance of diction, and influence of appeal, stood William Ellery Channing, and so liberal and philosophical, so pure and elevating are his writings, that it is not an exaggeration to say that no theologian's library is complete without an edition of his works. The late Dr. Taylor, of Grace Church, New York, at one time regarded as the leading Episcopal clergyman of that city, said to a friend of mine, who had expressed some surprise at seeing an open volume of Channing's sermons upon his table: "Channing? Why, sir, I consult him more than any theological writer." So popular was this truly good and great man in Boston that every church-bell, including the Roman Catholic, tolled in solemn reverence and sorrow as his funeral cortege passed to his final resting-place.

Channing's physique was strikingly in contrast to his gigantic intellect. He was a small and feeble man, and a sufferer from pulmonary disease. His mind was like Goethe's simile of *Hamlet's*, "an oak planted in a flower-pot," whose ever-expanding root threatened at any time to break the fragile vase which held it. His susceptibility to anything like exposure led him to go to extremes in protecting himself from the cold, penetrating air of the winter at Boston, and, being a man of strong will and rigidly methodical in his mode of life, nothing would induce him to go out of his house, even in a carriage, if the wind was from the east. I am reminded of an anecdote in this connection. The father of the present writer was a strong personal friend of Dr. Channing,

and saw him frequently. During one winter, the former, not having seen or heard from Dr. Channing for three weeks, notwithstanding that the weather had been unusually mild and agreeable, feared that he was ill, and called at his house to inquire. He found Channing in his library, the sun streaming through the closed windows and a blazing fire in the grate, while the doctor himself was in his usual health and spirits. Naturally the visitor asked him why he was not out enjoying the soft air and the sunshine. Channing shook his head and said: "Impossible, my friend. I dare not, and you know I never do, venture out of doors in an east wind."

"But, doctor," said his friend, "the wind is not from the east; it has been south for the past three weeks."

"You are greatly mistaken," rejoined the doctor; "look at the vane," pointing to the weathercock of the Park-Street Church, visible from the window.

"But that vane is rusty," was the response, "and *has not moved for three weeks*. It wants oiling."

The astonished divine must have concluded that his own faculties required oiling, for he started off directly for his muffler and overcoat, and went out with his companion for a walk in the cheering sunshine, with the joy of a prisoner released from a long imprisonment in a case of miscarriage of justice. He must also have experienced a sense of mortification at the discovery that he had been deceived by misplaced confidence in the Calvinistic weathercock.

Channing's calmness and self-possession were additional traits in his character, and were singularly manifested on a certain occasion. He was seated among the audience in the gallery of the Old South Church, in the midst of a packed assembly, on some public occasion, when, suddenly, a portentous cracking sound was heard in the floor of the gallery. A panic ensued, which of itself was sufficient to create terrible danger. The general impression was that the whole gallery, with its dense mass of occupants, was on the point of falling. The people with terrifying screams rushed to the points of egress, threatening to crush each other to death in their frantic efforts to escape. In the midst of this exciting scene Channing sat unmoved and perfectly composed, calmly advising all within reach of his voice to resume their seats. His example inspired confidence in those directly around

him, and as they reseated themselves their neighbors did the same, and in a few moments perfect order and quiet were restored.

Another Unitarian clergyman who, for many years, influenced his congregation with almost supreme power, and who was the counterpart of Channing in physique and style of delivery, is worthy of a sketch. This was the Rev. John Pierpont. He was tall, strong-limbed, and energetic; possessing a very original mind and a directness of purpose which was never turned aside by questions of self-interest. Even to the verge of offence, and finally beyond it, he preached the duty of men to God and to each other, fearless of personal consequences. During the great temperance movement in Boston, Pierpont was in rather an awkward position toward his congregation. A strictly temperate man himself, he had always enjoined temperance upon his hearers; but now he felt it incumbent upon him to join his forces with the party whose principle was "total abstinence," and he well knew that this would not be acceptable to the majority of his hearers. Among the pillars of his church, the principal pew-owners, and the largest contributors to the fund in its support, were two or three distillers of ardent spirits, who had accumulated large fortunes in their trade, and who were held to be honorable and worthy men. No doubt the conscientious preacher took these points into serious consideration; but, being a man who despised half-measures in a case where morals were concerned, he decided to preach down their vocation in life, even if it resulted in preaching them out of church. Accordingly, he did not mince matters, but with the full force of argument and appeal he denounced those who built up fortunes by the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, and held them chiefly responsible for the crying evil of the times—intemperance—and its debasing and impoverishing results. One or two such sermons passed without serious comment, but as Sunday after Sunday the enthusiastic preacher returned to the charge, the distillers, supported by a majority of the pew-owners, could stand it no longer, and Pierpont was respectfully dismissed from the pulpit. My impression is that from that time he abandoned the clerical profession; at all events, while continuing to denounce the use of spirituous drinks, he became an ardent advocate of spiritual-*ism*.

As an honest and fearless preacher, he was an honor to the pulpit; as a poet, his verses will always be included in any collec-

tion that fairly represents the lyrical talent of the period; as a promoter of education, his school-books were in use in every New England academy, and as a practical inventor, the "Pierpont stove," and even a very serviceable razor-strop, attested his claims to the title of "universal genius." Very many years after I had seen Pierpont in the pulpit I was attracted, at a funeral ceremony in New York, by the striking appearance of a tall, patriarchal gentleman with a flowing white beard, who stood prominently among the mourners. Hearing my name mentioned by a friend who greeted me, the patriarchal gentleman turned to me and, introducing himself as Mr. John Pierpont, inquired if I was a relative of the late Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, formerly a "clergyman-at-large" in Boston. On being told that such was the fact, he shook me warmly by the hand and exclaimed that the meeting was one of great interest to him and that, after the ceremony, he had a most important communication to make to me.

I may here remark that the clergyman above mentioned, an uncle of mine, was one of the most benevolent and disinterested men it has ever been my fortune to know. His life was devoted to the gratuitous ministration from the pulpit and elsewhere of religion and of good works for the benefit of the poor of Boston. To this cause he devoted the larger share of his private fortune, and so wide was the extent of his reputation in this regard that an English biographer asserts that, as an unselfish humanitarian, he deserves the title of the American Howard. Among his personal characteristics was that of occasional absence of mind. On entering the house one day, Dr. Tuckerman placed his hat upon the hall table, entered the parlor, and, seeing a magazine upon the book-stand, took it up and soon became absorbed in perusing its pages. In this occupation he was disturbed by the entrance of a lady, who, to the doctor's great surprise, informed him that he had made the mistake of entering the wrong house, his own being the one next door. The body of this distinguished philanthropist lies at Mount Auburn, under a marble monument erected to his memory by the poor of Boston, so many of whom desired to contribute to its cost that it became necessary to limit the amount of each subscription to one cent.

To return to Mr. Pierpont. The "important communication" that the reverend gentleman had to make to me was rather startling. With great solemnity and earnestness he informed me

that, a few days previously, he had held a most interesting conversation with Dr. William Ellery Channing. As Channing had then been dead for upwards of twenty years, I at first concluded that Pierpont was out of his senses; but on recalling the fact that he was a pronounced Spiritualist, I listened with serious attention.

"I asked Channing among other things," continued my companion, "where he then was.

"'In the fifth heaven,' he replied.

"'And where is our friend, Dr. Tuckerman?'

"'In the seventh heaven.'

"'And how happens it that he, good as he was, is in higher glory than yourself?'

"'On account of his great unselfishness,' was Channing's reply. I knew," continued Pierpont, "that this fact would be of great interest to you and your family, and it looks like a special providence that I am favored with this opportunity of making it known."

With the exception of this idiosyncrasy, Pierpont was perfectly rational, and probably his colleagues of the spiritualistic circle would assert that this interview with the departed was the strongest evidence of his perfect lucidity of intellect. Pierpont's latter days were passed in Washington as a clerk in one of the departments, and as an occasional public lecturer.

Another very notable clergyman of Boston was the Rev. Lyman Beecher, father of the late Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn. He was one of the lights—technically speaking, the "blue light"—of Calvinism. He was a powerful preacher to a devoted congregation, and indulged in sectarian denunciation beyond what were generally considered the bounds of good taste. I recall a rainy Sunday afternoon when, Beecher's church being near our house, I attended the services, more, I fear, from curiosity than religious impulse. The sermon was upon procrastination in fulfilling Christian observances. It made an impression upon my mind from a circumstance that attended it. After describing the horrors of hell that await the impenitent sinner, and enumerating the sins which lead to the burning gulf, among which procrastination is one of the greatest, the eloquent preacher illustrated this evil by a case in point. A mother who had always intended to present her infant for baptism postponed the ceremony, through negligence or worldly occupation, from day to day and

from week to week. As a careless nurse was one day amusing the infant by throwing it up and catching it in her arms, she at length missed her aim, and the child fell heavily upon the hearth-stone, fractured its skull, and shortly after died.

"That child," continued the preacher, "who might have been an angel in heaven, is now, through the negligence of its parents in the matter of baptism, a tenant of hell."

The congregation were much moved; one gentleman especially so, for he seized his hat, left his pew, and with an expression of ineffable disgust strode down the broad aisle and out of the church. The brethren were greatly shocked; not, it appeared, at the sentiments of the preacher, but at the lost sinner who in so unseemly a manner had rejected the warnings of the pulpit.

When one of the theatres in the city was burned down, Beecher declared in the following Sunday's sermon that "another gateway of hell had been destroyed by the direct intervention of Divine Providence." Shortly after this event one of the church buildings fell a victim to the flames, and about the same time the theatre which he had denounced was rebuilt on a more extensive and elegant scale; but it was remarked that the distinguished divine made no allusion whatever to either event. During the later years of his life Beecher had the extreme satisfaction of fulfilling a boast that he would "yet preach" in the building then desecrated by the name of the "Tremont Theatre," for it was eventually sold to a religious society, and from its pulpit the great "blue-light" of orthodoxy illuminated the congregation with his extreme theological views.

One more clergyman, noted for his originality of mind and powerful influence in a peculiar sphere of action, ought not to be passed over in a sketch like this. "Father" Taylor, as he was familiarly called, was the sailors' preacher, guide, counsellor, and devoted friend, until his death left a vacuum not easily supplied. It requires infinite tact and good judgment, united with sufficient assumption of power, to enforce authority without impairing the bonds of affection, and to keep a floating congregation of seamen and their families intact and permanent. This tact Father Taylor possessed in a remarkable degree. He was mild and forcible; sympathetic and dogmatic; unbending in will, yet sensitive to the claims of the weakest member of his flock.

Father Taylor belonged to the muscular class of clergymen,

and would pound the pulpit cushion as if it deserved corporal punishment, or hold out at arm's length the massive Bible with the ease of a child dallying with a toy. "The sailor and the sailor's rights" was the motto which guided this excellent man in the discharge of his duties in and out of the pulpit. When the "world's people," as he called them, thronged the Bethel church on Sundays, impelled thereto chiefly by curiosity, he would stop short in prayer or sermon, if he saw any of his parishioners leave their seats to make way for the stranger, and peremptorily order them back. "This church," he would exclaim, addressing the intruder, "is for *my* people, and I will not have one of them disturbed. Let those who cannot find vacant seats in the pews sit on the pulpit stairs, or come up in the pulpit and sit behind me." Many of the "world's people" were only too glad to do so.

On one occasion I was present at the services when an infant was presented for baptism. The sermon over, Father Taylor descended the pulpit and stood behind the communion-table, on which had been placed two vases filled with baptismal water.

"Let the child be brought forward for baptism," he said, in a resounding voice.

A timid, sickly-faced woman, with an infant in her arms, left her pew and advanced to the altar-rail.

"What is to be the name of this child, my good woman?" said the clergyman, with a tone of encouragement.

"Susan, sir," she answered, in a weak, tremulous voice.

"Susan is a very good name. Now give me your attention. Here are two baptismal bowls. One, you see, is a richly-chased vase of solid silver—a gift to the Bethel, and a very handsome gift it is. It must have cost a good deal of money. *But, here,"* strongly emphasizing the sentence—"here is a vase without adornment—a plain, strong, unpretentious bowl; *but,* it is made from the wood of that glorious old frigate, the 'Constitution'! Now, which do you prefer? You have your choice. Which shall it be?"

"The 'Constitution,' sir," replied the half-frightened, nervous little woman.

"You are right, ma'am; the 'Constitution' it shall be"; and he proceeded with the ceremony.

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

HOW I BECAME AN ASTRONOMER.

BY CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

How did I become an astronomer? The question is a peculiar one. You might, perhaps, just as well ask a poet, a painter, or a sculptor how his special tastes were awakened. So far as I am concerned, I cannot bring to mind the time when I first took interest in the wonders of the heavens.

When a child, as far back, in fact, as I can remember, I was moved by the glory of the starlit firmament at night and of the westering sun at eventide; my heart thrilled within me at the lordly spectacle of nature; and, like all children, my inquisitive brain was disturbed by a thousand questions. Why was this? Why was that? Where did the sun go to at setting? What were all those stars? And what about the earth whereon we live—who sustained it?

I was five and a half years old when an annular eclipse of the sun occurred to the inhabitants of the department of the Haute-Marne, where my family lived and where I was born; a second eclipse (which was a total one in Germany) was also visible in the same province when I was between nine and ten years of age. I have but a vague remembrance of the first, which occurred in the morning in the fall of the year, and seemed to bring back night shortly after sunrise; but I remember the second as if it had taken place yesterday. It was in the afternoon of a full summer day. The sky was one broad expanse of blue. The sun shone most brightly, when my mother came to fetch us, my little brother, my young sister, and myself, to go into the street, near the gable of our house, where she had caused a pail of clean water to be placed. We gazed at the image of the sun in this mirror, which was well within our reach. We saw it gradually diminish in size, as the invisible dark disk of the moon crept over its red-

dening face. The moon soon covered more than one-half of the orb of day. Nature put on a lurid and sinister appearance. I remember that the good old countrywomen of the place said that the end of the world was at hand.

This celestial phenomenon impressed me the more forcibly at the time because it had been foretold to a minute by the learned men of Paris, and had taken place exactly as predicted by them. I should not be surprised if the event had a decisive influence on the development of my tastes. At nine years and a half the mind and character appear to be almost formed, and to afford a fair indication of the features they are likely to evince after gaining strength. Some even may manifest those features at an earlier age. Three years previously the prefect of the department had affectionately taken me in his arms and given me a bag of sugar-plums, because I was the only pupil to answer satisfactorily a few questions in geography put by him while on a visit of inspection to the parish school.

Our house was built on the slope of a hill called the "château" because in old feudal days a castle frowned on its summit over the surrounding country. Of this ancient stronghold nothing at present remains but ruins. From this high ground, however, a commanding prospect may be enjoyed. At evening, when the sun went down, I took pleasure in going there alone to watch the appearance of the stars as they shone forth one by one in the depths of the darkening heavens. The names of a few planets and constellations had found a place in my youthful imagination: Venus, the bright evening star; the Pleiades, or, as I called them, the hen and her six chickens; Orion, better known to me as the rake; and the Polar Star. What were those distant worlds? How far away were they from our globe? What, in fact, was the whole sky whither we would fain have flown on our childish wings?

Another reminiscence recurs of those now distant years. Having terminated my studies at the parish school, my family, when I was about ten years of age, took the necessary steps to prepare me for the ecclesiastical profession, which, as I then thought, was to be my future career. The village priest kindly volunteered to instruct me in the rudiments of Latin and Greek. As the progress I made in the dead languages was fairly rapid, I was ere long taken to Langres, a town at that time more celebrated

in my eyes for its cathedral and small seminary than on account of its strategic position or its historical renown. It was a little place secluded from the rest of the world, where the steam whistle of the locomotive was scarcely heard as yet; steeped in devotion and silent as a cloister of the middle ages. Everything about it suggested religion and miracles, and the church was at the head of everything. Diderot began his classical studies where I was about to commence mine.

We were trudging up a steep ascent, my father and I, beside the tired horse that painfully tugged at the coach, when one of those problems that puzzled me most—the hundredth perhaps since our departure—suggested itself, but, somehow or other, remained inflexibly unsolved. I wanted to know what was beneath the earth and why it did not fall. My father's evasive replies only added to my curiosity. I could not detach my thoughts from the image of our globe suspended in space. It took my sleep away the following night. I repeatedly questioned my professors, but without ever receiving from them a reply that satisfied me thoroughly. One even went so far as to assure me that astronomy was a science not to be wholly relied upon, and that the old idea of the sun revolving around the earth was perhaps the best and, after all, the most probable.

I had a chum who had the half of an opera-glass in his possession. The first opportunity that offered—it was on a Wednesday, as we returned from our walk to the neighboring mountain—I looked at the moon through this rudimentary instrument. I noticed the depressions formed by the circular cavities and seas as they appear fringed by the solar light along the moon's rim. What a discovery was this! And how my heart beat! There were mountains in the moon, as on our earth! And seas! And countries! Perchance also inhabitants! The young professor who walked by my side answered each of my questions on the subject, saying: "Why not?" But to the last question he said: "Oh, as for inhabitants, that is impossible!"

The following year a comet appeared in the sky. Being only a day scholar, I was able to accompany some members of the family with whom I boarded to look at it in the evening from the ramparts of the town. Its pale light, weird appearance, and the fact that it changed its position in the sky from one evening to another, struck my childish fancy with amazement. It soared

above the sunset like an airy feather, and shone with a soft, calm light that suffused the depths of the heavens. It was to me a note of interrogation poised in the infinite. But as I generally received anything but satisfactory answers to my questions, I began to hold my peace and to think for myself.

The greater number of my youthful reminiscences are of much the same kind. Of the many subjects that went to make up the course of my studies, those which related to cosmographical matters, the position of the earth, the mechanism of the seasons, the action of the sun, were among the most interesting to my mind: and, I may add, those bearing on the phenomena of terrestrial nature—the chrysalis that grows into a butterfly, the fossils with which the soil of those Jurassic regions abounds. Often at early morning in winter, before the sun rose, I have sketched the outline of Mont Blanc, which towered in the distance, while dreaming of the curve of the terrestrial globe and the dimensions of our world. The hills of the Haute-Marne, its elevated promontories that shoot up almost vertically from the extensive surrounding plains, may be looked upon as so many observatories. From their summits the eye often soars above a lower sheet of clouds, that looks like an ocean of drifted snow. It often happens also that the sidereal heavens are so clear and transparent that the gazer seems drawn upwards nearer to the stars. Thought soars over the surface of the whole broad world.

The aptitudes with which one may be endowed at birth find here a wide field and full scope for their development. It is nature herself that here addresses us. The prospects are ample and imposing, the hills graceful and verdant, the meadows richly clad; streams gurgle, birds warble, insects hum, and everything speaks of life—actual life, and also life ancient and perpetual. You cannot take up a stone, so to speak, but it contains a trace of some petrified animal.

The thought is strong within me, therefore, that I have always been in the same frame of mind wherein I am to-day.

At fourteen, when my classical studies were about terminated, my family went to live in Paris. At that age I was an omnivorous reader of works bearing more especially on natural history and astronomy. In my fifteenth year I was, above all, taken up with cosmographical questions, and wrote a big book on the origin of the world—a volume naturally incomplete and of little value,

which luckily never met with a publisher, but which eventually took the form of a work of mine entitled "The World Before the Creation of Man."

A happy concourse of circumstances led me, when in my sixteenth year, to enter the Paris Observatory. I was introduced to Le Verrier by Father Babinet, as he was familiarly called, and received as an assistant astronomer at that institution. I was passionately fond of astronomy. But having read Arago's scientific treatises, especially the one which refers to Bailly, who fell a victim to revolutionary fury, I had some misgivings as to whether I should consecrate myself definitely to so austere a vocation. My hesitation will be readily understood if the picture Arago has drawn of the young astronomer is placed before the reader. Here it is:

"The modern astronomer, who is really worthy the name, must renounce the pleasure of society and even the comfort afforded by a few hours of uninterrupted sleep. In climates like ours, during the severer seasons of the year, the sky is almost always hidden behind a thick curtain of clouds. To verify such or such a point in theory, it is necessary to watch for the slightest opening and turn it at once to account, under penalty of putting off for hundreds of years any such verification. A favorable wind dispels the vapors in the direction where, for the space of a few seconds only, some important phenomenon is about to take place. The astronomer, exposed to every inclemency of the air,—a condition best calculated to insure accuracy,—his body painfully bent, directs with all possible diligence the eye-piece of a telescope with graduated scale on the star impatiently awaited. The lines of reference are mere gossamers. If, in adjusting the instrument, he blunders by one-half the thickness of one of those lines, the observation will be null and void. Judge of his anxiety: at the critical moment a breath of wind causes the artificial light fixed upon the telescope to vibrate, so that the lines become almost invisible. The star itself, whose rays reach the eye through atmospheric strata of variable density, temperature, and refracting media, appears strongly to oscillate, so that its real position can scarcely be determined at a moment when extreme clearness in the image is indispensable to insure precision in the measurements; everything becomes confused, either because the eye-glass gets covered with vapor, or because the near approach of some very cold metal induces an abundant secretion of tears in the eye next to the telescope; the wretched observer is thereupon exposed to one of two alternatives: either he must leave to others more lucky the authentication of a phenomenon which may never once again occur during his lifetime, or introduce into science results the correctness of which is problematical. Finally, to complete the observation, he must consult the microscopic divisions of a graduated circle, when the *strained* vision, which in some superinduces blindness, must take the place of what opticians call the *indolent* vision, the only one that the ancients needed.

"No sooner has he escaped from this moral and physical torture than the astronomer, if he wishes to know how useful his labors may have proved, is obliged to launch into numerical reckonings of repulsive minutiæ and length. Certain calculations need a whole day's work to compare them with the tables."

In presence of such a picture one may well have cause to hesitate. M. Pasteur, whom I visited at the Normal School, advised me to enter the Museum, as natural history shared with astron-

omy my best predilections. The Observatory, however, won the day, and I am delighted that it did. That imposing edifice, to my eyes, was a temple. I venerated its noble traditions. I had for the author of the discovery of Neptune an unfeigned admiration, and was proud to be admitted to work under his shadow.

Such, then, is the way I became an astronomer; or, rather, as it seems to me I have always had the same tastes, this is the way my astronomical career was decided.

Since then, however, I have found out that the ideas I had formed about astronomy and astronomers do not exactly correspond with stern reality. I noted in the temple many petty jealousies, narrow-minded ambitions, some good calculators, but very little enthusiasm for the sky, and not a particle of poetic sentiment. Several among them looked upon the science much in the same manner as if they had to make a piece of furniture or a pair of shoes. It is only fair to add that the pursuit of pure mathematics dries up every surrounding object like a fruitless blast, and that the era of physical astronomy had scarcely then reached its dawn. Within the last quarter of a century our sublime science has been wholly transformed. Instead of watching inert masses in motion through the void of space, the study of the universe as related to the physical constitution of the different worlds, the evolutions of the stars and of life, has taken its place. It is a signal advance over the old school, and may be looked upon as likely to prove the grandest feature of astronomical science in the near future.

CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

A PLEA FOR COPYRIGHT.

BY COUNT ÉMILE DE KÉRATRY.

For many years France has anxiously awaited from the United States an act of reparation. It is impossible to understand on the other side of the ocean how the United States can persist in a system which is unfortunate for the probity of the country, as well as for the development of its literature. It is evident that as long as counterfeiting French works, whether artistic, literary, or otherwise, is authorized, national genius in this country can only develop with the utmost difficulty, owing to the evident fact that American publishers naturally hesitate to pay native authors large amounts when they are able to obtain the works of foreign authors for nothing. Consequently, from the point of view of the United States, there are two questions: first, that of the probity of the nation, which ought not to be subject to the shadow of doubt; second, the protection which a government essentially protectionist should not refuse to its own authors.

If we now regard the matter from the French point of view, we are forced to state that the authors, editors, and artists of France have reached the utmost verge of patient endurance. It is impossible for them to understand how the revised statutes of the United States, with the amendments of 1870 and 1885 relating to copyright, can authorize the plunder of foreign authors by domestic publishers without requiring some just compensation for the authors' labor. The French people are the more justified in being astonished at such a law because, since the superiority of the United States as an inventive nation became manifest, they unhesitatingly united in the Conference of Berne. It was at this time, indeed, that the United States secured protection for itself throughout Europe; although since 1852, under a decree of the Imperial Government of France, American authors, as well as inventors, have been chivalrously accorded in France the same protection as French citizens. The French Government now demands a reciprocity that is but just and fair.

The whole question is *resumed* in this. Governments are responsible for the morality of their people. It is for them to guide their people in the path of honesty and justice toward their neighbors. This duty the United States Government has not discharged in its treatment of the literary property of foreign authors. All departments of the government, indeed, are not equally culpable. The real culprit in this case is the House of Representatives. Many Presidents, and the Senate as well, have more than once recognized the necessity and justice of international copyright; the House alone has prevented any such legislation, at times in consequence of the tyrannical obstruction of a minority. Nor can the House shift the responsibility from itself to the people whom it represents. It cannot be objected that the members are bound to execute a mandatory order; for thus a member would be obliged to obey his constituents, even when their personal interests were in conflict with the good of the nation or the most elementary principles of morality. As an instance of this singular occurrence, although the majority of the House were in favor of the Chace bill, the tyrannical obstruction of one single member was sufficient to annihilate all hopes which had been built upon this bill. In a speech which the present Speaker, Mr. Reed, delivered in Maine this year, foreseeing his elevation to that dignity, he stated that he intended to do everything in his power to bring about a revision of the rules, which have hitherto allowed filibustering and obstructionist tactics. The moment now appears opportune to curtail the enormous privilege which the minority has arrogated to itself. It should not be sufficient that, because some districts object to copyright, the more intelligent, educated, and experienced representatives of other districts and States should be subjected to the perpetual affront of being obliged to see their own interests at home injured, as well as their good name for probity misunderstood and condemned abroad.

Aside from the question of interest and their good name, another point from which the United States suffers is that the extreme cheapness of foreign works, owing to the fact that publishers pay no rights to foreign authors, is most prejudicial to the morality of the lower classes. For the editors and publishers of second- or third-rate order seek rather the number than the quality of readers, having no desire to furnish them with sound, healthy literature, but, on the contrary, with fantastic and im-

moral books, which appeal to their morbid tastes. The editors and publishers of good position and standing, however, have recognized and appreciated this fact; they have appreciated the seriousness of the danger, and as good citizens they realize that the intellectual and moral interests of the people are to a certain extent under their charge, as the educators of the nation; and they have devoted their chief care to republishing the best works of the most famous and esteemed foreign authors.

They have recently given striking evidence of the sincerity of their sentiments by assembling for the first time, as Mr. Coudert facetiously observed at the recent banquet offered to me, with the author's legendary hostility laid aside, joining in and adhering to the unanimous wish expressed for an international copyright.

I do not desire to enter into any discussion concerning the principles or theories of the Democratic or Republican party; for the question of international copyright is the most non-partisan question of all. If such a law shall be passed by the Senate and House, each party will be equally entitled to the honor and credit of the measure. National industry will profit thereby; for the number of French authors who wish to be read in the United States will be very much increased; editions therefore will be more numerous. All industries which unite in the making of a book will equally profit thereby. American authors will profit in two ways by this new legislation. In the first place, they will have many more readers in their own country; they will be better paid by publishers; and French editors and publishers, who even now pay for translations of American works, will seek to augment their own interests by extending and multiplying translations of American works throughout France.

America, whether North or South, has remained outside the literary union existing throughout Europe. It is very certain that, as soon as the Congress of the United States enacts an international-copyright law, the republics of Central and South America will follow suit. The true method for the United States, in order to place itself in union with Europe, would be to imitate what President Cleveland, with the advice and consent of the Senate, has already done in regard to industrial property, when he took the initiative in joining in the Conference of Berne. That is to say, it should adhere, through President Harrison, to the Conference of Berne in regard to literary matters; for there is a

close analogy between patents and literary and artistic works. This is well established in the Constitution, where protection is granted in the same phrase to authors and inventors. The invention for which the inventor takes out a patent is the child of books which have stored up and communicated science and acquired experience.

It is difficult to understand that the American people protect the child by legislation, but rob the parent of every sort of protection. We will not be unjust enough to believe that the only reason for protecting the child is that it earns dollars, its acknowledged superiority in industrial and scientific pursuits being recognized in Europe. If the selfish opinion really existed in the United States, France would be fully justified in desisting from its chivalrous course, very much as a modern Don Quixote. She would, indeed, be guilty toward her own citizens by not defending French letters and arts as the United States defends engineers and inventors. Mr. Bell and Mr. Edison feel no more pleasure in handling French bank-notes than we would feel in deriving some advantange from the numerous representations of "The Drum Major" and other works of Offenbach, Lecocq, etc. For their eyes the color of gold is exactly the same as it is to inventors. It is well, this being understood, to express to American legislators the conviction that, if the condition of affairs which not only hurts the purse of the French author, but which also injures and mutilates his works with translations and adaptations, still continues, owing to bad faith and unscrupulousness in some parts of the West, French legislators will not delay in making reprisals by withdrawing from their industrial conventions that protect American patents, which would thus become public property. The copyright guaranteeing literary works is at least deserving of as much regard as a patent covering an invention.

It seemed proper to me to offer to the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW these few observations, and I feel more encouraged since the educated and literary elements of the American nation have recently affirmed that the consciences of France and the United States were entirely in union on this important question of artistic and literary right. These few lines could, I think, be signed equally well by Mr. Appleton or Mr. James Russell Lowell as by myself.

E. DE KÉRATRY.

WOMEN'S VIEWS OF DIVORCE.

BY MARY A. LIVERMORE, AMELIA E. BARR, ROSE TERRY COOKE, ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS, AND JENNIE JUNE.

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1. It is the very highest function of man and woman to raise and train a family. Indeed, civilization has put this end in view—the perpetuation and improvement of the race. The establishment of homes, the rearing of families, the founding of schools and colleges, the planting of institutions, the maintaining of governments, all are but means to this end. Marriage therefore, being necessary to the existence of the family, is the most important and the most sacred institution known to humanity. It is older than the state, and ranks higher in importance, for the home makes the everlasting granite on which civil government rests, and is stable and righteous in proportion as homes are permanent and pure. When we arraign the public life as corrupt and low in moral tone, we are making sad confession of the corruption of the private life and of the low moral standard of the home. And to reform the public life, the purification must begin at the hearth-stone.

The highest ideal of marriage is likely, other things being equal, to eventuate in the highest type of family, and the best thing that can happen to any human being is to be well born. A true marriage is the union of one man with one woman, both of whom are normally developed, mentally, morally, and physically,

Note.—The questions submitted as a basis for the discussion on Divorce, which was begun in The Review for November, are referred to by some of the contributors to the present instalment. They are as follows :

1. Do you believe in the principle of divorce under any circumstances ?
2. Ought divorced people to be allowed to marry under any circumstances ?
3. What is the effect of divorce on the integrity of the family ?
4. Does the absolute prohibition of divorce where it exists contribute to the moral purity of society ?—Ed.

of suitable age and similar convictions, who are drawn to each other by mutual respect and love. The attraction of each to the other is so strong that it unifies their differing tastes and temperaments, and makes their happiness consist in mutual helpfulness. It renders concession and forbearance an ever-fresh delight to both, divides sorrow, doubles pleasure, and creates an Elysium for "the twain made one" that is found nowhere else on earth.

Now, whatever impairs the integrity of marriage is not only at war with its primary intention, the proper rearing of a family, but it demoralizes both the contracting parties. There always resides in the highest ideal of marriage the purpose of permanency. But there are crimes committed by the married which defeat the ends of marriage, and render continuance of wedded life intolerable, if not impossible, to one or both of the parties. These are marital infidelity, drunkenness contracted after marriage, cruelty, desertion, conviction for felony or infamous crime, and, in the case of the husband, failure to provide for the family, when the cause of his poverty is not the result of physical inability, or when it might have been avoided by ordinary industry. These violate the solemn contract of the wedded couple, made in the presence of a clergyman, or magistrate, and witnesses, which publicly ratified their previous private betrothal.

It is at variance with the best interests of society, and lowers the ideal of marriage, for such persons to be compelled to live in marital relations. If divorce is obtained because of such offences, it may, indeed, break up the home; but far better so than to perpetrate a greater wrong. No woman has a moral right to become the mother of children when the father is licentious, drunken, and cruel. For this perpetuates the brutishness and woe of the race, and gives an extension of time to evils that humanity should outgrow. Unthinking as to their cause, it has appealed to Heaven for relief, throwing itself in despair

> "on the world's great altar-stairs
> That slope thro' darkness up to God."

We are learning to-day that relief can only come from obedience to the laws of being, physical, mental, and moral, from a higher ideal of marriage, from nobler conditions of parentage. It is the very sin of sins to invoke the gift of little children into homes foul with corruption, where drunkenness gibbers, lust poisons, brutality deals murderous blows, and hate has usurped the place

of love. If any law made by man should seem to command it, by prohibiting divorce under any circumstances, we may be sure it would be in contravention of the divine law, and be better "honored in the breach than in the observance."

2. Is there any just reason why the innocent divorced party should be forbidden to remarry? Should the law punish an innocent person for another's guilt? Why not go a step further, if the blameless divorced party is to be punished by prohibition of remarriage, and visit the same penalty alike on the husband and wife for every crime that either commits, regardless of the innocence of either? Why not imprison both when one steals, and hang both when one commits murder?

It becomes a different question when it is proposed to abolish all restrictions on the guilty divorced party, and to allow remarriage at pleasure, which is permitted in some States. In many cases it would result in a repetition of the same offence against the laws of wedlock, and a second divorce would ensue, and so on *ad libitum*. And there have been other instances where, either from the awakening of nobler impulses, or from an acquired mastery over appetite and passion, or because of the influence of a stronger moral nature, one who has grievously sinned in one marriage has nobly retrieved the past in a second, and henceforth has led a spotless and upright life. If not punishment alone, but reformation, be sought by the law, it can sometimes be obtained by giving to the offender an opportunity to reinstate himself in honest wedlock and in legal domestic life. To prohibit remarriage absolutely is to open the door to immoral living.

As any such prohibition must remain a dead-letter at present, since there are States where any divorced persons can remarry at will, whether innocent or guilty, I have thought well of the legal provisions of those States that leave the future marital rights of divorced parties with the court granting the divorce. In Alabama the court decides whether the guilty party shall marry again. In Maryland the court may prohibit remarriage to the guilty party during the lifetime of the innocent party, if there is good and sufficient reason. In Virginia the court may use its discretion in prohibiting the remarriage of the guilty party; and so on. While the laws of the various commonwealths of the Union are so inharmonious and conflicting on the divorce question, it seems wiser to leave the future of guilty divorced parties in the

hands of the court, provided always that the court be of the highest authority, incorruptible in character, humane in spirit, and so unimpeachable in wisdom and morality as to give it fitness for arriving at righteous decisions in these perplexing cases.

3. The present fatal facility of divorce is undoubtedly menacing the home, disintegrating the family, and endangering the welfare of society. For divorce is granted to-day for the most trivial causes; it can be obtained by collusion, fraud, and with absolute secrecy, non-residents receiving no notice of the suit brought against them in another State, and sometimes finding themselves divorced before they had even suspected that such a measure was in contemplation. The causes justifying the State in decreeing the sundering of the marriage-tie should be reduced to a minimum; there should be an entire absence of the present indecent haste in granting divorces, but, instead, the utmost deliberation; every divorce case should be made public; and my own predilection is in favor of granting "total divorce" only by the verdict of a jury trial.

If these precautions were observed, they would immediately diminish the frightful number of divorces. Whenever it shall be established that divorce is *primâ-facie* evidence of the guilt of one of the wedded parties, and the utmost publicity is given to the proceedings, that society may judge for itself, the integrity of the family will be maintained, and not injured, by divorce. One of its safeguards, which modern recklessness has removed, will be restored. It will be seen that husband and wife must conquer the incompatibilities of their domestic life, since occasional misunderstandings, differences of opinion, and vagrant desires cannot be made the ground for an easy disruption of the matrimonial tie. Out of this self-denial and self-discipline there frequently comes the largest blessedness of married people. Habitual self-control, which is essential to happiness in every relation, becomes the law of their lives. Passion dies out, and from its ashes there springs the divine mutual love which is the antetype and vestibule of the marriage that shall be immortal.

4. An absolute prohibition of divorce cannot legislate appetite and passion out of existence. They survive, rampant and fierce, and will defeat the end in view if church and state forbid divorce entirely, in the supposed interest of morality. The greatest grossness of life is permitted to men in many

European countries where divorce is difficult, and for their criminal pleasure houses of vice are regulated and protected by law. The very small number of divorces on record in such countries is, therefore, no proof that they have a higher standard of moral purity than prevails among those people who allow a greater frequency of divorce. South Carolina is the only State of the Union that has not provided by law for the dissolution of marriage. If there is, therefore, a higher ideal of moral purity prevailing in that State than among her sister-commonwealths, where divorce for some causes is legal, there has come over its society a most happy change since the long-gone years when I had some personal knowledge of its social status.

Now, what would I propose as a practical measure of divorce reform? In later years I have come to think more of the prevention than of the cure of evils. If statesmen, rather than politicians, legislated for society, legal marriage would be made more difficult and divorce less easy. At the time of my own marriage in my native city, Boston, about forty-five years ago, there was a legal requirement that all marriages should be published on a bulletin-board in the office of the city clerk during "three successive public days." These might be three successive Sundays, or a Fast or Thanksgiving day, or other holiday, with two Sundays. It usually happened, however, that the proposed marriage was placarded on the bulletin-board for two weeks. People passing and repassing constantly dropped into the vestibule of the office, where the bulletin-board was suspended, and scrutinized the advertisements. In two instances, to my knowledge, this publicity prevented marriages that would have proved disastrous. That precaution has been removed, and it is only necessary in Massachusetts that a "license" from the city or town clerk shall be presented when the parties to be legally married appear before the minister or magistrate. In many States no license is required, and a marriage may be rushed through with a bridegroom at the age of fourteen and a bride of twelve. Easy, secret, and rapid divorce follows legitimately in the wake of such unions.

A low tone pervades society at the present time in reference to marriage. It is urged upon both men and women as a means of obtaining a living, and the self-indulgent young man who is on the hunt for a marriageable heiress, that he may live without effort, is almost as common to-day as the luxurious girl who de-

clares her purpose to marry only a rich man—"a great catch" —without regard to age, character, intelligence, or compatibility. Marriages are made for convenience, position, policy, and for almost every other conceivable purpose. No dream of love hallows them, no thought of noble living dignifies them, no vision of little children, whose "infancy is a perpetual Messiah," enters the heart or the wretched home.

As I passed one of the gentlemen's elegant club-houses to be found now-a-days in all cities, my companion, one of the most cultured and travelled men of the community, said: "Here is one of the menaces of the home, and of the family, developed by modern society. And the untrammelled life which it is possible for men to live in these club-houses is not favorable to the highest elevation of men, to happy marriage, to the rearing of a noble family, or to the well-being of society." If it be said in reply that women have also their club-houses, where they have equal retiracy and freedom from restraint, it can easily be shown to be otherwise. In the women's club-*rooms*—not a *house*—there is never a bar, nor a restaurant, nor apartments for smoking or card-playing. They are consecrated to serious pursuits, to reading, study, listening to lectures, and devising ways and means for intellectual, philanthropic, and reformatory work, and they are rarely tenanted after daylight.

The question of marriage and divorce laws, and their reformation, is one in which women are vitally interested, for they are generally the deepest sufferers from the laws' immoral and unequal action, and for them there is the least redress. Whatever legislation may be undertaken, whether by concerted State action or through a national constitutional amendment, concerns both sexes equally, and both should have equal influence in directing it. Very many of the evils that have sprung up in the marriage relation have originated in the fact that one sex has been the sole dictator of laws which concern both equally. Men have made the laws of marriage and divorce, and women have never been consulted as to their wisdom, or their adaptability to women's own circumstances, or their approval of them.

The husband has legal control of the person of the wife; her services belong to him, and have no money value. She is expected to work for food, shelter, and clothing, and is thus made a pauperized dependent on her husband. Whatever gains accrue from

her unpaid labor become his property. If she has leisure and ability to engage in money-making employments after performing the household labor, many of the States of the Union give her earnings also to the husband. Four women of prominence in literary and professional life, whose names would be familiar to most of my readers, have been compelled to apply to the courts for protection against the husbands who would have robbed them of their earnings, while they were charged with the maintenance and education of the children. The impecunious condition of wives, not alone among those whose husbands are men of small incomes, but among many whose means are ample, is one of the most fruitful sources of restlessness and unhappiness in married life, and is one of the underlying causes of frequent divorce.

Only six of the United States allow the married mother to be an equal owner and guardian of the minor children with their father. In all other States the father is their sole owner and guardian. If the mother has no ownership in her little children, whom she wins in the valley of death, at the risk of her own life, she is, indeed, pauperized, most abject, most wretched. Ah, if men were not, in most instances, better than the laws they have made for women, this world would be Pandemonium itself! A wife and mother should always be mistress of herself, and never the slave of another, not even when that other is her husband and the slavery is founded on her undying love. That robs her of half her value. "Give your child to be educated by a slave," said the old Greek, "and instead of one slave, you will then have two."

There should be legal equality established between the husband and the wife, equal ownership of the family property, equal guardianship of the minor children. For more than a quarter of a century I have been so situated that I have been the recipient of the confidences of wives and mothers to a very large extent. If I should publish the sad stories of injustice, wrong, and outrage of which they have been the silent victims, perpetrated under cover of laws made by men for the government of both sexes in married life, and by husbands who intend to be in the main fair and just, I would startle the community.

"No ordinary man," said John Stuart Mill, years ago, "is willing to find at his fireside an equal in the person he calls his wife." Have we outgrown the narrowness of the day when these words were penned? Are men now just enough to counsel with

women in formulating a code of laws that shall bear equally on husband and wife? Are they prepared to convert into living verity the axiom of our great Bill of Rights, which declares that "all just governments derive their power from the consent of the governed"? Then, indeed, is a better day about to dawn on the world—"a statelier Eden will come again to man." If not, then the reformation of our laws of marriage and divorce must tarry yet longer for the tardy advent of the day when man will see in woman his other half, equal but diverse, who will be his best helper and his divinest friend, when he elevates her to the same plane of equality with himself, and forbids her to be fettered even by a gossamer.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

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1. DIVORCE is a subject in which every one is concerned, and about which every one has something to say; the very last subject that can be treated dogmatically, for the wisest and best thinkers differ widely on it, both in its religious and social aspects. Personally asked if I believe in the principle of divorce under any circumstances, I answer, Yes, just as I believe that, if a limb is diseased, it is better to cut it off, and go halt through life, than lose life altogether. Second-bests are the materials out of which patient, cheerful souls make noble lives. I believe in divorce because, when a mistake of any kind is made, it is our manifest duty either to endeavor to rectify it or to spring out of its shadow. An unhappy marriage is the great mistake, the most pathetic of all mistakes, and one can hardly help some reproach upon Fate for setting men and women to choose their destiny while blindfolded by love or passion, and then punishing them for choosing wrong. But when mistakes are made, why give permanency to wrong and finality to suffering? The irrevocable contains no element of reformation. It is a hell without any new principles of action, without hope, and without energy.

If a great problem of the nineteenth century could be decided by an allusion to Moses, or Matthew, or St. Paul, any discussion on the matter would be idle and profane talking. But if the laws of Moses are binding between man and wife, why not between parents and children, buyer and seller, master and servant? What right, indeed, have we for abrogating any of the social enactments contained in Leviticus and elsewhere in the

Mosaic writings? Unfortunately, these old laws of Moses are generally brought forward to sanction some great wrong. The church has gone back to them for authority to burn witches, buy and sell slaves, collect tithes, etc. They are the Magna Charta of sacerdotal cruelty.

It is a long step from Sinai to Bethlehem, but Christ in Matthew xix., 6, is usually regarded as indorsing the opinions of Moses—"what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." These words contain a great truth, acceptable to every heart and every condition. What *God* joins together no man can put asunder. Such unions are perfect; the partners in them never dream of divorce. Poverty, sorrow, care, shame, helplessness, only draw the bond tighter. They go to the grave together, and with a noble constancy look across the grave to an immortal companionship. A moment of time is sufficient for this real bond; for no material fact is more positive than the fact of a love instantaneous in its apparent origin and immortal in its aspirations. This spiritual marriage delights to ratify itself by some public ceremony, and the more solemnly-binding it is, the more typical of that never-ending union which both so ardently desire. Such God-made marriage no man has the power to sunder. But when the lust of the flesh, or the lust of the eye, or the pride of life joins men and women together, the putting-asunder is an easy matter. There is no divinity at such marriage-feasts. Satiety, hatred, cruelty—at the best, indifference—follow hard after the bridal footsteps.

I am far from thinking that in all such cases divorce is a proper remedy. The highest discipline of life makes us suffer for our mistakes as well as for our crimes; and habit and patience are great reconcilers to what is not easily changed. Many a pinching shoe has been borne, and worn, until it became an easy and perfect fit. Then, also, if women knowingly marry drunken and brutal men, and men knowingly marry silly women,—unless there follow some flagrant cruelty,—they have no more right to cry for release than the suicide has to expect that some good life shall be put in peril for his rescue. They ought to bear in silence and dignity the evil they have called unto themselves. The cases in which divorce is the proper remedy need no specifying. Their title to consideration lies in the magnitude and heinousness of wrongs which cannot be hid, and whose

redress is to be accomplished by any means within the power of law.

When God joins men and women together, the definition of marriage indicated by the Episcopal Church in their last General Convention is conceivable :* "Marriage is not merely a civil contract, but a spiritual and supernatural union, requiring for its mutual obligation a supernatural, divine grace." Many will accept this saying who will not understand "that such grace is only imparted in the sacrament of matrimony, which is a true sacrament and does actually confer grace." For if this be true, does God confer this special grace on marriages made for gold or lust, on marriages having their origin in guilty passion, or brought about by great crimes ? If it is inherent in the ceremony, why is it not sufficient to prevent the wrongs that breed divorce ? Is this "supernatural, divine grace" imparted in civil marriages?— for many of these marriages are evidently very happy ones. If not, surely the civil law has the power to annul a contract it had the power to make. Again, if this special grace is only given in some marriages, and withheld in others, who makes the distinction ? Or is the distinction not made, but the grace left to take its chance ? These questions arise naturally out of the theological statement. Regarding the rite of marriage, a latent Catholicism underlies both the Anglican and American Episcopal Church ; but at the Reformation, Luther, for the German church, boldly declared marriage to be a civil contract, dissoluble like any other civil contract. However the marriage be made, the purposes for which the condition exists are well ascertained, and if these purposes are not fulfilled, or if they are made vehicles for outrage and crime, then it is neither right nor rational for society to maintain a relation so evidently immoral.

2. If it be just in some cases to grant divorce, then the question follows, "Ought divorced persons to be allowed to marry under any circumstances ?" The granting of divorce ought also to confer perfect freedom. The exception usually made in the case of fornication is really the strongest plea for this freedom. If the woman is the conjugal sinner, divorce without permission to marry puts her in the power of her seducer. He may say to her : "I am sorry the law forbids me to do you the justice I wish, but as it is, we must make the best of a bad business." Now, it is

* Appendix XIII. of the "Journal" of that convention.

a part of our conventional law of honor that a man shall marry the woman whom he has lured from her husband and home. It is the only compensation he can make her, and even selfish and wicked men are acted upon by public opinion, and yield in some measure to this social necessity. But if remarriage is forbidden, a calculating villain will find in the prohibition an incentive to crime.

In a woman adultery is rarely a calculating offence. It is said, "The woman who deliberates is lost." The truth is, women are lost because they do not deliberate. Thackeray had the profoundest insight into a woman's heart when he made the miserable wife of Barnes Newcome leave her husband and home in an hour when she had no such intention. Cruelly tempted, perplexed and bewildered, when passion is stronger than reason, women do not think of consequences, but go, blindfold, headlong to their ruin. Are such women likely to be kept moral by any legal enactment? As well try to deter or encourage them by the laws of gravitation. Prohibition never yet prevented crime: of what value is it, then, as a punishment?

And supposing that the woman is the innocent party, what right has the law to add injustice to injury, to condemn her to spend her life in solitude, finding the bread and bearing the burdens some other would gladly find and bear for her? Could the law set a good women in a position more beset by grievous temptations? Alimony is never a sufficient right for a wronged woman; the guilty husband may betake himself to a foreign country, or otherwise evade it, for a husband who has deserted a wife in person will easily desert her in purse. Most women would consider heartless, deliberate, continued desertion a far worse crime than one committed in a moment of passion. And denying remarriage to a deserter would not check desertion. It may be fairly assumed that a man who would desert his wife would not hesitate to commit bigamy. Besides, if the prohibition to remarry be regarded as punitive, the unfaithful wife is not the sinner above all others. Women who are chaste beyond doubt are often very, very bad wives. Keeping the Seventh Command intact, they yet ruin and disgrace their husbands irretrievably. They may be drunkards or brawlers or thieves. They may be corrupters of their children. They may make their homes hells. Insanity is the only cause for divorce which should be coupled

with prohibition to remarry. For what right have we to deny to the unfortunate, or even to the guilty, that opportunity for consolation or redemption which the very continuance of their existence makes a divinely-granted right?

It may be said that a sinful man or woman should not be permitted to marry his or her paramour and live happily ever afterwards; that such leniency is a premium on adultery. Not at all. Half the misery of life is included in "too late." Such marriages are too late to avoid many a bitter drop, many an unendurable memory, many a fearful looking-forward. The severest moralist need not fear,

> "For 'tis the eternal law that, where sin is,
> Sorrow shall answer it."

3. What is the effect of divorce on the integrity of the family? It is disintegrating. It is disastrous. The home is no longer sacred; the world has made a thoroughfare through it. Its effect upon the family is so evil that this cause alone may be depended upon to restrain divorce. For the paternal and the maternal love does not die with the conjugal love. A father and mother who would not fear the disabilities of divorce for themselves will bear a great deal ere they cast its stigma upon their sons and daughters. Yet when a family has come to a point where its heads are at two, where love is dead, and dislike or indifference brings forth ill words and ill deeds, divorce—so far as the family is concerned—has already taken place. It is even highly probable that the children will find in the dissolution of a wretched condition some influence more favorable to their happiness and development. Nothing, at any rate, can be worse for them than a situation in which they must either become passionate partisans or else practise a constant indifference and a public deception. There are many cases in which divorce is the only cure for the existing moral depravement of the children.

4. As to whether the absolute prohibition of divorce contributes to the purity of society, I have no data on which to base an opinion. But, as a rule, neither individuals nor communities are rendered moral by legal enactments. The immoralities which make divorce necessary exist whether divorce exists or not, and ignoring an evil does not annihilate it. There is a perverse element in human nature which makes people seldom inclined to do what they can do, and this element may be relied upon in some measure as a

restraining one. The love of home, the welfare of the family, the fear of a still worse future, the natural clinging of a mother to the father of her children, and, above all, the helpless position of a woman in a divorce court, standing passive while her honor is dragged in the public highways, makes divorce a weapon in a woman's hand she will ever be loath to use. Also, no man can publicly expose his wife without some conventional disgrace to himself, even if he can come into court—which is very unlikely—with his own hands clean.

One great menace to public morality from divorce is, however, quite within control—the suppression of all newspaper reporting in such trials. In France there is a penalty of 20,000 francs for publishing the revolting details in a divorce case. In New York they are the Sunday literature of the masses. But the suppression of divorce itself would no more tend to the moral health of the nation than the driving-in of an eruptive disease would tend to the physical health of the individual.

Certainly the remedy proposed by the Episcopal General Convention—"that severe penalties should be inflicted by the state, on the demand of the church, for the suppression of all offences against the Seventh Commandment and sundry other parts of the Mosaic legislation"—is one which would meet with the unanimous opposition of all kinds and conditions of men "out of orders." It is a proposition smacking of the Dark Ages, of Laud and the Mathers, and would open the door for a priestly intolerance which every man and woman would feel it a delight and a duty to oppose. The day for the church to dictate, and the state to enforce its dictates, is centuries behind our civilization. There would not be civil power enough in any state to enforce "severe penalties" of priestly demanding. But if such power was given to the Episcopal Church, it could not be denied to the Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, etc. Besides, what special claim has the Seventh Command above all others? If it could ever be right to surround one command with "severe penalties" from the church, she must have an equal right to protect the other nine in the same manner. And this legitimate result of the Episcopal General Convention's proposition is too absurd to be entertained seriously for one moment. It would convert our glorious Republic into the narrowest theocracy. The church had marriage in its jurisdiction for centuries; it had the support of

the state; and what it could not do in ages of credulity it is not likely to do when individual opinions fear neither church canons nor popular superstitions.

The strengthening of the marriage-tie and the decadence of divorce lie with the fathers and mothers of this and succeeding generations. Not by an accident was the Fifth Commandment placed in the van of all the commands regulating our social life. If parents will rear good sons and daughters, there will certainly be good husbands and wives, happy homes, and peaceful and honorable old age. For it is one of the worst attributes of divorce that it not only defrauds youth of its happiness, but robs old age of its respect and comfort.

Unfortunately, however, even when we have determined the evils of the condition, and perceived, though dimly, what is necessary to its reformation, we are forced irresistibly upon the conclusion that between miserable marriage and divorce there is only a choice of evils.

AMELIA E. BARR.

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1. I BELIEVE in divorce as a right and needful thing only under one circumstance. It has been, and still is after a long life, my fixed opinion that in all the affairs of this world, as well as the next, the Scriptures are the only infallible guide. In the Bible are to be found a knowledge of humanity and a profound exposition of its needs and their remedies that are adapted to every human emergency. It seems, no doubt, strange to modern culture and absurd to modern infidelity that he who made man should understand better what is for his creature's best good than man himself; but all men accept the mathematical axiom that "the whole is greater than its part": why should they deny that the same maxim holds good in ethics? And in referring to this authority we find no uncertain sound, no vague law, concerning divorce. Over and again it is declared that this is not permissible except for one reason—the infidelity to the marriage-vow, in its most personal clause, of either husband or wife.

And how rational such a law is! Were divorce permitted for drunkenness, insanity, poverty, incompatibility of temper, where would be the self-denial, the patience, the kindly daily deeds, that marriage in its highest sense produces and fosters? No ordi-

nance of God is meant to be for the mere pleasure or self-indulgence of humanity, but for an education into the divine life.

> "Love was given,
> Acknowledged, sanctioned, chiefly to this end,
> That self might be annulled."

We are not beasts of the field, left to the undisturbed indulgence of our instincts and the sole purpose of doing our own will and following our own devices. We are the children of God, and however we deny or disgrace our birthright, I believe the most degraded sinner, the most vociferant infidel, has within him at times a conscious spark of the accountable soul that he must answer for to its Giver.

But for the sin which is also a shame and an insult to the innocent party in this sacred contract there is no reason for endurance or condonation. No pure and true woman, no clear-minded, honorable man, could wish to live in such relation one hour after its discovery. The law of God in this matter is amply justified by the reason and conscience of man. Still, I would have temporary separation allowed by law, and the earnings of either party secured to his or her own use, in cases of persistent drunkenness, personal violence, or insanity; but not absolute and permanent divorce. Such separation would be a sharp lesson and punishment to the offender, and a needful protection to the weak in those cases, also assuring to a helpless family such support as the unoffending parent could supply.

2. Here, again, the Bible answers for me. Christ laid down the law of divorce in words too simple and direct to be misconstrued or evaded; and the human reasons for this law are equally plain. If man or woman can sin against the faith and purity of the marriage relation, and, having broken the tie for that reason, reknot it at pleasure, in what is marriage better than consecutive polygamy? I have myself known of a woman with three living husbands: was she any higher in the scale of morals than the most utter heathen or persistent Mormon?

My own feeling is strong against any remarriage after separation by death. I think to a pure, delicate, faithful woman there can be but one marriage in her life. I think even the remembrance of a past love that once occupied the heart she tries to give to another must always fill her with shame and regret, though that early love may have been frustrated by evil tide or set aside by

death before it became an open tie. I am aware this is an extreme theory, but it is mine, and I believe there are other women who will agree with me. It is also a deep regret in my mind that every Christian church does not regard marriage as a sacrament, as does the Roman hierarchy. I think it is for the good and safety of society that it should be so regarded.

From another point of view, consider what sort of men and women are those who are divorced for Scriptural cause. Impure, perjured, unrestrained by law of God or man, are they fit to reënter that relation from which all society and real civilization spring? Here is almost the only opportunity which the state has to control and regulate the marriage of its citizens, for the laws concerning marriages of minors are too easily and too often evaded to be much more than a dead-letter. And what good woman would marry a man so divorced? What honorable man would offer the respect of his name and the honor of his home to a woman cast off by another man for this reason? Is it sensible or decent that such marriages should be sanctioned by any thoughtful, decent community, even if it were not distinctly forbidden by God?

3. The families of civilization consist of the two heads, husband and wife, and of their children. What, then, is the effect of divorce upon the husband? If his wife repudiates him for the only good reason, what sort of self-respect can be left to him? And with no self-respect, of what value is man or woman? His home is no longer a refuge or a consolation to him; he is separated from his children; he is branded in the eyes of society; for, however successfully he may demand the sympathies of men of his own sort, or however impudently brave the opinion of the public, he knows that in the eyes of the best and purest men and women he is stamped with a stigma of disgrace. It is true he deserves this punishment; but does that make it more endurable or less degrading? Such a position seems to me so dreadful and so pitiable that I would counsel a woman to endure and forgive her husband's sins as long as nature and religious principle allow her to do so, for the sake of trying to rebuild his character and restore to him that self-confidence which, next to divine help, aids men who try to

> "rise on stepping-stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things."

But if divorce for any reason is degrading and demoralizing to a man, what must it be to a woman? For her the whole world has no mercy; there is no forgetfulness of her sin, even if she repent in the bitterness of death; and deeper woe than the world's scorn awaits her, for I believe the worst woman on earth cannot be forever separated from her children without agony sooner or later. In the first whirl of passion she may forget them, but passion flies like a summer tempest and leaves devastation along its track. Her children's sweet, innocent eyes must forever haunt her; their frighted and saddened calls ring forever in her ear; and she will know in the blackness of despair that she has committed woman's unpardonable sin, for which society will allow her no place for repentance, though she seek it carefully and with tears of blood.

There have been men—to the honor of the race be it recorded—who have so nobly loved the weak or wicked women whom they have vowed before God to cherish and protect that they have hidden from the world lapses and entanglements they alone have discovered, and tenderly won back to penitence and peace the strayed souls committed to their charge. These are they whom the world cannot know or honor, but there are women who worship them as saints and saviours only next to him who made such men "just and faithful knights of God."

And for the children—witless, harmless victims—what can atone to them for the mysterious desertion of their father? He is not dead; they may even meet him in the street, seize him, cling to him, and implore his return,—I know of children who have enacted this pathetic and unconscious tragedy,—but he does not come back; the pillar of the house has fallen; but who will tell them why? The shameful knowledge lies in wait for them in a desolated future.

But when the mother goes, worse want ensues; then indeed their home is gone; their hearts are full to overflowing with earth's worst nostalgia; there are no fond kisses for those quivering lips at night; no sleep-songs to lull their wakeful weariness; no soothing of their sharp childish woes, "as one whom his mother comforteth"; no cool, soft hand on the forehead hot with fever or aching with fatigue. Oh! worst of all earth's innumerable losses, no mother! Nor can any tell them the sweet story that she is in heaven awaiting them, or lead them to deck the sleeping-

place of her dear dead body. She is worse than dead : she is divorced !

The family is the unit that is the germ of the state, the seed of civilization : where divorce so rends it and scatters its fragments abroad, can any philosophy, or any stupidity, or the crassest ignorance, deny that divorce destroys and obliterates its integrity ?

4. As far as my knowledge extends there is no country and no church where "absolute prohibition of divorce" exists. The lofty stand-point of the Roman Church permits an absolute separation of the two parties for certain reasons, without power of remarriage ; and it cannot be said that this is not divorce ; it certainly is, in the Scriptural sense. But the average morality of countries where this church is the ruling authority is said to be no higher than that of other countries—a statement that might be explained and modified by the fact that these countries are notably in want of free public schools, and also by the more important fact that sin loses its terrors to the individual under the theory and practice of plenary absolution.

Yet from the stand-point of common-sense it is fair to argue that a procedure which degrades and corrupts the individual must always tend to corrupt and degrade society ; for society is not a unit, but an aggregation of persons whose association affects both the moral and physical status of the concrete mass. It is as true of society as of the church that "whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it."

The frequent and apparently favorite argument that remarriage after divorce should be allowed because otherwise men are driven to immorality is so shamelessly based on the assumption that men are no better than beasts of the field, and can neither dominate their instincts nor control their passions any better than other animals, that with the decent public in general, or the believers in the religion of the Bible, it should have neither respect nor weight.

When men deny their own superiority to brutes, and prefer the gratification of their lowest natures to purity and nobility and the seeking of a spiritual life hereafter, then, indeed, it will be useless and vain to express any other opinions than those of the dog and the cat, and we may relegate our conversation to their sonorous and expressive utterances; but as long as there are those, both

men and women, who "seek a better country, even a heavenly," and see in true earthly marriage a type and illustration of Christ's relation to his church, who consider that it is a single and holy relation, ordained for the good of mankind and as an education for heavenly places, just so long there will be those of either sex who consider divorce disintegrating and demoralizing to the individual, the family, and society at large.

ROSE TERRY COOKE.

I AM asked a simple question which requires a complicated answer. Do I justify the right of divorce? Assuredly. When? When the question is a duel between a wrong and a right; when not to give the right is to commit an undeniable wrong. I justify divorce as I do a surgical operation—then and thus only; when it is the last expedient, the final hope, the desperate venture; when there is nothing else to be done to save the social life.

A man and woman elect to tie themselves together for life, presumably because they cherish each other above all human beings. To say that the causes which practically invalidate this tie are infinite in variety is only to say that human nature exists. To insist that the causes which may legally separate the married should be limited in quantity is only to say that morality is a virtue or frailty a vice. We should go so far as to make this limitation the severest, the most strenuous, that the highest civilization will bear. I cannot believe, in this matter more than in others, in "going under," as the phrase has it, to a compromise with ideal Right. But what is ideal Right?

If a man knocks his wife down, he shatters the marriage-troth as much as if he brought an evil woman to her house. If a woman drinks away the moral nature of her unborn babe, she ceases to be a wife as surely as if she broke the Seventh Commandment. "Infidelity" to the obligations of marriage is a term to which we give a too restricted use. I do not hesitate to say that personal abuse, or felony before the law, or desertion, or habitual drunkenness, or other equivalent (if there be equivalent) offences, may justify divorce as amply as the crime of adultery. But that these offences need to be identified with a legal conscience surpassing any thing yet brought to bear upon our statutes seems to me as much a matter of course as to say that the United States needs a navy. The power to *un*marry—in a state of society

like ours—should be made "a strait and narrow way." We have built it so broadly that "thousands go in thereat." It should be made unenviable, unpopular, unlikely, and the judgment of the people should hedge it about with thorns and barbed wire. It should be made as disgraceful as crime. It should be made as hard as death.

The question whether a divorced person ought to marry again during the lifetime of the first partner is the last in, but it is the poser of the discussion. One gives an opinion on this point perfectly aware that life and time may change it; for one sees that experience modifies or creates opinion easily enough on any subject, but on none more thoroughly than on this. The personal equation affects our morality to an appalling extent; and saintly Stephen Blackpool, looking up out of the pit of death at the pure face of Rachel, in Dickens's story, must have had his own views on divorce before which the comfortable judgment of a happy home ought to confess itself a blind and groping thing. But, so far as I feel qualified to form an opinion upon so tremendous a matter, I must believe that Mr. Gladstone, in this discussion, and Mr. E. J. Phelps, in that of another review, have come nearest to the right of the case when they would deny to the divorced under any circumstances the right of remarriage until death shall give it.

Now, this old question is a threefold one, and ought to run like this: Shall we marry? Shall we unmarry? Shall we remarry? Clearly, it seems to me that the emphasis of the discussion has been put in the wrong place. We should slip it further along the line of interrogative. It is less important to inquire, Do they right to remarry? Were they wrong to unmarry? than to ask, Did they right to *marry?*

I have spoken of the right of divorce as a surgical expedient. Carry on the figure of thought and we may learn a lesson.

The best-instructed physicians know well that there exists to-day a subtle and powerful conflict in the professional world. On the one hand, the tendency of experiment turns terribly to surgery. Everything goes to the operating-table. Disease, like the demon in the New Testament, "coming out, tears him" who is so miserable as to trust his life to the surgical fashion. Tennyson, with the fine eye of poetry for the prevailing facts of science, struck the situation when he wrote of his hospital doctor, who

handled the child "gently enough, but his voice and his face were not kind."

"But they said too of him
He was happier using the knife than in trying to save the limb."

On the other hand, there has intensified the solemn belief in the validity of the healing art. The materia medica is trusted above the butcher's knife. The fine, the delicate, the patient remedy, the prophylactic, or the tonic, or the curative, becomes the material of absorbing study such as the medical world has never known before. The doctrine of mercy, the theory of prevention, rule the medical conscience, and the healer's intellect refines as the sensibility is saved—thus, please Heaven, the patient too.

Divorce, at best, is pure surgery; nothing more nor less; necessary at the extremity, never to be tolerated when the milder measure will save the life.

The truly scientific, and therefore the hopeful, treatment of this social disease must, I believe, consist more and more, and must some time consist entirely, in the preventive, and what we might call attentive, means of cure. What is the use—what *is* the use—in wearing out our brains to invent scalpels and probes, to cut, and sew, and carve, and bury, when a careful course of the right remedy would heal the patient?

In brief, so long as we are allowed to *marry* as we do, what right have we to expect anything else than unmarrying and remarrying to the end of this weak and wicked world?

As our laws stare us in the face, there is no man so drunken, so immoral, so brutal, so cruel, that he may not take to himself the purest, the most refined, the most sensitive of women to wife, if he can get her. There is no woman so paltry, so petty, so vain, so inane, so enfeebled in body and mind by corsets or chloral, flirtation, or worse, that she may not become the wife of an intellectual, honorable man and the mother of his doomed children. There is no pauper who may not wed a pauper and beget paupers to the end of his story. There is no felon returned from his prison, or loose upon society uncondemned, who may not make a base play at wedlock, and perpetuate his diseased soul and body in those of his descendants, without restraint. There is no member of what we call our "respectable classes" who may not, if he choose, make a mock of the awful name of marriage, in sacrilege to which we are so used that we

scarcely lift an eyelid to express surprise or aversion at the sickening variety of the offence.

Where is the law that prevents a titled roué from becoming the husband of a pure American girl? Where is the law that saves a rich woman from the designs of a mercenary spendthrift suitor? Where is what Sophocles called "the unwritten law" that prevents a man and woman who do not love each other supremely, unselfishly, permanently, and we might almost say divinely, from *daring* to take upon themselves the sacred marriage-vow?

Where is the public sentiment which calls a *mariage de convenance* by its true name? Legalized prostitution are two ugly words; but nothing less will fit the case. Where is the drift of high emotion which scorns a loveless marriage as disgraceful, makes a foolish one unpopular, and a wicked one impossible? Give us the public opinion which will make it indelicate for a man to marry for a housekeeper or a woman for a home. Give us the average of judgment which shall stamp it a social blot to marry "for position" and call it a crime to marry for money. Give us the great ideal which shall create the noble fact. Give us such a comprehension of the feeling which ought to draw men and women into the marriage-tie that anything less than almighty love should invalidate marriage as much as the absence of a witness to the oath. Give us such a vision of the purity, the unselfishness, the patience, the tenderness, the loyalty through sorrow and sickness and ill fortune and fading fairness, and the clash of temperaments, which the marriage-bond requires—such a holy power as shall lift us above the social mire toward which our nation is sinking. The sheer force of relentless right ought to hold us up; but the average opinion must form the moral derrick.

Bring to bear upon our worst perplexity our highest opportunity. Make it as nearly impossible as human deficiency allows to *marry* wrong; and we make it all but unnecessary to ask if divorce be right.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

THE question of divorce is so largely one of sentiment with the majority of women, and so blended with their religious beliefs, that it is difficult to reach a simple, honest, unbiassed opinion in

regard to the just relations of the sexes and the influence of these relations upon society at large. That social questions, marriage among the number, have changed their aspects during the past quarter of a century no one will deny. But the tendency is less toward the breaking-up of family life, the disruption of family ties, I think, than appears on the surface. Marriage, as we understand it, is a comparatively recent institution. In the church it has always implied more or less of servitude or unquestioning obedience on the part of the woman. The wisdom of obedience to all men, or to any man under all circumstances, is now doubted by intelligent women; and the sanction of the church has lost much of its sacramental character in the eyes of both men and women.

This has opened the door to marriage as a civil contract, and to freedom of divorce. Side by side with the ease with which divorces may be secured has grown up the belief in individual rights and the pursuit of individual inclination as the highest good. A marriage that at the outset does not fulfil expectation is considered a "mistake"—a mistake that may have serious consequences, and therefore ought to be rectified as quickly as possible. It is forgotten that persons who have made one mistake will be very likely to make another.

But now the question arises, What is a mistake? and who is to suffer its consequences—the one who makes it or society at large? Natural law compels each individual to suffer the results of his or her own acts, even though committed in ignorance of their consequences. This at first sight seems unjust; it would be so if men were born, lived, and died by and for themselves alone. But we learn by what we suffer, and discover our relations to the world about us by the disagreeable aspects which those relations sometimes assume to us. From this point of view there are no such things as mistakes, or, if there are, we are here to make them, and our growth—the good they do us—depends upon the courage and wisdom with which we meet the circumstances they create for us.

Doubtless the most serious "mistake" that can be made, from the popular point of view, is an uncongenial marriage; and if marriage was simply to make two people happy, this would be the true aspect of the case, and the law might well be invoked to release them from unpleasant bonds, and qualify them to try again.

But marriage has a much more serious intention, a much deeper meaning than this—a meaning that the civilized world generally feels and recognizes, and that renders it superior to the wickedness of many legal enactments, and still preserves the married home as the rule and separation as the exception.

Yet it would be hard to say that no exceptions could be allowed, under any stress of circumstance, in cases where such vital interests are involved. But where and how to admit them ?

Not for drunkenness, for the man or woman may reform, and always needs all the help, all the guards, that can be thrown around him or her to keep from falling lower. But it is cruelty to women and children to leave them in the power of drunken husbands and fathers, we are told. So it is ; but it is also cruel to leave women at the mercy of savage, jealous, cruel, selfish, mean men—more dangerous sometimes, more hurtful, more deadly, than to the hapless drunkard, whose appetite is inherited and weakness fostered by a wicked traffic, and by social customs that are as the open door to his destruction. Even crime cannot separate the woman from the man to whom she has given herself, who is the father of her children. She is the link which connects him with a better life ; and her faithfulness, her courage, her devotion, are the best guarantee of his final salvation. For nothing human can finally or forever resist the power of sufficient goodness. It works within us, to will and do its pleasure ; it only seems to fail because there is not enough of it, or because time enough is not given it to take root and bring forth its leaf, blossom, and final fruit.

There is a degree of disloyalty in marriage which leaves the suffering party to the contract no choice but acceptance of the other's treachery and faithlessness. In such cases the law would be justified in stepping in to release one from the semblance of a bond that the other had already broken; but it should only be done in a public and formal manner, upon the expressed and guaranteed desire of both parties, and after ample provision had been made and guaranteed to those who have been forced into a helpless and disadvantageous position.

These are the only circumstances in which it seems as if the question of divorce, or permanent separation, could possibly come in. For marriage is not a mere question of happiness for the individual; it is a question of development, of growth for the race, of the preservation of an equilibrium of forces and qualities, at

the same time that the desire for companionship and the parental instincts are gratified.

It is unscientific and unphilosophical to the last degree to advocate that like should marry like, or that people of the same temper, disposition, and tastes "were intended for each other." If such a principle were carried out, the world would be full of extremes—angels and devils, saints and fiends incarnate, Gogs and Magogs.

It is a wonderfully wise and humane provision that the desire for companionship, parental love, and the care of the helpless are the strongest instincts within us. These exist and are exercised without reference to the qualities or likeness to ourselves of those who call them forth. Love in the heart finds an object upon which to bestow itself, animate or inanimate, according to environment. The poorest creature is happier having something to care for—happier far than in being cared for.

"Don't you think it would be better to leave that worthless husband of yours"? I once asked a poor washerwoman, who had been a respected and well-paid domestic before marrying a drunken, shiftless husband, and who could readily have found a good home and good wages again if she would have left him. "Well, I don't know," she replied; "women must be takin' care of something—don't ye think so?—an' I might as well take care of *him;* nobody else would." But God, I thought, and she is his minister.

It clears up so many things if we put ourselves out of the question, and accept what comes to us as simple duty, as that which is given us to do, and that we are to do as well as we can, with such patience and judgment and ability as we possess. When that is done, there are no regrets, no thought of mistakes: we are only asked to do that which is possible to ourselves.

The grave and eternal responsibilities of marriage may well induce the thoughtful among the young to pause and reflect before incurring them. But once they have done so, there is no turning back; for they are no longer living for themselves; they no longer exist as separate entities; they have formed a combination and become a new product—a part of the eternal and ever-flowing life of the universe—and their business is to find points of agreement in this new life and thus aid in making it harmonious; not reasons for difference, which must always exist in a life

and among people of infinitely-varied ideas, tastes, habits, and capacities.

It is a marvellous thing, taking this fact into consideration, and the individual view that so many feel justified in considering the right one, that more married people, especially the newly-married, do not fly apart, shocked out of their illusions, and unwilling to accept the conditions of wedlock. "Be sure you love him," said an old lady once to an engaged young woman; "it will take all the love you can scare up before you get to where I am." That the majority adjust themselves to this new and previously unknown and untried life is proof of that natural acceptance, that underlying sense of duty, that curious adaptability to circumstances, which are as much a part of us as the readiness of the body to meet the changes in the weather. We can pamper the body till it ceases to exert natural functions and activities, but then we are punished by disease; and we can pervert ideas and indulge selfishness until we are unable to see a straight line of duty, and unwilling to follow it if we did, and then comes trouble for ourselves and others.

Individual rights and individual happiness are not objects of the first consideration in this world—at least not to the individuals themselves. It is not necessary to seek for direct opposition in a wife or husband, true love, based on respect, being the best guide; but if circumstances develop, as they sometimes do, a condition which leaves only duty as the incentive to life and its activities, seize and keep fast hold of this most steadfast, true, and angelic of ministers and guides. True, it would be much easier to do this if the law was just, equal, and uniform in regard to marriage. On the contrary, it is most unjust, unequal, and irregular in the different States of our own country, as well as in the world at large. Let us hope, however, that, with wider knowledge of the evils that flow out of broken marriages and wrecked family life, with a juster appreciation of the advantages of recognized and rooted sanctities in the mind of man, and of the claims of marriage to a large place among the objects held most in reverence by men and nations, a public opinion will be created that will demand permanent recognition of the most sacred of all obligations, and an equal adjustment of laws that have heretofore borne most heavily and hardly upon the defenceless wife and the helpless mother. JENNIE JUNE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE FUTURE OF MANUFACTURING.

THROUGH the clouds of dust raised by the conflict between the Knights of Labor and the Serfs of Capital, and by other labor agitations, certain rays of light are beginning to shine out and to illuminate the scene sufficiently for those whose eyes are trained to observe some of the principles that are involved, the tendency of the movement, and the probable result of the turmoil. Whatever may be said to the contrary, technical experts well know that the manufacture of articles consumed in great amounts cannot be carried on profitably on a small scale. The enormous scale on which the manufactures of sulphuric acid, soda, iron, etc., are conducted allows of an organization and systematization of the detail of the manufacture that result in the ability to handle these substances in larger quantities with fewer hands ; and it permits the use of mechanical time- and labor-saving appliances, and the utilization of waste heat and side-products which would be entirely lost if the manufactures were conducted on a smaller scale.

As sulphuric acid is used directly or indirectly in the production of a majority of manufactured articles, any fluctation in its cost of production will soon make itself apparent in the price of other products. Should sulphuric acid become more costly to make, muriatic acid would also increase in value and hence would also "bleach." A direct result of this would be an increase in the cost of paper; and this, again, by increasing the cost of books, would increase the cost of education. Conversely, a decrease in the cost of the manufacture of sulphuric acid would lessen the expense of popular education, and consequently increase the productive power of the community by making it cost less to educate its children.

Finding that the manufacture of articles on a large scale gives a greater chance for profits, while, at the same time, in many cases, the articles can be sold at a lower rate, thus increasing the sale of them, manufacturers have frequently combined their plants, forming great stock companies or syndicates. So far as these combinations of capital have been confined to the simple enlargement of the manufacture, with its consequent increased opportunities for organization, systematization, and handling of substances on a large scale, the result has usually been satisfactory —*i. e.*, the articles have been sold more cheaply and the profits have been better. But when such combinations of capital have been used illegimately, either to support unscientific methods of manufacturing, to control values dishonestly, or for other reprehensible purposes, then, while the profits have been greater, the public has been the loser. I would here draw a plain line between trusts, syndicates, and combinations that are intended to enrich their promotors and to defraud, or not to benefit, the public, and the legitimate combinations of capital that are intended to make more equal and scientific manufacturing possible, and the consequent production of articles at cheaper prices. The former are diseases of civilization ; the latter are beneficial and a proof of increased vitality.

I do not wish to flaunt a red flag in the faces of the sensitive; and hence, avoiding the use of the words "evolution" and "degradation," I will use the words

"progression" and "retrogression." All will agree that human society is never at rest and that we must hence either go forwards or backwards—*i. e.*, progress or retrogress. For that reason it is better to look at all of these tendencies in production as a student of science and political economy, rather than as a partisan or an enemy. In every movement there is an energizing principle, although it is sometimes not easy to find. So in the case of trusts, manufacturers have found out that there is increased gain to be gotten out of the consolidation of interests and the production of articles on a larger scale. But the people do not yet know that on their side they have a right to expect a decrease in the price of articles when produced on a very large scale; just as a man knows well enough that, while he can invest a thousand dollars in bond and mortgage in New York city to bring him 6 per cent., if he has a million dollars to invest, he must be content with 5 per cent. or less.

A new idea, as a rule, finds at first not a few wrong applications, but in time it falls into its proper place and becomes part of our stock of common knowledge. It will not be long before dishonest trusts and combinations will pass away, because, being impositions and inflictions on a community, they will, when their true nature and results are understood, be prohibited, just as the nuisances of sewer gas, polluted water, and the danger of contagious diseases are now bringing about action to prevent their occurrence.

I look at trusts and similar combinations, therefore, as an interesting step in the progress of civilization. They are not retrogression, because there is a recognition of an important principle, viz., the power of aggregated capital to cheapen production and increase profits. In so far as this is recognized, combination means progress. In so far as it is utilized to defraud the public of the results of its application, it is retrogression. But the progress of truth cannot be wholly prevented. Therefore the principle will progress, but the misapplication of it will retrogress.

Each manufacture is not an independent enterprise, as some may think, but it stands in certain fixed relations to certain other manufactures; is, in fact, as it were, a part of an organism. If one part be injured, all the parts will be more or less affected. As manufactures of certain articles increase in size, they consume certain smaller manufactures which produce articles out of substances that are discarded by the former as side-products. That is, it pays when a manufacture reaches a certain size, for it to work up its own adjuncts, side-products, residues, and wastes. Thus at a certain size of some manufactories it pays to start a box-factory and a paint-mill, unless the convenient production of these articles is also existing on such a large scale that they are cheaply produced already. Five hundred horse-power can be produced cheaper by a single engine than by fifty ten-horse-power engines. Heat is cheaper when made on a large scale and distributed than when made on a small scale, because there is much less waste. A gas-works furnishes gas to the consumer cheaper than he can make it for himself on a small scale, and so on *ad infinitum*. The relations that exist between the various manufactures are often very apparent, and if these relations are not taken into account, failure or trouble is sure to come in time. For instance, a great many products can be made from coal, as gas, ammonia, coke, benzole, paraffine, and carbolic acid; and many substances can be made from certain of these coal products, such as aniline colors from the benzole, fertilizing salts from the ammonia, waxed paper from the paraffine. But it is evident that it would not pay to distil coal simply to get enough paraffine to make waxed paper. It is also evident that to distil coal simply to get coke, whereby the benzole, paraffine, carbolic acid, ammonia, gas, and tar products are all lost, cannot long remain a profitable manufacture. Yet this is what is being done when coke is made as a chief product, which is the case with the coke ovens of Pennsylvania and elsewhere. To make the coal industry of the greatest value to the community, all its products should be utilized. The tar should be worked up into benzole to afford the basis for colors, perfumes, etc.; its carbolic acid should be separated for use as an antiseptic and a base for colors; its naphthalene should be collected; the gas should be stored for distribution to afford light and heat; the ammonia should be saved for use as a valuable fertilizer and source of ammonia and ammonia salts, thus making cheap ice possible (and cheap ice means

cheap refrigeration, which again means cheaper meat and fruit); and its coke should be utilized to serve as fuel and producer of water-gas. To do this successfully, however, it is evident that the various manufactures will have to stand in some sort of definite relation to each other, or be parts of one large manufacture. And it is further evident that any readjustment of one of these related manufactures must seriously affect the industry as a whole.

All of this goes to show that, as science makes plain the true relations and connections between the various manufactures, the more important will become these relations and connections, the greater will become the scale of the manufactures, and the cheaper will become the products, until perhaps all manufactures may become one immense manufacture definitely organized and systematized.

The progress of science, which affords methods and appliances by which production can be enormously increased at a decreased expense, must in time bring about the production of the necessary articles of food, clothing, etc., without the employment of so much labor or expenditure of time as is now necessary. *In other words, science will enable the members of a community not alone to exist, but to provide themselves with articles both of necessity and luxury without the application of their whole time to the labor of production.*

As matters now stand, the average man spends his whole available time in work to feed and clothe himself. Beyond this he really does not do very much. He has but little time for study, thought, or experiment, or for the development of the higher mental and spiritual powers which he knows that he possesses, but has not time, means, or opportunity to cultivate.

The consideration of what will be the condition of affairs in the happier time when men can provide for their material wants without paying the entire day's labor for them, and when the energies of the average man can be utilized not only in self-support, but also in self-development, is an extremely interesting question, and one that is worthy of close study and reflection. Whether this means the repression of over-population, or the actual elimination of individuals who are not worthy to be continued, and the consequent survival and development of the higher mental and spiritual powers of man, I am not ready to say; but it seems to me that the tendency is in the direction of limiting the population, in overcrowded communities at least. It is a subject well worthy the consideration of some of our eminent thinkers. There is no doubt that there will be many wild swings of the pendulum before it assumes its true rhythm. But when the population is rightly adjusted and the products of manufactures are equitably divided, we shall have a social state from which nine-tenths of the present sufferings of humanity will have passed away.

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

II.

TRUTH ABOUT FEMALE CRIMINALS.

EASY-GOING house-mothers used to say that children took, by nature, to dirt, and that it was good for them. Farmers affirmed the same of pigs. We, wiser in our day, declare that cleanliness is natural, as well as profitable, to (unbiassed) pigs and people.

Professional philanthropy comes near setting the brand of "lie" upon this dictum by marked preference for the work of cure above that of prevention. Thousands are zealously expended in building derricks to hoist unfortunates out of a quagmire, where the hundreds which would have paid for fencing it in are grudged.

Private philanthropy flaunts her fondness for dirty cases. While the wretched victim of passion or circumstances can stagger along, Philanthropy steps back against the wall, drawing aside her skirts from contact with the "object." Let him fall into the gutter, and she flies to his side, but not until much floundering in the mud has disguised him out of semblance to humanity is he really "interesting." When the sinner is a woman, she rises from the interesting "object" into a fascinating subject, always provided the offence be gross, and her impudent defiance of law and order incredibly monstrous.

Peccadilloes are vulgar, calling for fan, smelling-bottle, and speedy forgetfulness. If the erring one would gain the distinction of capitalized head-lines and secure a hold upon the sympathy of a Christian public that no revolting details can shake, she must sin with a high hand. If the hand be red with blood, she has made her picturesque calling and election sure.

This plain truth shocks nobody who is conversant with the story of every-day crime. As a psychological problem and sign of the times, it is curiously difficult. Chivalry is not on the increase in any rank of society. More pale women, fit to drop with fatigue, are allowed to stand in public resorts than in the day when the same spectacle in the pit of a London theatre moved Charles Lamb to indignation, and more are dispossessed of lawful places in the misnamed ladies' cabin of the ferry-boat than we saw thus robbed thirty years ago. With the advance of the sex upon the common avenues of business, they are allowed more and more to "take their chance" as men do. Three hundred years ago they hanged English mothers for stealing bread for starving children. It is certainly not respect for women as a class that makes the burly juryman of to-day, who beats his honest wife when in his cups, shudder at the idea of hanging the poisoner of husband and children, or the abandoned girl who shoots the late partner of her infamy rather than let him marry another.

Wicked women—by so much the worse than wicked men as is the number of the walls they must scale greater than those overvaulted by their brothers to reach like depths of crime—reckon so shrewdly upon this mischievous perversion of popular feeling that one wonders at the blindness which ignores the peril of letting spurious sympathy have play.

The swaggering vaunt of a drunken murderer, "Hanging is played out in New York!" drew the noose tight about his neck, and turned the scales of justice for others deserving the same fate. The feminine criminal is too cunning to echo the rash boast, and thus to tempt reaction of the current she knows runs powerfully in her favor. Before she mixes the potion, and when she loads the pistol, she calculates probabilities, and takes no undue odds when she administers one to the husband of whom she is tired, and empties the other into the heart of the paramour who is tired of her. In those older times to which we have referred, lawmakers checked suicide by ordaining that every woman who killed herself should be dragged, naked and dead, at the cart's tail through the market-place. A masculine murderer may not fear scaffold and halter. The most frenzied woman would forego vengeance were she even *almost* sure that for her life's vista would—should she carry out her fell design—be closed by the black cap, the strangling noose, and the gaping crowd staring at the convulsed, pendant figure. The subtlest touch of knowledge of feminine nature in "The Blithedale Romance" is the expressed belief that Zenobia would never have drowned herself had she guessed how the sodden corpse would look.

Our woman criminal appreciates fully that she runs no risk of such punishment as would be meted out to an equally guilty man, and *acts upon this persuasion*. Native or foreign, young or old, handsome or hideous, she plants herself confidently upon the vantage-ground of SEX.

Of all false claims upon the compassion of the true man this is the most specious. Does he, then, in imagination, link the fallen creature at the bar with the virtuous wife, mother, or sister in his own home? The discovery, in the lily of womanhood he wears in his bosom, of a speck of the foulness that has changed this criminal out of all likeness to her pure sisters, would cause him to cast it aside with loathing. It is not, then, for the sake of those he loves and reverences, as beings of a finer mould than himself, that he condones crime by pitying and pardoning the doer.

> "What tender grace will we have gained,
> Alas, by simply dying?"

writes Margaret Sangster of the overlauded motto, "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" What tender grace does vice gather about itself by the mere accident of gender?

The savage dormant in the gentlest-natured man is not developed in woman; it is *created*. The secret of her shamelessness as a confirmed criminal is to be found in

the debasing effect of successive falls, and the fact that each required a specific effort. She has killed conscience and outlived respect for precedent.

The truism that a bad woman is *all* bad should tell against, not for, the recommendation to mercy. Hysteria, tears, cajolery, are weapons in the use of which she is an adept. That she employs them unscrupulously and well testifies to worthlessness, not to redemptive leaven. That they are effectual with judge and jury, and, above all, with the public, melting into sentimental bathos over breakfast-table reports of the agonies of the convicted prisoner, is an evidence of moral cowardice, and of shortsightedness that would make the many innocent suffer instead of the guilty few.

MARION HARLAND.

III.

THE TRICK OF ALLITERATION.

IS IT not about time for a reaction? The hobby of alliteration is well worn. Chaucer had to stop his ears against the dismal alliterative poems written two centuries before he was old enough to be annoyed by their iterative beat. To-day the editorial pen easily adapts itself to the lowering standard, and the horrid head-lines howl from every page of the daily press. It may be worth while to recall to the literary conscience the value of alliteration. In the Anglo-Saxon verse the alliterative letter was the initial letter of an important word; as, for instance.

"Ne *F*orstes *F*naest, ne *F*yres blaest."

This made a strong beat on the rhythmic movement, which not only commanded attention, but facilitated its expression and aided memory. While the force of consonantal sounds was thus emphasized on the ear, alliteration, by its inordinate use, soon caused verse to degenerate into a colorless and ineffectual drone. Although King James, in his high esteem for alliterative verse, said, "Let all your verse be Literall" (alliterative), yet Gascoigne, on the other hand, guarding the power of alliteration as sacredly as a lover his mistress, says: "Many writers indulge in repeticion of sundrie wordes all beginning with one letter, the whiche (beyng modestly used) lendeth good grace to a verse: but they do so hunt a letter to death, that they make it *Crambe*, and *crambe bis positum mors est:* therefore *Ne quid nimis.*"

Shakespeare, than whom none except our most delicate modern poets have used alliteration with greater refinement, posed his little joke at alliterators in "Raging rocks with shivering shocks," and "Love's Labour's Lost."

There has been no other poetic machinery so misused as that of alliteration. Every deficiency of genius for thought or poetic expression can be more than compensated for, some of our literary hucksters think, if they only daub innocent white paper with word after word beginning with the same letter, or run the same vowel sound to death. Their dexterous manipulation of a line before the rhyme must be faced is equal to their ability to search a common English dictionary. It is a pity that the most subtle means we know of to charm the ear with its indefinite presence should be paraded about, stuffed into bombastic shapes, and placarded ruthlessly under every eye in the most sensational forms. The sensitized eye revolts when it sees a delicate art shamed into naked eye-catching type. "All alliteration for the sake of alliteration is trifling," says Sidney Lanier, in his "Science of English Verse." He then proceeds tersely to say that alliteration "that makes any claim on its own account . . . is felt, through the infinite decorum and gentility which broods at the bottom of art, to be always tawdry, vulgar, and intrusive; . . . and perhaps no more definite caution can be given the student than that all alliteration which attracts any attention as alliteration is *loud.*" I have taken the liberty to italicize "loud," for the word, to an American, expresses exactly the attribute which offends the cultivated taste, be it vulgarity either of dress, action, speech, or writing. For alliteration should be used more delicately than the soft-recurring *arietta* in a nocturn. It should haunt the ear less than the seldom music of the whippoorwill that lifts its plaintive *coda* above the rustling of the summer leaves at midnight.

Let us now contrast a few flute-breaths caught from poets with some of the baser trombone blasts rolled from the journalism of our day. I think it was Coleridge

who defined prose as "words in their best order," and poetry as "the best words in their best order." As alliteration is considered peculiarly a poetic art, it is not unfair, since prose (and what prose!) has invaded the domain of poetry, to exhibit the beauty and the beast side by side. One of our most eminent living poets has said that the highest art forbade the same sound to be repeated more than twice in the same line. According to this dictum, here is a perfect use of the art:

"I bubble into eddying bays,
I babble on the pebbles."

But evidently the following flashlight picture of love's mischances is above art and beyond criticism:

"Courting Carried to Court."

Shakespeare, however he may have deprecated the abusive practice of a ruling poetic fashion of his day, was content in his more passionate moments to make liberal use of its tintinnabulary effect:

"Cries to catch her whose busy care is bent
To follow that which flies before her face,
Not prizing her poor infant's discontent."

Contrast this with

"The Glorious Gospel in Gotham."
"The Revolution Rightly Roasted."

Milton, who was too sturdy a master of what De Quincey called "metrical pomp" to need padding, has several passages that illustrate the trip-hammer force of the art; for instance, the single line,

"The sworded seraphim."

One would not suspect Emerson of such musical delicacy; yet his verse proves the interpreter of his art when he writes,

"He is the sparkle of the spar."

On the other hand, alliteration shows its "Decayed Depravity" in the "Racy Revelations Regarding the Wily Ways of a Widower Who Wanted a Wife," which stares impertinently at the reader from the top of a column of filth in one of our august metropolitan dailies.

"Hemphill Hits Hard."

Who could blame him, if only that editor were at the other end of the stick?

Lowell is a continual surprise to us in that his expression becomes daintier as his days are longer.

"When new red is in the rose
And new life is in the leaf."

Any one *could* have produced this gem. But Lowell is the only one who did it.

Of course, we all know that Swinburne is thought to have carried the craft of alliteration to its highest development, but I think that Lanier was not a whit behind him as far as verse-science is concerned. Indeed, his virility as an American Christian poet, as well as an artist of words, will become more definitely recognized. One stanza from his "Song of the Chattahoochee" will prove to the reader that he bade fair to meet Tennyson on his own ground:

"All down the hills of Habersham,
All through the valleys of Hall,
The rushes cried *Abide, abide,*
The wilful waterweeds held me thrall,
The laving laurel turned my tide,
The ferns and the fondling grass said *Stay,*
The dewberry dipped for to work delay,
And the little reeds sighed *Abide, abide,*
Here in the hills of Habersham,
Here in the valleys of Hall."

I cannot help adding the following to show how he seems akin to our pine poet, Whittier, in the dogged moral purpose of his verse:

"If men loved larger, larger were our lives,
And wooed they nobler, won they nobler wives."

That is a fine illustration of the power of alliteration to arrest the heart. How different from:

"Buckets of Beer and Blood."
"The President's Policy of Pap."
"Victims of a Vile Votary of Vice."

Such tricks are a disgrace to the advertisement of news. Let us draw a pure breath from the music of another lyre:

"The faint forest flame of the young year flushes
From leaf to flower and flower to fruit."

Whether the school of Swinburne is immortal or not, the music is as grateful to our ear as the songs of Sappho to the Hellenes.

"Through the whistling sleet and snow" of these storms against style, we can nevertheless turn from the necessary and barbarous morning paper to our alcove-nooks or the niches in our memories, and there rest the tortured eye and ear. "Albeit softly in our ears her silver song was ringing," sang Mrs. Browning: may such soft songs inoculate us against those brazen morning blasts! A final illustration of the true artistic value of alliteration may be taken from E. R. Sill, whose perception of the fitness of word to thought was as fine as his life was pathetic in its partial success:

"Let me have lived my life, not cowered, until
The unhindered and unhastened hour was here."

There is no fear of the decay of style, although newspapers do persist in thinking that vulgarity of expression insures popular attention. We pray for purity at the polls. The purity of the English language in the daily press, the elimination of the loud and vulgar—what foreigners call the "American type"—is not too much to ask for. Our American style is not that of a cosmopolitan journal such as exists to-day; but, rather, that of our orderly periodical literature and dignified forensic and literary achievements. It is the style of Webster and Hawthorne, of Lowell and Holmes, and of Beecher at his best.

As I pen this sentence my hand falls upon an evening paper. Instinctively I glance at the important headings. As I read, the words take to themselves significant meanings.

"Moving Against Microbes!"
"Henry Hangs His Head!!"

I should think he would.

HERBERT D. WARD.

IV.

QUOTATION AND MISQUOTATION.

FEW things add more to the charm of good writing and speaking than apt and felicitous quotation. Bayle goes so far as to say that there is as much invention in the happy use of a thought found in a book as in originating that thought. "Whenever we would prepare the mind by a forcible appeal," says the elder Disraeli, "an opening quotation is a symphony preluding on the chords whose tones we are about to harmonize." Of course, like every other good thing, quotation may be abused, as it too often is by those who quote incorrectly, by those who quote for show,—which is as barbarous as a profusion of jewels on one's person, or the paint on an Indian,—and by those who quote so frequently that they become compilers. The last-named practice is frequently (not always—witness Montaigne and Hazlitt) the vice of writers who, conscious of their own intellectual poverty, lard their lean books with the fat of other men's; who, like the old Romans, that robbed all the other cities of the world to decorate their own, employ the fine thoughts and illustrations of older writers to beautify their pages. Of incorrect quotation, of which we purpose here to speak, the most fruitful cause is citing a passage at second-hand. Hundreds of familiar quotations, however, which are continually dropping from men's lips and pens, have not even the advantage of being taken literally at second, but are taken from the third or thirtieth, hand. If, after being quoted once or twice only, a great

writer's thought greets him with "a certain alienated majesty," what must be its look after the twentieth-hand quotation? Must he not be provoked to disavow, even if he does not wholly fail to recognize, the children of his brain, when they are so metamorphosed? Is not the sarcasm of Martial on a tasteless reader of his epigrams applicable to all misquoters?—

"Quum recitas, meus est, O Fidentine, libellus;
Sed male cum recitas, *incipit esse tuus.*"

Among English poets, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Cowper, Byron, and Tennyson, as they have furnished a greater number than others of lines that are in constant use, are some of the bards who have suffered most from misquotation; but hardly any of note have escaped. Sometimes the words are given incorrectly; sometimes a meaning is given to them quite different from that of the author; and, again, a stanza or line is attributed to a wrong person. That the "myriad-minded" Shakespeare, whose works are an inexhaustible quarry of quotation, "whose bright wit is cut out 'into little stars,'" whose "solid masses of knowledge are meted out in morsels and proverbs," or that Milton, who ranks next to him in the number of pages he fills in Mr. Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations," should be misquoted, is not strange. Richard Grant White has shown how completely the meaning of a well-worn line of the great dramatist—"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin"—has been misapprehended. A line of Milton's which is almost uniformly given incorrectly is that in which he speaks of fame as

"That last infirmity of noble mind."

For the singular, "mind," the plural, "minds," is usually substituted. It is not easy to conceive the irritation of "the little wasp of Twickenham," who was so fastidious in his choice of words, had he foreseen that one of his happy lines,

"Welcome the coming, speed the going guest,"

would one day be spoiled by almost every one who should attempt to use it, by the substitution of "parting" for "going," whereby both the alliteration and the antithesis are destroyed. There is a line in Prior's "Henry and Emma" which is invariably misquoted. Describing the dress of Emma, the lover says:

"No longer shall the bodice, aptly laced,
From thy full bosom to thy slender waist,
That air and harmony of shape express,
Fine by degress, and beautifully less"—

not "*small* by degrees," as it is quoted. Bishop Berkeley's familiar line,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

which is so often on the lips of Fourth-of-July and platform orators, is quoted by most writers and speakers as

"Westward the *star* of empire takes its way."

Some familiar hymns have suffered both from misquotation and from so-called "improvements" by literary tinkers, who do for sacred poetry what Nahum Tate did for Shakespeare. Some forty or fifty years ago the scholarly Dr. Bethune startled the congregation of the Park-Street Church in Boston by administering from the pulpit a sharp reproof to these literary pests. Having given out Cowper's hymn in four stanzas, beginning

"There is a fountain filled with blood,"

he read it, and, after a moment's pause, indignantly exclaimed: "This last stanza is not as Cowper wrote it! As he wrote it, it runs thus"; upon which he repeated it from memory. "I should like to know," he continued, "who has had the presumption to alter Cowper's poetry. The choir will sing only the first four stanzas!" The line,

"While the waters nearer roll,"

in Wesley's hymn, beginning "Jesus, lover of my soul," is sometimes perverted to

"While the billows round me roll."

Classical quotation, which Dr. Johnson once called the parole of literary men all over the world, is sometimes ludicrously incorrect. In the medal room of the British Museum there is a guinea which William Pulteney won in 1741, in the House of Commons, on a bet concerning a quotation made by Sir Robert Walpole from the poet Horace. Walpole, then premier, having, in reply to a threat of accusation, protested his innocence, and said,

"Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ,"

Pulteney observed that the honorable gentleman's Latin was as bad as his politics; he had misquoted Horace, who had written "Nulla pallescere culpa." Walpole then offered to bet a guinea that he was right, and Pulteney accepted the challenge. The clerk of the house was chosen as umpire, and decided against the minister, who at once tossed the guinea to his victorious opponent. Here we may note that the cynical saying so often attributed to Walpole, "*All* men have their price," is a misquotation of "All *these* men have their price," which he said, and said truly, of certain pretended patriots. The first word in the following lines from Horace's Ode to Grosphus,

"*Nihil* est ab omni
Parte beatum,"

is sometimes exchanged for *nemo*. A trite passage in the same author, to which a wrong meaning has frequently been given, is this in the Ode to Licinius:

"Neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo."

When these lines are quoted by a writer on recreation, as they have been, to enforce the sentiment that the mind should not always be kept on the stretch, they are grossly misapplied. In saying that Apollo does not always bend the bow, the poet means that the god, who is propitious when he strikes the lyre, is not always angry with men.

Among the sayings attributed to wrong persons is one ascribed to Lord Bolingbroke, "History is philosophy teaching by examples." Bolingbroke simply says that he had read this in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. So with an oft-quoted saying attributed to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. He does not utter it as his own, but says: "I knew a very wise man that believed that, if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws, of a nation." According to Mr. Bartlett, Massinger's "many-headed monster" (the multitude) belongs to "well-languaged" Daniel. Martin Van Buren's "sober, second thought" is the property of Matthew Henry, or, rather, of Euripides. It is probably to Talleyrand, that Receiver-General of waif wit and estray epigram, that more sayings have been wrongly attributed than to any other modern. To him are credited Chamfort's "Revolutions are not made with rose-water"; Fouché's "It is the beginning of the end"; the Chevalier de Panat's *mot* on the Bourbons, that they "had learned nothing and forgotten nothing"; the saying, "Who would not adore him—he is so vicious?" which was said of Talleyrand by Montrond, not of Montrond by Talleyrand; and "Déja?" which the prince is said to have exclaimed when Louis Philippe, on his death-bed, complained that he felt the tortures of hell, but which was said under similar circumstances to Cardinal Retz by his physician.

WILLIAM MATHEWS.

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THE GLADSTONE-BLAINE CONTROVERSY.

BY THE HON. ROGER Q. MILLS, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM TEXAS.

THE "duel" between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Blaine was for commercial freedom on one side and commercial restriction on the other. Each side was represented by its best man, and the subject was discussed with great ability. Mr. Gladstone opens the discussion and goes straight to the heart of the controversy. He shows what commerce is, what it does, and what it has accomplished for Great Britain since its emancipation. He shows that it has increased the aggregate wealth of the nation, given better employment and higher wages to workmen, and supplied them with more, cheaper, and better food than they had ever had before.

The question is not, as he says, whether the rate of wages is lower in Great Britain than in America, or whether the American workman is better off than the workman in England. It is not a question between countries, but between systems. If the rate of wages alone is to be taken as the test of the wisdom of commercial restriction, the jury will be hung and there can be no verdict, because the United States has restriction and a higher rate of wages

NOTE.—The discussion on Free Trade and Protection, begun in the January number of THE REVIEW by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Blaine, has attracted marked attention. Mr. Gladstone espoused the cause of free trade with great earnestness, and, with his consent, Mr. Blaine's elaborate reply in behalf of protection was published simultaneously. The Hon. Roger Q. Mills replies to Mr. Blaine in the present number, and Senator Morrill, framer of the Morrill Bill, will continue the discussion in the March number.—EDITOR N. A. R.

than England, and England has freedom and a higher rate of wages than France, Germany, Austria, or any other country in Europe that has restriction. It is evident from this that some other factor is exercising a potent influence either in depressing or raising wages. Freedom of commercial exchange may be one of the forces, but there are others coöperating with it. Mr. Gladstone shows that since England adopted the policy of commercial freedom the wages of her working people have increased from 50 to 100 per cent., and that from 1843 to 1883 the income from capital increased 210 per cent., while the income of the working classes increased 160 per cent. The wealth of both capitalist and workmen might increase in either country and under either system. And that is what has occurred in both countries, and in all countries where there are civilization and stable government. In a country like ours, blessed with the richest soils, the best of climates, good government, mountains filled with coal and ores of every kind, with ample means of cheap and rapid transportation, with the forces of production constantly increasing through the invention of labor-saving machinery, both wealth and wages would increase under either system.

And it is no test of the wisdom of either to show that wealth and wages have increased under it. It must be shown that wealth and wages would increase *faster* under one system than under the other, and to do that we must see what it is that creates wealth and wages. All wealth is created by labor, and the greatest wealth is created when the greatest sum of products is produced in a given time ; and that is done when the laborer works in harmony with the forces of nature and the auxiliaries which the inventive genius of man has supplied. If a laborer who is digging coal at $1 per ton, and who turns out one ton per day, should invent a machine by which in the same time he turns out five tons of coal, his daily wages would rise, whether the tariff was high or low, or no tariff at all ; and if throughout the whole industrial system such an increase should occur by labor-saving methods, then wages would rise throughout the whole, regardless of the tariff. But the question is, Would they not rise higher without than with the tariff ? If the workman, when he turns out his coal, is prohibited from selling any part of it to anybody, his surplus will be worthless. After supplying his own wants, the remainder will be without value to him. But if the law

should permit him to sell to persons living within the same county, his market, though limited, would give some value to his surplus. Then if the law should be changed and he should be permitted to sell to all persons within the same State, his coal would increase in value. If then he was permitted to sell to all persons in the United States, it would take additional value just as the number of consumers increased, which would increase the demand and consequently the price. If he is permitted to sell to any one anywhere in the world, his product would find its highest value. Thus we see that just in proportion as the numbers of those who consume his coal increase does its value increase. Wealth, therefore, and wages are increased by the removal of all impediments between producers and consumers; and the converse of the proposition is equally true, that wealth and wages are decreased by every impediment interposed between the producer and consumer.

A farmer in Brazil will make more at labor expended in raising coffee than in manufacturing cloth, because the soil and climate are equivalent to so much capital gratuitously supplied to him. But coffee does not supply all his wants. He must have clothing, and he can obtain it more cheaply by raising coffee than by manufacturing cloth; but to enjoy that advantage he must have an open way through which to send his coffee and bring his cloth. Here is where commerce becomes a necessity. If the Brazilian cannot have his surplus coffee transported to the manufacturer, he must sell in the home market, where every one has a surplus as well as he, and where there is no demand and the value of his labor is greatly reduced. The same is the case with the manufacturer. If he is not permitted to send his cloth to those who want it, and is compelled to sell it at home, where the market is oversupplied, he will find its value greatly reduced.

Yet this is the policy of commercial restriction which Mr. Gladstone assails and Mr. Blaine defends, and this is the policy that the latter says increases national wealth and the wages of labor. As Mr. Gladstone says, commerce is based "upon the unequal distribution among men and regions of aptitudes to produce" the things that satisfy human want. The desire for gain is the motive that actuates the distribution. Men only send away their surplus to sell when they can profit by the sale in the distant market. That profit is obtained when the price is higher

away from home than it is at home, and it is higher in the distant market than it is in the home market because it could be produced, if at all, only at a higher cost. In the market from which a thing is exported it is produced at the lowest cost, and it will be produced at the highest profit if the way of transportation is open to those who want it and can either not produce it at all or at a higher cost. And the profit of the producer will be much or little in proportion to the freedom or obstruction in the way from the producer to the consumer. Every producer has to pay the cost incurred in reaching market, and then has to sell at the market price.

If the market price of wheat is one dollar per bushel at Liverpool, and it costs the Russian farmer fifty cents per bushel to produce his wheat and the American forty cents, the American will have ten cents per bushel advantage in the competition. Then if it costs the Russian twenty cents per bushel to reach the market and the American ten, the American has the advantage of twenty cents per bushel in the contest, and would make that much more profit, and, if he had wheat enough to supply the whole demand, would soon drive his rival out; and if wheat-growing was a considerable part of Russian industry, the loss of a market for it would be a great disturbance in its material progress.

Hence it is necessary that the way from producer to consumer should be free from obstructions and capable of being passed with the least delay and the smallest expense. And "the legislator ought never to interfere, or only to interfere so far as imperative fiscal necessity may require it, with this natural law of distribution." When the government interferes and requires the producer to pay a tax for the privilege of selling in its markets, it necessarily raises the price which its citizens must pay. If the object of the tax is to restrict or prohibit the importation of the article in order to give the market to the home producer which he could not hold without it, on account of the greater cost required to produce the competing article, it imposes a double tax on the consumers of both the domestic and foreign articles. One tax is paid to the government on the imported article; another is paid to the owner of the domestic product.

But this is not all the injury done by the tax; perhaps it is not the greatest. When a purchaser is required by law to pay more for a domestic product than he would otherwise have to

pay, one of two things must occur: either that amount of wealth is annihilated, or it is transferred from the pockets of the man who earned it to the pockets of the man who did not. If it is annihilated, it ceases to be a fund for the purchase of material, for the payment of wages, or for the procurement of the things that satisfy our wants. If it is transferred, it is taken without compensation from one citizen and given to another, and the distributed wealth of millions is concentrated in the pockets of hundreds, where it is less able to purchase materials, pay wages, or satisfy wants. How, then, can import taxes increase wealth and wages? How can any law foster, encourage, or stimulate the production of wealth or wages, when it requires the laborer to work two days to procure that which he could without it obtain in one day? One day's labor under such a law is lost, and that which it would have earned is lost. Accumulated wealth is the fund which must employ and pay labor, and when it is increasing demand for employment is increasing, and when that is increasing the rate of wages is increasing; but if the ratio of increase of wealth is retarded, the ratio of increase in the demand for employment is retarded, and the rate of increase of wages is retarded also. So that taxation decreases, instead of increases, wealth and wages. The law that governs the production of wealth and wages is not affected by either latitude or longitude, and it is just the same in a large country as in a small one, and applies with equal force to a continent or an island, a crowded city or a rural district.

Mr. Blaine thinks that it might be wise statesmanship to permit the people of Great Britain to buy their bread at the lowest cost, but very unwise to permit the citizens of the United States to buy their sugar or their shoes on the same principle. He says the island of Great Britain lies far to the north; that its southernmost point is thirty degrees above the tropics, and its northernmost point nine degrees below the arctic circle; that the United States is forty times as large as Great Britain; that its natural products are more varied, more numerous, and of more valuable character than those of all Europe. Admit all that to be true; it only proves that in the immense extent of our country, with its variety of soils, its diversity of climate, and its greatly increased capacity to produce the things that human wants require, we are more self-sustaining and less dependent upon others. But, after all, it pro-

duces neither coffee, tea, nor spices. There are some things for which we must look to other countries and climes.

But, what is more important still, this immense country, prolific in the production of so many things, will produce a surplus that will increase in proportion to the increase of its population. What does Mr. Blaine propose to do with its accumulating surplus? We must find markets for it somewhere. Admit that England has a "complex civilization," that she lies far to the north, and is only one-fortieth of the size of the Union; what has all that to do with the export of cotton, wheat, and provisions? If we can produce these cheaper than she can, and she can produce pig-iron and railroad bars cheaper than we can, why should we not make the exchange which is beneficial to both? In commercial intercourse the question to be determined is one of profit, and neither size, civilization, nor geographical position has anything to do with it.

Great Britain carries on her immense traffic with foreign countries because she thereby gives employment to her people, increases their wealth, and adds to their comfort and happiness. It is a source of great profit, and she is extracting every dollar from it she can. She is sending the products of her labor all over and around the world, and distributing them among all conditions of people, from the highest civilization in America to the darkest barbarism in the jungles of Africa; and by her enormous commerce she is filling the pockets of her people with wealth. Why should we not do it? Mr. Blaine favors subsidizing steamship lines to run between our home and foreign ports; but why should we hunt commerce with other people when we refuse to take it when we find it? Does our continental position forbid us to send our products to foreign countries and to receive theirs in exchange? If our civilization or geographical position demands that our exchanges shall be confined among ourselves, and that we shall neither import from nor export to foreign countries, what good is to be accomplished by subsidizing steamship lines? That Mr. Gladstone might favor liberal appropriations to steamship lines is quite natural. English statesmen having first removed all legislative hindrances, having negotiated treaties with other countries by which tariff obstructions have been removed or greatly lessened, having sent out consuls and commercial agents to hunt for and protect English commerce, it was in line with established English policy to hunt new markets and make a way to reach

them with English products. But upon what ground can American statesmen favor granting subsidies to steamships to hunt for commerce which our continental position forbids us to receive?

It is claimed by Mr. Blaine that between 1826 and 1846 Great Britain increased her material wealth beyond all precedent in the commercial history of the world. But does it follow that her wealth came from her tax on bread that she swept away in 1846? The invention of labor-saving machinery and the utilization of coal and steam in production greatly increased her prosperity, but neither of them was the product of her tax on wheat. Her rapid development during that period was caused by multiplying her power of production, not by decreasing it, as her tariff did. Her growth in wealth for the period between 1860 and 1890, or any twenty years of that time, under free trade, far outstrips the growth of the former period. Since she cast off the last of her shackles in 1860,—which we picked up and riveted upon the arms of our people,—she has left us sadly in the lurch. Having reduced the cost of ship-building and of the products of her labor, she has swept our vessels from the seas, and is now carrying her own products to market, and a large share of those of other countries. Having reversed our policy of commercial freedom, and loaded the materials of our manufacture with additional costs, we retired within our own boundaries, and left her the unchallenged mistress of the seas. Then, having all her raw material free of tax, and labor cheaper than any other country on earth except ours (and we were out of the contest), she took the world's markets, and holds them to-day against all comers, and will continue to do so until we unload our burden of taxation on materials, when we can and will produce cheaper than she can, and she must take a secondary place in the contest.

There can be no surer test of the prosperity of a country than the increase of its foreign trade, and no surer test of the retardation of that prosperity than the decrease of that trade. By going back to 1816, when the obstructive system may be said to have begun its career, we see that our total foreign trade amounted to $229,000,000. (See Stat. Abs. U. S. for 1888.) From 1800 to 1816 our foreign trade increased 41 per cent. During the next sixteen years, under the encouraging aud fostering care of high tariffs, it decreased 23 per cent.; and from 1820 to 1830 it was not so great as it was in the first ten years of the century, during

which "the highway of nations was almost without a flag floating on its surface except the flag of commercial marauders." Yet during that period, when all the earth seemed to be in arms on land and sea, our foreign commerce was greater than under the restricting tariffs in existence from 1816 to 1832. Our foreign trade began to decline after 1816, and had fallen to $109,000,000 in 1821. From that time it began slowly to recover. It increased 30 per cent. from 1821 to 1824. The tariff of 1824 checked it again, and it had increased at less than 4 per cent. in 1828; and from 1828 to 1832 it increased 21 per cent. After the enactment of the compromise tariff of 1833, which required a reduction of the existing tariff 10 per cent. every two years (not every year, as stated by Mr. Blaine), our foreign trade began to increase more rapidly, and by 1836 it amounted to $292,000,000, which was an increase in four years of 65 per cent. In 1841 it was $227,000,000, which it had reached under the constantly-falling tariff of 1833. In 1842 the restrictive system was again restored and our trade again fell off, but slowly recovered till 1846, when it was $227,000,000 —again just what it had been in 1841, and $2,000,000 less than it had been in 1816. In 1846 a revenue tariff with low duties took the place of the high tariff of 1842. The tariff of 1846 was further reduced in 1857, and from 1846 to 1860, under non-protective tariffs, our foreign trade increased over 200 per cent. After 1860 we returned again to restrictive tariffs with higher duties than ever, and for the next fourteen years (from 1860 to 1874) our foreign trade increased only 65 per cent., instead of 200; and for the fourteen years of high tariffs (from 1874 to 1888) it increased 23 per cent. instead of 200 per cent.

It will be seen that whenever our foreign trade increases our agricultural products increase in price; that distributes wealth through the great hive of agricultural labor; that again demands the products of manufacture, and that gives better employment and higher wages to labor, and that brings prosperity to the whole land. It was so under the falling tariff of 1833, and it was so under the low-revenue tariffs from 1846 to 1860. Mr. Blaine charges that the depression and panic of 1837 were the product of the falling tariff of 1833. It is a strange argument that reducing taxation produces depression, distress, and bankruptcy, and that imposing high taxes produces wealth and

prosperity, and the higher the tax the greater the prosperity. But such is the logic of the advocate of commercial restriction. John Quincy Adams said in 1832 "that the remission of taxes must, in its nature, be a measure always acceptable to the people." He said of the committee for which he spoke: "They feel the delight with which any one permitted to enjoy the luxury of assenting to such a remission may indulge the benevolence of his disposition." Mr. Adams, if alive to-day, would be branded by Pennsylvania iron-masters as an agent of the Cobden Club.

Henry C. Carey, the advocate of high taxes as a potent instrument in the increase of wealth, started that argument about the panic of 1837 and that of 1857. It has often been exploded, but it comes up smiling every time any one proposes "to enjoy the luxury" of reducing taxes. In 1842 the same charge was made in the Senate, and Mr. Clay, who was the author of the Compromise Bill, said that "it was not correct that the Compromise Act had occasioned the embarrassments of the country," and that "it was a great mistake to say that any portion of the embarrassments of the country had resulted from it." This "great mistake" Mr. Blaine has made. Mr. Clay said it was speculation in lands and the expansion of the currency that produced that panic, and that the reduction of the tariff had nothing to do with it. The circulation of the country had increased from $121,000,000 in 1833 to $222,000,000 in 1837. The increased circulation, two-thirds of which was paper, caused an upward tendency in prices. People who had money invested it in lands that were constantly rising in value, and not only invested all they had, but borrowed all they could and invested both money and credit. The paper balloon collapsed, and speculation and credits fell to the ground. Even if reducing taxes could bring on a panic, there had not been enough reduction at that time to affect anything. Eighty per cent. of the rates of the tariff of 1832 were still in force. Ten per cent. was reduced January 1, 1834, and 10 per cent. January 1, 1836. The average rate of duty on dutiable goods from 1833 to 1837 was 36 per cent., and for the five years from 1842 to 1846 was 32 per cent. If tariff rates averaging 32 per cent. gave prosperity to the country, as Mr. Blaine says they did, how could the higher rate of 36 per cent. bring panic and bankruptcy?

In 1857, Congress, finding a surplus in the treasury and the revenues increasing beyond all requirement for government ex-

penditure, again reduced the taxes, and Mr. Blaine says that reduction of taxation brought on the panic of that year. The panic of 1857 was produced by the same cause that produced the one of 1837. From 1850 prices continued to rise till 1857, when gold prices touched the highest point ever reached within the memory of men now living. Each year brought higher prices for all property. People plunged into speculation again, buying property, paying all the money they had and going in debt for more. Any one who will examine the list of annual prices in the report of the director of the mint for 1881 will see that that year shows the highest gold prices we have ever had before or since. And any person who will, without preconceived prejudice, read the history of that period will be forced to the conclusion that it was increase of circulation, and not decrease of taxation, that brought on the fever for speculation which ended in the bankruptcy of the speculators. The legitimate business of the country was scarcely touched. The country was full of metallic money. Agriculture, manufacture, and commerce had distributed it, and confidence was soon restored and business resumed its usual channels.

The revenue tariff of 1846 was passed July 30, to go into effect December 1. Secretary Walker had predicted in his report that the passage of a revenue measure would increase imports and exports, and would enhance the price of our agricultural products that had to find a foreign market for their surplus. The results proved how well he had reckoned. Before the 1st of December came, the value of leading agricultural products rose in the New York markets 23 per cent.; cotton rose $18\frac{3}{10}$ per cent., wheat $17\frac{3}{10}$ per cent., rye 18 per cent., corn $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., oats $40\frac{2}{10}$ per cent., and barley $24\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. Seven of the principal crops, as reported by the Secretary, had increased in value $115,000,000, and he estimated that the increased value of the whole crop amounted to $350,000,000. If our present obstructive tariff were reduced to the average rate of that of 1846, it would add again at least 23 per cent. to the value of our crops, which is claimed by the statistician of the Agricultural Department to be four thousand millions of dollars; and an increase of 23 per cent. would add to it more than $900,000,000.

But it is constantly charged that, if we lower our taxes, we will let in foreign goods and ruin our manufacturers. If this is true,

they would all have been ruined between 1846 and 1860, for our imports and exports were constantly increasing from year to year. But domestic production kept pace with the times, and our manufactures grew with the growth of our agriculture and commerce. During the decade from 1850 to 1860 our agricultural product increased 95 per cent. and our manufacturing product 85 per cent. Neither agriculture, commerce, nor manufactures have ever increased at an equal ratio during any decade through which we have passed either before or since. From 1860 to 1870 our manufacturing product only increased 80 per cent., and from 1870 to 1880 only 59 per cent. Under the revenue tariffs from 1850 to 1860 the production of cotton goods increased 76 per cent., woollen goods 42 per cent., carpetings 45 per cent., men's clothing 45 per cent., boots and shoes 70 per cent., paper 108 per cent., printing 168 per cent., musical instruments 153 per cent., coal-mining 182 per cent., iron-mining 79 per cent., steel 900 per cent., farming implements 156 per cent., bar, sheet, and railroad iron 100 per cent., and the cash value of farms 103 per cent.

Certainly these industries were not injured by enlarging the market. Manufacturers of wool were weighted down by the tax of 30 per cent. on wool and the same on the finished product, until the act of 1857 put all wool costing less than twenty cents per pound on the free list. Then the woollen manufactures sprang forward and made their chief increase in three years of the ten. Does that look as though the English had taken our home market? We were not only holding our own market, but we were beginning to take the markets of the world. Our exports of all merchandise increased 120 per cent., cotton manufactures 130 per cent., iron and steel 190 per cent., hats 200 per cent., boots and shoes 600 per cent., wearing apparel 150 per cent., earthen and stone ware 300 per cent., glass 100 per cent., and tin 200 per cent. Does not this look as though we were taking the English markets, instead of their taking ours, as Mr. Blaine says they were doing? We were not only taking her markets, but the markets of all other rivals, because we were making better and cheaper goods. Does any advocate of commercial restriction assert that during any ten years of our history, either before or since that period, we ever increased our exports either of agricultural or manufacturing products at an equal ratio? The same prosperous growth is shown in the enormous increase of the

national wealth, which from 1850 to 1860 was 126 per cent. It has never been approximated before or since.

The marvellous growth of the country in all departments of national industry under the free-trade tariffs of 1846 and 1857 is not denied by Mr. Blaine, but he says it was due to the discovery of gold in California, to the Crimean War, the Mexican War, the Irish famine, and other adventitious circumstances. He forgets that the prosperity had come and was firmly established before an ounce of gold had found its way from the mines of California to the channels of circulation. The Crimean War, occurring long after the tariff of 1846 had torn down the barriers and let in the prosperity, had no effect upon the country prior to 1853, when it began. It probably increased the price of breadstuffs in 1854 and 1855, but it had no effect upon American manufactures. It is difficult to see how it stimulated the production of cotton goods, hats, boots, shoes, glass goods, paper, leather, iron, or steel. It is difficult to comprehend how a war in Europe could add to the national wealth, except in stimulating the export of food and army stores. England and France certainly supplied their own arms and ordnance and quartermaster stores. Prices touched their highest point in 1857, after the war had closed. But the assertion that our own war with Mexico, which began and terminated before 1850, was the cause of the increased national wealth from 1850 to 1860, and the enormous increase in importation, exportation, and consumption, is beyond the bounds of conception.

The total production of gold in the United States from 1850 to 1860 was $550,000,000, while from 1860 to 1870 it was $576,000,000, and from 1870 to 1880 it was $700,000,000. Why did not the greater production of the two decades after 1860 give greater prosperity, if that gave the prosperity in the former decade? Instead of that, the growth of neither national wealth, agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce approximated it. Leaving out the decade of the war, and comparing that from 1870 to 1880, when there was the largest gold production, instead of enormous increase of prosperity, there never has been a period in the history of the country so black with disaster. For more than half the decade all the industries of the country were stretched upon their backs. The roads and highways were filled with tramps and beggars. Immigration was falling off year by year, and emi-

gration increasing year by year. State after State was tottering on its foundation and calling on the general government for aid to keep it on its feet. The central city of the iron and steel industry was set on fire by starving workingmen who were out of employment, and there was not power enough in the State of Pennsylvania either to suppress the disorder or extinguish the flames. During a large part of that decade it was estimated that three millions of men were out of work. The gold product that Mr. Blaine thinks contributed so largely to the prosperity of the free-trade decade ought to have produced the same effect, and in a greater degree, from 1870 to 1880. The fact is that California gold had little to do with the material condition of the country at either period. The great body of it left the country as fast as it was taken from the mines. Our circulation in 1850 was $265,000,000, and in 1860 it was $487,000,000, but we had exported $400,000,000. The increase in our circulation had come from increased prices for our exports and decreased prices for our imports. The Irish famine cost us as much in the decline in cotton as it made up in the advance in provisions, but, like the Mexican War, it was over before the free-trade decade began. The Crimean War came and went, and still the prosperity continued and at an increasing rate. The question still remains, What produced it if unshackled commerce did not?

Mr. Blaine says that the periods of depression in our home manufactures were those in which England most prospered in her commercial relations with us. In this statement he is not accurate. When England is most prosperous, she has the most money to buy what we have to sell and what her wants require her to buy, and these are mainly agricultural products. When she is most prosperous, she makes an active demand on our farmers for cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions. This active demand always raises the prices of all farm products all over the country, and distributes wealth among the masses of the people. Between 1879 and 1881 England's prosperity enabled her to demand of our farmers, and pay for, a large amount of their products. The value of the articles we sent her in 1881 amounted to $477,000,000, and that was more than half of our total exports to all countries. By her prosperity chiefly we increased our exports of agricultural products from $546,000,000 in 1879 to $730,000,000 in 1881. This enormous increase was the result mostly of

England's ability to buy from us and pay us for our surplus. The increased demand very greatly increased the prices of these products, and distributed among our farmers a large amount of money. There was an average increase in the price of corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, potatoes, hay, and cotton of 42 per cent. over the prices of 1879.

Now, if England's prosperity enabled her to buy and consume $200,000,000 more of our agricultural products this year than she did last year, the increased demand would again increase the prices of these products, and if it amounted to 42 per cent., as it did before, it would add $1,500,000,000 to the value of our crop, which, we have seen, is estimated at four billions. This large sum distributed among our farmers would soon be distributed among all classes. Nine dollars out of every ten would be spent for articles to be consumed by the purchaser. How would the domestic manufacturer share in the result of this prosperity of England? We produce annually about $7,000,000,000 of manufactured products. We exported last year $138,000,000, and we imported, including raw sugar, manufactures amounting to $422,000,000; so that our total home consumption reaches about $7,300,000,000, of which over 94 per cent. is home production, and less than 6 per cent. foreign production.

Now, when this large increased wealth—the result mainly of England's prosperity and what is left of our trade with her—is to be expended in the purchase of manufactures, who is to reap the incalcuable benefits from its expenditure? Ninety-four per cent. will go into the pockets of the home producers and home laborers, and 6 per cent. into those of the foreigner. This will create an active demand for home products, and an active demand for the raw materials and the labor to make them, and this again will increase the price of the materials and the wages of labor. So that, after all, not only is the prosperity of England communicated to our farmers, but through them it goes to the manufacturers, to the laborers, and the producers of raw materials, and it does not stop yet. The consumer and the producer are not side by side, and never will be. The merchant and the middleman have to supply the missing link, and when there is an increased product to be distributed there is an active demand made on them for their services, and they obtain constant employment and higher wages.

Mr. Blaine's mistake is the mistake of the system which he is attempting with his splendid ability to support, and nowhere in this or any other country could it have chosen an abler champion. It is being assailed at every point, and it will require all of his tact and talent to cover its retreat and prevent it from degenerating into a rout as it leaves the field.

The system falsely called protection maintains that commerce is a gambling device in which one party wins and the other loses. Therefore if England makes anything in a trade with us she is benefited and we are injured. But the truth is both parties are benefited. We can produce much that she wants better and cheaper than she can, and she can produce much that we want cheaper and better than we can; and the exchange is beneficial to both. Our vast system of manufactures stands upon the same solid and immovable foundation as our agriculture. There are but few things in either that we cannot produce cheaper than they can be produced elsewhere, and that article whose cost of production is the lowest holds the market against all competitors. Throughout our whole history we have been exporting a large part of our annual crops to others who could either not produce them at all or not as cheaply as they could obtain them by producing something else and exchanging their surplus for ours. No tariff levied upon agricultural products can help them. It can only hurt them, as it does by prohibiting the import of the things that would come to be exchanged for them. We have the soil and climate adapted to the cultivation of grain and cotton and to raising the stock which supplies the food for mankind. It yields a larger return for the labor expended than any other country. We have more intelligent, enterprising, and skilful farmers than are to be found in any other country. We use labor-saving machinery, and make our labor more productive than the labor of any other people. These advantages enable us to produce a greater quantity in a given time, and at a lower cost, and hence we can hold our own market against the world.

But it is not in the home market that our agricultural interest is imperilled. It is in the foreign market, and the danger there does not come from rival products, for we can raise our products and pay the costs of transportation to market and then undersell with profit all rivals. The danger is in foreign and domestic tariffs that prohibit our entrance into the market. Some

years ago we exported breadstuffs and provisions largely to European markets on the continent. That trade is now almost destroyed by hostile tariffs in retaliation for our prohibitions against their manufactures. Our productive capacity is greater than our capacity to consume, and the excess is growing greater year by year, and if we are to be shut out from our consumers, the surplus must be thrown upon the home market, already largely oversupplied, with the prices constantly low and constantly tending to a lower level. The result is that agricultural production is discouraged, the output is decreased, and the farmers are kept straitened and with no prospects of bettering their condition. We have to-day twelve millions more people than we had in 1881, and yet our exports of agriculture are 230 millions less than they were that year, when they should be 250 millions more, and would be if the markets were not shut against us. If we would open our markets to the products of other countries, ours would be demanded and taken in exchange for theirs. But as long as we refuse to take their surplus they cannot take ours, because they have nothing else with which to pay. The solution of the difficulty will be found in the removal of the barriers which we have interposed against the admission of their products, and that will permit them to come and exchange with us, to the mutual advantage of both.

Our manufacturers, like our farmers, are standing sadly in need of more extended markets. With the capital, machinery, and manual labor now organized and embarked in manufacturing, we can turn out a third more product than our people can consume, and we must either have more markets and more consumers, or less product, less employment, less wages, and less profits to capital.

Situated as we are to-day, we are shut out from the world's markets because the cost of our production is greater than that of our rivals. We only export a trifle of the vast product we manufacture—about 2 per cent. of the whole. With our productive machinery, with the inventive genius of our people constantly in advance of the world, with our cheap and skilled labor, we can produce, cheaper and better, more than half the products which the manufacturing people of Europe are distributing through the world, if we could obtain the materials at the same cost. Europe is exporting a thousand millions of textiles every year, most of

which we can make more cheaply than she can, and give better employment and better wages to our people; but the flock-master says it is the duty of the government to give him a bounty on his wool, the hemp-grower on his hemp, the coal-owner on his coal, and the manufacturer on his machinery; and by the time all the bounties are paid the cost of the product is so high that it cannot be sold anywhere but at home, and there the home consumer is bound to buy, and pay all these costs, or go without. If Congress would remove the duty from all materials that enter into manufacture, then we could buy them on equal terms with the foreigner, and, having advantage of him in the cheapness of our labor, we could soon start all our machinery and operate it in full time, and give full employment and better wages to our workmen. There is no good reason why we should not make and export the largest part of the metal goods that are now made in and exported from European shops. With cost of production brought to the lowest point by removal of all taxes on materials going into manufacture, we should soon recover our lost position as carrier of the world's commerce. We should soon see our commercial marine in all parts of the world, and, instead of paying 150 millions to foreigners to carry our commerce we should pay it to our own people, and give employment to thousands of Americans in our carrying trade. But before we begin the contest with other nations we must get rid of the Pennsylvania idea that it is better to hang a man than make a seaman of him.

Mr. Blaine says that in 1860 the population of the United States and Great Britain was about the same, and that our wealth was then fourteen thousand millions and that of Great Britain was twenty-nine thousand millions, and that at the end of twenty years the United States had added nearly thirty thousand millions to her wealth and Great Britain nearly fifteen thousand millions to hers. With a small error in the statement of the wealth of the United States in 1860 he is correct. Our national wealth in 1860 was over sixteen thousand millions, instead of under fourteen, and the gain of the United States in twenty years was twenty-seven thousand millions, instead of thirty. But does that prove that because the United States has commercial restriction, and Great Britain has not, the former has surpassed her rival in the race for wealth? Let us apply the same test to France. She has commercial restriction, just as we have, and if that is the cause of

our superior growth over England, it ought to produce the same effect in France. France is an older country than Great Britain, is more populous, and has been for years. Great Britain got her artisans from France and the Low Countries during the religious persecutions of the Protestants on the continent, and that was the germ from which her manufactures sprang. And yet in 1882, while France had thirty-seven million people and Great Britain thirty-five million, the wealth of Great Britain was $44,800,000,000 and that of France was $40,300,000,000. Germany, another protection country, had forty-five million people and $31,615,000,000 of wealth. Both countries older than England and yet both behind her. There is no connection whatever between any of these facts and the issue joined. They are like the difference in the rate of wages between the United States and Great Britain. It has been claimed by Protectionists that our rate of wages is higher than Great Britain's because we have high tariffs and she has not. On the other hand, Germany and France have lower rates of wages than Great Britain; and they have high tariffs, and she has not. Protection seems to be a principle that can work both ways.

Instead of claiming our marvellous growth as the logical result of commercial restriction because it has occurred subsequent to the adoption of that policy, it would be more satisfactory to show how wealth is made and trace it back to that source, if it be the rightful one. How is the dollar, the unit of the vast pile, made? The answer must be, By labor. That is the producing cause of all wealth. And the largest wealth will be made where labor produces the largest amount of products in a given time. These products will take their largest value where there is the largest demand for their consumption, and that is in the markets where the same articles cannot be produced, or cannot be produced as cheaply, or not in sufficient quantities to supply the demand. Hence the surplus must find its markets away from home, where it is wanted, and not at home, where it is not wanted. At home it has its lowest value, because it is not wanted; away from home it finds its highest value, because it is wanted. But the person who wants must have the capacity to buy; this he can only have by having the right to sell and have his surplus conveyed to his customer. This is commerce. Having the right to enter the market where his product is wanted, and to

sell it at the highest price he can obtain, he is that much more able to buy and pay for the surplus of others; and all parties having access to markets where these products are wanted obtain the highest prices and accumulate the most wealth. Just in the proportion that the market is closed and the product driven back upon the producer, just so is the price decreased, and the ratio of accumulation of wealth retarded.

This is what protection does. When protection puts taxes upon the goods of the foreigner that prohibit them from coming here, he is rendered less able to take in exchange the surplus which we are ready and anxious to give. He takes less of our wheat, flour, cotton, and provisions; a larger surplus is left in the home market; the demand is decreased; the price falls, and the growth of wealth is retarded. Protection, therefore, has lessened the height of the column, high as it is. Had it not been for restrictions and prohibitions on our trade, it would have been greater. Our enormous growth is due to our rich soil, to our splendid climate, and to the productive efficiency of our farmers; and in manufactures to the great multiplication of machinery and its productive power, and to the genius and skill of our workmen, as well as to the immense mineral wealth which we have, and which we are taking out of the earth and consuming at home and shipping to foreign countries. The superiority of our labor over that of Great Britain may be shown by one item. Mr. Hill, formerly statistician of the State Department, in an argument before the Tariff Commission in 1882, said that in that year we, with 5,250,000 hands, produced double what Great Britain did with 5,140,000 hands. Gateley's "World's Progress" puts our product in 1882 at six thousand millions and Great Britain's at four thousand millions. Even that would show that the same number of laborers here produce 50 per cent. more than they do in Great Britain. This accounts for our superior wealth. No people ever have increased or ever will increase in wealth by the help of taxation. No people can increase in wealth by being kept out of market with their products. Taking one dollar out of a man's pocket does not put two in. How can taking a man's money and giving it to another increase his wealth?

Without showing the least connection between his facts and his theory, Mr. Blaine continues to make statements about the growth of the United States and compare it with the growth of

England. It is somewhat strange that it has not occurred to him to compare his own country with any of those on the Continent whose foreign trade is under the same restrictions. He will find we have excelled them more than we have England. Coming to particulars, he says that English steel rails were delivered in New York in 1862 at $103.44 in gold and in 1864 at $88 per ton, and that up to 1870 English manufacturers held the market; but what reduced the price from $103.44 to $88 he does not tell us. It was certainly not our competition, for during the three years prior to 1870 we produced less than twenty thousand tons. But in 1870, he says, under the specific duty of $28 per ton, we took the home market and held it until during the last summer the home and the foreign price were substantially the same. He might have made his statement still stronger and said that in 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878 the prices in the United States were lower than in Great Britain. But does that prove that the high taxes put on the rails have been beneficial to the people of the United States? For the years prior to 1870 the tax was 45 per cent. and the prices ranged from $106 to $166 per ton; so that the duty at the lowest was $47.70 per ton, and on the highest $74.70 per ton. If it was high duties that developed this industry, why did it not, prior to 1870, reach the point claimed for it in 1889? The steel-rail industry is new, and it started in this country soon after it did in England. And as soon as our manufacturers could procure the patents and protect themselves against competition at home, and through the tariff be protected against competition from abroad, they went to work to amass a great fortune. The prices from 1875 to 1878 and the prices given by Mr. Blaine show that we can produce rails as cheaply as they can be produced in England, and when the demand is dull and prices fall so that English rails cannot be imported and pay the heavy duty and be sold, then our manufacturers have the market all to themselves and fix the price according to the demand. When the demand is great and the prices go up, as they did in 1871, '72, and '73, then importation sets in, and the consumer pays the whole amount fixed by the tariff on both foreign and domestic product.

Mr. Blaine challenges the statement made by Mr. Cleveland in his message that "while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same

kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles." Mr. Blaine thinks "Mr. Cleveland's argument would have been strengthened if he had given a few examples—nay, if he had given one example—to sustain his charge." I will do myself the pleasure of strengthening Mr. Cleveland's argument, and will give him for Mr. Cleveland "a few examples" of the accuracy of that statement. I will take steel rails to start with. In 1870 we imported 44,000 tons of steel rails, for which we paid in the foreign market $52 per ton, and duty at $28. The cost price in our market, duty paid, was $78, exclusive of costs of freight, insurance, commissions, profits, etc. At the same time we produced 34,000 tons; price at home $102.50. In 1872 we imported 105,000 tons, for which we paid in the foreign market $58.17 per ton; duty, $28 per ton; together, $86.17 price laid down in New York, exclusive of freights and other charges. At the same time we produced 83,000 tons at $112 per ton. In 1873 we imported 139,000 tons; price in foreign country, $64.43 per ton; duty, $28; making $92.43 per ton. At the same time we produced at home 115,000 tons; home price, $120.50 per ton. In 1880 we imported 612,000 tons of pig-iron, worth in foreign markets $18.84 per ton; duty, $7 per ton; whole cost delivered in New York, without freight or other charges, $25.84. Referring to the price-list of the Iron and Steel Association, we find the average price for that year of pig-iron in Philadelphia was $28.50. In 1881 we imported 295,666 tons of pig-iron, for which we paid in the foreign market $20.56 per ton; $7 duty added made $27.56 delivered in New York. At the same time the average American price was $31.36 per ton. In 1882 we imported 118,062 tons, for which we paid in the foreign market $18.77 per ton; $7 duty added made $25.77 delivered in New York. The American price for the same time was $31.36 per ton. In each one of these cases the domestic manufacturer sold his product for a price high enough to cover foreign price, tariff, and all other charges added.

These "few examples" may be accepted as evidences of the cost to the home consumer of the articles which are dutiable and which are imported. It is no answer to this to say that for many articles chargeable with duty the price here is lower than in foreign countries. When it is, we do not import them. Whenever the price rises high enough to import and sell with duty

added, then the similar article produced at home gets "nearly or quite the same enhanced price."

The steel rails which Mr. Blaine says were worth $35 per ton in England and the same in the United States are not affected by the tariff. When the demand is small and prices are low, our manufacturers fall below the top of the tariff wall and supply them at such prices above cost of production as they can obtain; but when the demand is great and prices rise, the domestic manufacturer uses the tariff to lift his prices $17 per ton higher than the foreign price. Then both the foreign and the domestic rails carry to the consumer the full tariff rates. Mr. Blaine asks if any one believes that steel rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails except by the steady competition of American producers with the English and among themselves. What competition was there among American manufacturers? It was a monopoly. The manufacturers owned a patent, and there could be no competition. There was no competition against the English manufacturers, for the tariff prohibited them from competing except when prices were so high that the Englishman could send his rails here, pay duty and charges, and make profits, though $28 on the ton less than the American manufacturer was making.

He cites another instance of the wisdom of the tariff in building up the carpet trade. He says that in 1860 nearly one-half of the carpets used in the United States were imported, and now out of sixty millions paid annually for carpets less than a million is paid for foreign carpets. And he might truthfully have added, "There was no reason why we should buy any from abroad." The woollen industry ever since 1824 has had a dead body bound on its shoulders in the tax on wool, and it will never show what it is capable of doing until wool and all other materials used in its manufacture are relieved from tariff taxation, and a revenue duty placed upon the finished product. If wool, like cotton, had been free of duty from 1850 to 1860, it would have made the same growth as cotton manufactures; but the 30-per cent. duty on wool greatly restricted the domestic production, and it made but little progress till after the tariff of 1857, when all wool under twenty cents a pound was put on the free list. In the three years between that time and 1860 it made a very considerable growth. Mr. Blaine begs the question when he says that

carpets are cheaper now than they were thirty years ago. So is everything; but taxing people did not reduce the price, or give the carpet-workers better wages, as he contends. The price of carpets has been reduced by the improved methods of manufacture, and the wages of the workman by the increased amount of work he does in a day.

Mr. Blaine wants to know what the thousands of laborers employed in steel-rail manufacture would do if the tariff were removed from steel rails? The answer is ready: they would make steel rails. He himself shows that we can, and, when we have to do so, do, produce steel rails as cheaply as they are produced in England. Now, if the duty were entirely removed, a ton of rails would be very much cheaper; there would be a much greater demand for them and for the labor that makes them; that increased demand would increase the wages of the men; there would be more rails made, more railroads built, more men employed, and a reduction in transportation charges. The only change which would be made that would be damaging to anybody would be the reduction in the profits of the manufacturer.

Mr. Blaine seems to be elated at the statement of Mr. Gladstone that we produce cloth and iron at high prices, instead of cereals and cotton at low prices, and he proceeds to thank him profusely in the name of all the friends of high taxes. But it seems to me that the farmer will not become hilarious at the proposition of Mr. Blaine to increase for him the cost of producing his cotton and his grains. The whole progress of our industrial system and its enormous growth have come through decreasing the cost of production by utilizing machinery and other agencies for increasing product. If the Western farmer could lower the present cost of producing a bushel of wheat, there would be a greater margin of profit between cost of production and market prices. If a Southern farmer could, by labor-saving machinery or otherwise, reduce the cost of making a bale of cotton one-half below what it is to-day, the South would advance with even greater strides than she is now making.

As Mr. Gladstone says, our manufacturers are producing iron and cloth at high prices, and our farmers have to pay that increased cost when they buy and consume these products, and it is an unnecessarily burdensome and exhausting tax upon them. If the tax on coal and ores were taken off, iron could be produced

cheaper; if the tax on wool and machinery and dyes were taken off, the cost of producing woollen goods would be reduced; but, as it is, the price to the consumer is enhanced by these taxes, consumption is restricted, and many have to go without who would otherwise be enabled to buy.

Mr. Blaine seems to believe in scarcity, and that it would be better for our farmers not to raise so much grain because the foreign market is so filled that the prices are unduly lowered. What else would he have them raise? Would he have them stop work? The interest on their debts does not stop running when they stop working. Would it not be better to let the farmers go on working and raise all the wheat they can and send it to foreign markets, where there are now, and always will be, consumers enough to take it all at good prices, if our government will only let us take what they have to give in exchange and what we want and need? England needs our food products, and when she takes them to the extent that we take from her what she has to give, then she must look to India, Russia, and other countries to make out her supply and take from them products that cost them more to produce than ours cost us. If we examine the Report on Foreign Commerce for 1888, we will see in a table prepared by our Bureau of Statistics that the export price of our wheat for a series of years has been lower than the export price of any other country on the globe. What we want is not to limit the product or to increase the cost of production, as Mr. Blaine seems to think, but to increase the facilities of exchange. An increased recognition of the natural right of our farmers to buy and sell would be the true solution of the difficulty.

Mr. Blaine does not controvert the fact, stated by Mr. Gladstone, that wages have increased in England since the removal of all shackles from her foreign commerce. But he attributes the advance to the emigration of her workmen to the United States. Both causes contributed to it. It is not a little surprising to witness the facility with which Protectionists shift their logic. He has been impressing us all through his very able article with the idea that it was protection that raised wages; now he says it is demand and supply. Mr. Gladstone used the same argument for free trade which Mr. Blaine had used for protection: in order to parry the blow Mr. Blaine contends that it was not free trade that increased English wages, but scarcity of English labor. It is very

gratifying to find Mr. Blaine admitting that wages are regulated by demand and supply, and that when English workmen emigrated to the United States, the labor supply was reduced, the demand for labor increased, and therefore the rate of wages was increased. Following it up, the immigration here increasing, the supply decreased correspondingly the demand for labor, and retarded the increase of the rate of wages.

Our rate of wages, just as that in England, is fixed by the amount of demand for work, the number of laborers ready to respond to that demand, and the skill and capacity of the laborer to do the work required by his employer. He is not protected by any tariff imposed on the products of his labor, and cannot be. In common with the great body of the people, he is taxed to put money in the pockets of the man who owns the products, not the muscle or the brain. Protecting his product does not protect him against competition. There are no protective duties on foreign labor. It is on the free list. And so far as our labor is concerned, it has had to contend against free trade from the beginning of the government. The tariff protects the thing that labor makes, but that does not belong to him ; it belongs to his employer. There is a tax of seventy-five cents on a ton of bituminous coal, but it does not inure to the benefit of the miner ; he gets forty or fifty cents a ton for his work, which he would get without the tariff, just as the anthracite miner does, whose competing article comes in free of duty. The tariff benefit goes into the pocket of the owner of the coal, and he may manifest a great deal of zeal for the welfare of his workmen, but he never gives them the seventy-five cents which Congress has imposed on the ton of coal for his benefit. There is a tax on iron ore of seventy-five cents, but the miner only gets from fifty to seventy-five cents per ton for his work, and he never gets the tariff benefits ; they go to the owner of the ore. It is the ore that is protected, not the muscle that digs it. There is a duty of $6.72 on a ton of pig-iron, but the workmen only get from $1.25 to $1.50 per ton for their labor, and that they would get without the tariff, because no one is prohibited from competing with them. The prohibition against competition is only against the pig-iron, and that does not belong to them. The manufacturer gets it and keeps it. There is a duty of $17 on a ton of steel rails, but the laborer only gets from $3.50 to $5, and that he would get without

any tariff. The $17 goes to the owner of the steel rails, and he keeps it, and if his workmen can keep their souls and bodies together they will do well.

Mr. Blaine asks, How can the Free-Trader explain the fact that a great many articles manufactured in the United States find ready and large sale in Canada? He says that we have to pay the same tariff duties and higher transportation charges to reach the Canadian market, and he appends a long list of manufactured articles which we export to and sell in Canada in competition with English rivals. Before proceeding to answer his question, I must thank him on behalf of all the tax-ridden people of the United States for admitting away his case. There is not a shred of the web of controversy left. He admits that we can manufacture our goods, pay higher freight charges to foreign markets, and then hold our own against our rivals. If we can do that in the foreign market, we can certainly do it at home, when the foreigner pays all the freight charges to reach us and we pay none. Then what is the use of protective duties on these goods? No tariff can protect any article against competition at the place where it is produced at the lowest cost, because no article can compete with it. There can be no importation and, of course, no competition. This admission must have dropped from his pen in "the heat of debate." His friends will find it in all the roads they travel in the near future.

The answer to his question is that we do produce these articles, and many more, more cheaply than they can be produced in any other country or by any other people on the globe. We have got more skilful and more productive labor than any other people. It turns out more and better product in a day than any rival, and while it may receive double the wages of others it does treble the work, and in some cases ten times as much. These articles, it will be noticed, are of that class in which the labor is a large element in the cost, and just as any article becomes further removed from the raw-material condition, just so it becomes further removed from competition. It is our superior labor that gives us precedence, and if we take the tax off the raw material we will add woollens, cottons, iron and steel, and many other kinds of manufactures to our exports. The only item of woollen manufacture in this class is carpets. They are made of the cheapest wool, bearing the lowest duty. Now, if we can pay this low duty on

carpet wools and pay higher transportation charges, and still hold the foreign market, could we not sell more carpets if we could produce them still lower ? And, could we not produce them at a lower cost if the tax on carpet wool were taken off ? And then if the heavy tax were taken off combing and clothing wools, could we not largely increase our exports of woollen goods ? And if we could increase our exports to Canada and hold her markets against our foreign rivals, could we not hold our home markets, when the foreigner would have to pay the cost of reaching us before he could compete ?

I hardly know how to express my gratification at having this admission from so distinguished an advocate and so able a defender of commercial restriction. With the facts as he states them—and they are correct—there can be no justification for keeping any taxes on these articles. There may be a reason for it, but it is a reason that cannot be defended. A duty on these goods can only serve the manufacturers in one way. When they form combinations and trusts, and make high rates to sell to our people and low rates to sell to foreigners, there is no way to interfere with them, and they can sell to us at combination prices and to foreigners at competition prices. Many articles are exported and sold to foreigners at lower prices than they are to citizens at home. The tariff is a powerful offender that watches at the gate and guards and protects the robber while he is in the house spoiling the goods of the husbandman.

Mr. Blaine contends that protection not only increases the wealth of the protected manufacturer, into whose pocket the increased price goes, but the farmer also, out of whose pocket it goes ; and he very triumphantly refers to the census of 1860 and that of 1880 to show that national wealth has been growing all over the Union, in the agricultural States as well as in the manufacturing States. If he had gone back ten years and started at 1850, he could have proved the same facts under the free-trade tariffs in existence for the ten years between 1850 and 1860. So the fact of increase alone is not sufficient to determine the relative merits of the two opposing policies. But let us compare the decade from 1850 to 1860 with that from 1860 to 1870—the first under revenue tariffs, the other under protective tariffs. In 1850 the national wealth was $7,136,000,000; in 1860 it was $16,160,000,000 ; which shows a gain of 126 per cent.—a ratio of increase that

has never been approximated during any decade either before or since the war. In 1825—in the beginning of that period which Mr. Blaine characterizes as one of the most prosperous that the country has ever had—the national wealth was $3,273,000,000. In 1832, at the end of that seven years of fatness, the national wealth reached $4,071,000,000. (I quote from the tables of the director of the mint for 1881.) This shows an increase of 25 per cent. in the seven years. Let us now compare the increase during the first seven years under the free-trade tariff of 1846. In 1846 the national wealth was $6,302,000,000, and in 1853 it was $9,708,000,000, which was an increase of 54 per cent. At the end of the next seven years under the free-trade tariffs of 1846 and 1857 the national wealth was $16,160,000,000, which was an increase of 66 per cent. This was the last of the free-trade era in the United States. Since then we have had thirty years of high tariffs, high taxes, and high obstructions to trade. Leaving 1860, we leave the national wealth accumulating at a rate exceeding 13 per cent. per annum.

Now let us compare the growth of national wealth in periods of seven years since the adoption of the protective policy. I take periods of seven years in order to make comparisons with that remarkable period from 1825 to 1832, which Mr. Clay thought then, and Mr. Blaine thinks now, was the most prosperous the country has ever had. In 1867, under the stimulating effect of high duties and restricted trade, the national wealth was $22,958,000,000, which was an increase of only 42 per cent., instead of 66 per cent. under the last seven years of free trade. But it may be said that this period embraced the war, with its great destruction of values. Leaving this period out of consideration, let us take the next seven years. In 1874 the national wealth was $32,420,000,000, which was an increase of only 41 per cent. over 1867. In 1880 the national wealth was $43,300,000,000. For the three or four years preceding it was increasing at a ratio less than two billions a year. If we add two billions to the sum of $43,300,000,000, it will make $45,300,000,000 for 1881, the end of the last seven years for which we have any official report; and that would show an increase of 30 per cent.

From these comparisons it would seem that the great American system, like the great American crawfish, was advancing backwards and carrying the country with it. If these comparisons

afford any comfort or encouragement to the advocates of high taxes, I certainly do not envy them while they grow hilarious with the pleasure which their contemplation affords.

Mr. Blaine thinks he makes a strong point for protection when he shows that the New England States and New York and Pennsylvania (which he calls the eight manufacturing States) had in 1860 $5,123,000,000 of aggregate wealth, and had increased it to $16,228,000,000 in 1880, which he says is 216 per cent.; but let us go back to 1850 again, and see how they were prospering under free trade from 1850 to 1860. In 1850 these same States had aggregate wealth amounting to $2,930,000,000, and in 1860 they had $5,123,000,000, which was an increase of 75 per cent. After 1860 they began their career under high protective war duties, and in 1870 had aggregate wealth amounting to $14,350,000,000, which was an increase of 180 per cent. over 1860, or 18 per cent. per annum! I give it up. Protection did protect the manufacturers while the government, as well as the people, was buying at high prices to supply the consumption and waste occasioned by a gigantic war. But let us see how they fared after the war was over. In 1880 they had aggregate wealth amounting to $18,700,000,000, or an increase over 1870 of less than 30 per cent., or 3 per cent. per annum. Now that the war is over these manufacturing States would be glad to return to the ratio of increase they enjoyed during the free-trade decade, which was 7½ per cent. per annum, instead of 3 per cent. per annum under protection.

Next let us compare the growth of the agricultural States named by Mr. Blaine under free trade and protection. In 1850 the States named by him, except Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska (which were not States at that time), had aggregate wealth amounting to $990,000,000, and in 1860, under free trade, their wealth amounted to $3,370,000,000. This was an increase at the rate of 240 per cent. Now, from 1860 to 1870, under protection, their wealth had grown to $7,765,000,000, which was an increase of 130 per cent.; but that is a long way behind 240 per cent., which they made in the free-trade decade. In 1880 the wealth of these same States was $11,650,000,000, which was an increase of 50 per cent. They increased at 24 per cent. per annum under free trade, and 5 per cent. per annum under protection.

Let us compare Massachusetts and Illinois, one a manufacturing State and the other an agricultural State. Massachusetts

had in 1850 $88,000,000 invested in manufactures and Illinois had $6,000,000. Massachusetts had $573,000,000 of wealth; Illinois had $156,000,000. Massachusetts had 994,000 people and Illinois had 851,000 people. In the contest for wealth Massachusetts had the advantage in population of 143,000 people, of $417,000,000 more capital, and fourteen times as much manufacturing capacity. With such advantages she ought to have left Illinois out of sight in the race; but at the end of the contest in 1860 Illinois had caught up with and passed her rival, having accumulated $871,000,000, while Massachusetts had gotten $815,000,000. Illinois farmers, unshackled by restrictions on their farm products, had increased her wealth at 457 per cent., and Massachusetts manufacturers had increased hers at 42 per cent. They now start a new race under the fostering care of a protective tariff. This time Illinois starts with the advantage of $56,000,000 more money and a half-million more people, but when the contest was ended in 1870, she had a million more people and ten millions less money. Illinois had increased her wealth 143 per cent. under protective tariffs and 457 per cent. under free-trade tariffs, while Massachusetts made 42-per cent. increase under low tariffs and 161-per cent. increase under high tariffs. It seems from this that the protective tariff increased the profits of the manufacturer, but decreased the profits of the farmer. That was its history at the time. Now, with few exceptions, it is decreasing the profits of both. Mr. Blaine comforts the South by telling them that under protection they have since 1860 increased their wealth 80 per cent., or 4 per cent. per annum. If he will look back to the period between 1850 and 1860, he will see that they gained wealth at a rate exceeding 10 per cent. per annum, instead of 4 per cent. under protective tariffs since then.

The taxpayers of the United States, recognizing in the practical results of the protective tariffs the truth of Chief-Justice Marshall's utterance, that a power to tax is a power to destroy, are not very choice in selecting the words with which they characterize the few hundred beneficiaries whose arms are in their pockets up to the shoulders. They have sometimes distinguished these large proprietors by the mediæval designation of "Robber Barons." When they see the manufacturers of steel rails, by the aid of tariff taxes, taking out of their pockets in twelve years more than $150,000,000, and all the manufacturers of iron and

steel in the same time taking over $600,000,000, it is hardly to be supposed that they will use the most delicate terms to convey their ideas. One of these gentlemen, a native of the same country as Mr. Gladstone, has given to the public his opinions as to the best way to expend the large incomes which they enjoy. The idea of plain people is that the pocket of the taxpayer is the best place for them, and the place where they rightfully belong.

Mr. Gladstone did not, in his discussion, use offensive words in speaking of the beneficiaries of protection, and Mr. Blaine shows the liveliest appreciation of his delicacy of feeling. Mr. Gladstone is three thousand miles away. He has not been familiar with the results of American protective tariffs for the last thirty years. He has not seen the farmers of England, as we have those of America, brought deeper and deeper in debt year by year and forced to borrow back at high interest the money that was extorted from them by "legislative decrees." He has not seen English manufacturers, as we have seen American manufacturers, closing down and discharging their laborers because consumers are not able to buy their high-cost goods. In his essay he simply discussed a principle, without characterizing the wrongdoers. If Mr. Blaine could have heard "the Grand Old Man" fifty years ago, when, in the prime of his young manhood, he was supporting Villiers, Huskisson, Bright, Peel, and Cobden when they were assailing the avarice and greed of English landlords who clamored for the retention of the tax on the bread that fed the mouths of the working men and women of England, he might have caught the sound of an occasional adjective as it fell from Mr. Gladstone's lips.

Mr. Blaine must not think that strong language of the kind quoted by him is confined to the plain people of the United States. Sometimes it gets in the mouths of men in high stations. The Supreme Court of the United States, holding their places for life and uninfluenced by the prejudices that sometimes move the multitude, declared from the bench that

> "to lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises, and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation."

Eighty summers have passed over the head of the great English statesman who has spoken for the emancipation of our

labor and our trade. A long life, pure and stainless as the snow that falls on his own highland hills, lies behind him—a life that has been accompanied all along its lengthened way by a great intellect and a pure heart—a life that has been conspicuous for its devotion to the best interests of his own countrymen and of mankind. The closing years of his life are consecrated to the emancipation of Ireland. In this last, noblest, and best work of a long and useful career, let him feel assured that the people of America extend him their heart-felt sympathies, and indulge the fond hope that his days may be lengthened many years; not for the weal of Ireland alone, but for that of England and the world.

ROGER Q. MILLS.

THE POPE AND ITALY.

BY GAIL HAMILTON.

THE problem of Italy challenges the sympathy of the world.

Two sovereigns contend upon her soil for dominion; both bequeathed by hoary antiquity, both borne onward by the irresistible current of modern tendency. But the one discerns the signs of the times, cordially embraces his opportunity, is eager to guide the ship safe, with as little loss and confusion as may befall, to the landing where she would be. Humbert stands at the helm, watchful, gracious, constant, calm.

The other partially discerns and wholly disapproves the situation, resists the tendency, thinks the stream can be dammed up and driven back to the good old times of mental subjugation by temporal sovereignty. Leo is borne along just as inevitably as Humbert, and just as rapidly, but struggling, plunging, flinging against the current with vain and vociferous violence. No spoiled child hurls down his toy with a more petulant wilfulness than Leo XIII. shows in thrusting back the fate that will not reinstate him in the middle ages.

The Pope is a beautiful-looking old man. White intellectual face, beaming benevolence; such sharp, thin, bold, clear-cut features as the medallions of the Cæsars and the Ciceros show; a tall, spare figure; classic Greek, Hebrew prophet, old Roman, in the splendid flowing robes,—he advances slowly through the kneeling congregation; women, black-robed, bending veiled and sombre; his handsome Italian nobles resplendent in white and blue, and, like

> "Horatius in his harness,
> Halting upon one knee,"

and bowed, each stately head; his tall Swiss guards gorgeous in the black and red and yellow laid to Michael Angelo's charge

three hundred years ago,—who cannot gainsay it. And as the holy father passes silently up the aisle through the hushed and reverent throng, with slender hand uplifted, bowing to right of him, bowing to left of him, bestowing upon all alike, Catholic and Protestant, his paternal blessing, he seems a holy father indeed, the very picture and personation of our blessed religion, such an one as Paul the Aged, true vicar of Jesus Christ; and it does not need Pope Pius's gentle reproof to the wayward, recalcitrant Protestant girl, "Daughter, the blessing of an old man will not hurt you," to inspire the veneration due to his ancient fame, to his benign and saintly aspect.

There came another day when great St. Peter's was open to a great host which filled, but without crush or crowd, the stately-columned church. For the first time in eighteen imprisoned years the Pope was to say mass at that high altar. The appointed hour was eight in the morning, and it was a weary crowd that stood till half-past ten before the ceremony opened. One heretic fist I know that would shake more vigorously at the author of such waiting than at any conceivable error of private judgment. Yet for one sublime moment even I forgot the waiting and the weariness; forgot the storied marbles in which the Reformation found its occasion, not its cause; forgot the yard-high mosaics in which the words of Christ have been painted for eternity, and only painted right, read always wrong, upon those lofty walls of Rome; forgot the papal Peter and his keys standing ever ready to lock the God-given reason and unlock only a man-made heaven,—for suddenly the stir of the multitude was stilled, the great bronze doors opened wide, and far, approaching, thrilled a strain of music from unseen choirs, as if heralding the coming of the King of Heaven. Only a moment, for it was not the King of Heaven who entered, borne aloft with uneasy and irregular motion on the shoulders of men, and every sacred association vanished on the instant. Four men in red upbore a red-and-gold chair in which sat the Pope in full view of the whole congregation. A plain white skull-cap pressed his venerable white hair; white alb and red chasuble lent each other intensity; and his richly-slippered feet, all gold and velvet, rested upon a gold-and-velvet cushion. Four silver trumpets in the dome above sounded the silver accord of heaven, and before and behind his chair rose great fans of feathers, round, inset with peacock-eyes,

decorative, and indicative to the faithful that the eyes of the world are on the Pope, and his on the world. The music held, strain on strain resounding, and the Pope was borne on, blessing as he went, with one hand outstretched, two fingers extended and two incurled, according to immemorial usage. But the deepened and deadly pallor of his face, the closeness with which he grasped the arm of his chair, the rigidity of his upright attitude, lent credit to the rumor that the unsteady motion produces in him a sort of sea-sickness, and that, in consequence, he assumes the chair only just before his entrance, to shorten as much as possible the dangerous voyage.

When mass had been said, and he had changed his cap for a gold-wrought mitre, and put on a white-and-gold-embroidered chasuble for the red, he was borne out in the same way. By the famous bronze statue of St. Peter, the famous toe outworn with more famous kisses, the procession paused ; the Pope arose, white and splendid in his soft, brilliant—and suppose at a venture we say angelic—drapery, and pronounced, or, rather, chanted, his benediction, to which the whole congregation seemed to shout again and again responsive "Vivas !"—and among the "Vivas to the Pope !" there mingled some " to the Pope-King"; which surely savors of disloyalty, but it passed without reproof or disturbance.

The revolution has been most generous to the vanishing order. Italy could have but one head, and that head must be a head for the taxable, tangible world, and not for the intangible, spiritual world. Granting this, it is impossible to see how the kingdom could have dealt more honorably or liberally with the papacy.

While I write, the Catholic churches of this country are echoing with the Bruno letters of American cardinal and archbishop. It may be doubted whether it is quite in accordance with the comity of nations for powerful and prominent American citizens publicly and officially to advocate secession in a friendly foreign nation. Yet that is what the archbishops and cardinals are doing. Publicly, in their official capacity, they urge the discontented citizens of Italy to rebel against their country and rive the union in twain.

The arguments used are precisely those used in Rome, but less openly, more guardedly. Not that the Pope cares for a "little tinselled royalty." He wants only temporal power enough to exer-

cise his spiritual power. It is not a question, says the American archbishop, of mere temporal power, but of spiritual independence of another's temporal power. The Pope wants merely so much power as not to be "restrained in the exercise of his most important functions."

This pastoral appeal to "two hundred millions of people" makes it worth while for the millions to examine the degree of restraint under which the Pope is placed.

The law of guarantees of 1871 gives an independent postal and telegraph service to the Vatican, free from national supervision, free from all charges and taxes. The Pope is also exempted from the oath of allegiance and may keep his own guards; yet any attempt upon his person, even be it only insult, is to be punished exactly as if it were an attempt upon the King. The conclave of cardinals is free from political or police investigations. All envoys, ecclesiastics, and couriers of the Pope to foreign nations enjoy the same immunities and the same prerogatives that are given to the accredited envoys of the national government.

I cannot see that the Pope is restrained from the exercise of any important function of the holy office, except that of burning Bruno. He has perfect spiritual freedom, practical temporal independence, singular immunity from municipal and national burdens, royal honors and privileges. All in vain. He refuses to be placated for his lost dominion. The state provides him an imperial income, six hundred thousand dollars a year, which he will not touch. The state secures him a magnificent palace, and he sulks in it, calling himself a prisoner. Even if he were imprisoned there, it would still be an imperial residence, for the Vatican is not only a palace, but a series of palaces. The Vatican, says one authority, has more than two hundred staircases, twenty courts, and forty-four hundred rooms. De Quincey tells us that Lady Murray made particular inquiries and learned that the total number of rooms, including cellars and closets capable of receiving a bed, was fifteen thousand. Judging from impression, I should say I had been through a million rooms myself. Investigation, however, is safer than impressions, and we shall do well to stick to Lady Murray's figures. And if we cut it down to the eleven thousand five hundred of later dates, we shall still have ample room and verge enough.

To the Pope's spiritual sovereignty his official report shows

that sixteen hundred persons are necessary. Twenty chamber servants, one hundred and twenty house prelates, one hundred and seventy privy chamberlains, one hundred and thirty supernumerary chamberlains, two hundred extra and honorary chamberlains, ten intendants and stable-masters, fifty door-keepers, indicate the good "style" of the papal house-keeping.

Moreover, this prison-palace of the Vatican contains the world's masterpieces of art and learning. The gardens and grounds of the Vatican are of such extent that, if the Pope could not leave them, he would still be monarch of all he surveys. But there is nothing to hinder him from leaving them. I asked one of the high dignitaries of the church in Rome why the Pope confined himself to the Vatican, why he did not drive in the streets and suburbs like any other gentleman; and he could give me no better answer than that the Pope would be insulted by the mob. But Italy is Catholic. Why should she insult the Pope? How can it be that the people wish the Pope to be reinstated in temporal dominion if they insult him the moment he puts his foot on temporal soil?

The Pope is no prisoner, but he chooses to call himself a prisoner. It looks like pure childishness, constructive dishonesty, and bad policy,—childishness because he can go where he likes and stays in the Vatican only because he likes to stay there; constructive dishonesty because in remote corners of the Catholic world to-day devout persons are cherishing a wisp of straw as a part of the hard bed to which the "prisoner of the Vatican," the holy father, is reduced—taking literally his charges against his country, and knowing nothing of the real liberty and luxury at his command. It must be bad policy, as it was bad policy for the popes of the fourteenth century to hide themselves in Avignon. Mystery is one thing; complete occultation is another. The manifested magnificence of the ceremonial at St. Peter's was not without its imposing features, even to an hereditary Protestant, practicalist, prosaicist. There is nothing to hinder an equally magnificent and imposing display in the streets of Rome, and its influence upon an Italian populace it would not be easy to limit. On the contrary, the Roman world is learning to do very well without a Pope it never sees.

It should not be for a moment forgotten that this is not a quarrel between Catholic and Protestant, but between Catholic

and Catholic. The King is a moderate but real Catholic; the Queen is a devout Catholic; the Pope is a professional as well as devout Catholic. Italy is largely Catholic, but its Catholicity is largely moderate, not to say indifferent. Italy has, perhaps, no great enthusiasm for a church in which she has grown up, and which she has a little outgrown; but certainly she has no hostility. It seems to me that she looks upon her immemorial church very much as she looks upon her churches, her palaces, her statues dug out of the ground, her pictures carefully cherished from the ravages of time—a beautiful and precious inheritance; a treasure never to be reproduced and therefore never to be despoiled; an eternal heirloom; but not vital to her future, like unity, self-government, nationality. She nourishes for the church no inherent antagonism, but, on the contrary, regrets the antagonism of the church to a united Italy. Religion is her sentiment of the past. Nationality is her enthusiasm of the future.

An Italian noble, high in the government service, but himself a Catholic, avowed that the men in Italy do not go much to confession. "They have no time. The King goes once a year or so." Such men will not willingly fight against the church, even in the service of the King. My nobleman was not an enthusiastic Liberal. "The Italians are babies!" he declared, in disgust, and he hates democracy with a very cordial hatred. Sharing the tendency which strangers generally have to give people information about themselves, he assured me that we have more aristocracy in this country than there is in the old nations, and that another hundred years will see "the classes" reëstablished here as they are in Europe. It is the most difficult thing in the world for men to see that nature establishes herself in classes, and that the object of democracy is not to prevent classification, but to leave each man free to classify himself. A republic no more than an autocracy places all men on a level, but it secures to all men perfect liberty to find their own level.

If the church were as clear-sighted as we have been taught to believe her, if she could discern the trend and strength of the modern movement, there would seem to be nothing in the way of her continuance. Men are far enough yet from being able to stand alone, and like to lean more or less hard against organization. Italy wishes only to go her own political way unhampered. She is willing and sufficiently eager that the Pope should go his

spiritual way equally untrammelled. If the Pope would not lay hands upon her territorial rights, she would permit him to save her soul with the greatest good-will. His spiritual supremacy would not only be awarded but secured him.

The Pope is of another mind. He seems to have advanced not one step further than that racy old Visconti of the fourteenth century who was governor of Milan, as well as its archbishop, and found the position so much to his liking that he was suspected of aiming at the supremacy of all Italy. The Pope accordingly sent a nuncio to him from Avignon, ordering him to choose which he would, the temporal or the spiritual power, for he could not retain both. "Behold!" said the doughty archbishop, having celebrated mass in the cathedral in full canonicals, and immediately thereafter drawing out his sword as governor,—"Behold!" he thundered to the astonished nuncio, "Behold my temporal and my spiritual, and tell the holy father, from me, that with the one I will defend the other!"

Our Pope has no sword to draw, and the nineteenth-century sword, drawn in his behalf, has not been wholly successful or, to his credit be it said, wholly agreeable. But he still has resources. If he cannot be a sovereign, he will be a martyr. If he cannot prevent the statue of Bruno from rising in Rome, he can at least lie on the floor all day and cry about it. This is not only childishness, but spoiled-childishness. Bruno was burned. He was horribly tortured, and then he was burned alive. He was tortured and burned to death for his opinions. It is not a question for taunts between Catholics and Protestants. Both have burned men for their opinions, and both might confess their sin and profess their repentance, or, we may even put it, both might agree to celebrate their growth in grace by rearing a statue to every man who was true enough to truth to burn for his opinion, whether that opinion were right or wrong.

To every liberal-minded man the sight of a Pope prone on the floor all day because a statue is consecrated to the man whom that Pope's predecessors burned is simply repulsive. It would be foolish enough if he were mourning because Bruno was burned. It is something worse when he mourns because he cannot burn him. I do not suppose that benignant-faced old man would really burn a fly, but it is difficult otherwise to conjecture why he weeps. He might as well weep over Victoria. Why could he not

have fallen in with the procession to Bruno's statue as easily as to the Queen's jubilee? The British revolt against the church was as radical as Bruno's, far less conscientious, and far more successful, at least to outward appearance. But the Pope sent one of his chief officers to congratulate the Queen on her fifty years of revolt, while to Bruno he paid only the tribute of angry protest and prostration. The political complication comes from the fact that there are thousands of men in Europe who stand in awe at the Pope's tears and take sides with them, without knowing that his tears are needless. It is against this man, with his consecrated past, with his organized present, plotting, planning, scheming against united Italy, that the government must be forever arrayed. How much of the care which has lined the King's brow with untimely furrows is due to the refractoriness of the Pope, we cannot know.

If the Pope continues refractory, it is not easy to see for him anything but failure. It seems impossible that Italy should give up her unity, should go back under the papal sway, even in any ever so small part of her territory. It would seem that the inherited affection, the toleration, the indifference with which the Pope is regarded would flame into active hostility and another revolution, at any such open attempt. Said a man, still young, a youth of Victor Emmanuel's revolution: "If the Pope should get back his temporal power, we would kill the priests, first thing—beginning with the Pope."

Yet he was a Catholic.

"Oh yes! I am a Catholic, but I do not practise my religion"—as calmly as if he had simply given up polo. "You ask the first hundred men you meet of their faith, and they will all say 'Catholic,' but if you ask have they attended mass to-day, oh, no! not one of them has been inside a church; and it is the priests' fault, who confound their services with the existence of God."

"But are you not, then, in danger of excommunication?"

"Excommunication once meant disgrace and ruin. Now men only laugh and say, 'Good-bye.' I have been excommunicated a dozen times, yet you see I am very well."

"But then how can reverence for the Pope remain?"

"I took a Polish friend of mine the other day to one of the Pope's receptions. The Pope asked him a question so compromising that he did not dare answer truly for fear some Russian spy

might be within hearing ; but having told his safe little politico-religious fib in reply, he murmured under his breath to me in French [what may be freely translated], 'Get along ! Your Pope is an old fool !'"

Unquestionably if the Pope persists in antagonizing the government, this feeling must increase. Unquestionably the personal relations between Pope and King are becoming embittered, perhaps against the will of both. It is even said that the Pope has launched against the King the effete thunders of excommunication—thunders which have now a scarcely more real reverberation than the Clodian law which excommunicated Cicero—according to that Pagan interdict which the vicars of Christ all too readily transferred from the heathen to the Christian world, but from which at last Christianity itself has plucked the fang.

Pope Pius is said to have had a special weakness for the rough old soldier-king, Victor Emmanuel, and the interchange of personal and private courtesies and friendlinesses, in spite of public and political antagonism, is a matter of common talk in Rome. But their successors, both, are more refined, more scholarly, more thoughtful, perhaps one might say more earnest, at least more intent, men. Each goes, inevitably and further, his own way and the divergence must increase. The relations must be strained.

Even to the superficial observer the Pope is on the losing side. His weapons are weak, even when they are not obsolete. His positions are puerile. The Liberals publish documents proving by his own handwriting that Pope Pius relinquished all claim to temporal power ; and the papacy responds by publishing the Prime Minister's youthful verses. What argument is that ? No doubt the verses are very bad. If Signor Crispi had published them, it might have been a feather in the papal cap ; but Signor Crispi had the good sense to leave them in obscurity. If they are ultra-religious, even monkish and mediæval, it only shows that the writer has improved and enlarged his vision; it dees not in the least weaken the indorsement of Pius IX. on Mamiani's draft. Signor Crispi is, no doubt, annoyed by the appearance of his crude rhymes, but they do not affect the fact that Leo is working for a temporal sovereignty which Pius renounced for the loftier sphere of spiritual authority.

So the Liberals get possession of the archives of the Inquisition, and on the day of the dedication of Bruno's statue they pub-

lish to the world the record of his trial, the story of his sufferings and his death. It is a terrible story. Two hundred years have kept well the awful secret; but is the horror lessened because the Propaganda Fide, in rebuttal, turns the Liberal Prime Minister out of doors? He loses his home, the house which he has rented from them for many years, but he will easily find another house. Still was Bruno burned. Bruno was horribly tortured and burned alive by the church for his opinions. Reason does not recognize eviction as argument.

If the Pope were as clever and the organization as perfect as they are said to be, would they not recognize that the Italian nation is Catholic, and that it is not Humbert or Crispi or Berti that is building statues to Bruno and making laws for Italy, but the Italian nation? As Catholics and, more than that, as citizens, would they not take their constitutional part in making laws instead of standing off and forbidding, or—which amounts to much the same thing—advising, Catholics to abstain from voting? There is no question that the liberty of the church was meant to be as carefully guarded at the outset as the unity of Italy. Cavour and Minghetti had no radical designs against Mother Church. Italy has legislated against monasteries, but even there with generosity and mercy. She believed them to be sloth and moth, but she did not turn the monks helpless on the world. She permits them to live out their days in their seclusion of centuries. She guards herself against the institutiou by permitting no accession to the monastic ranks. She secures herself from doing injustice, and the monasteries from just grievance, by paying them for the property. She sequesters, but adroitly commands their loyalty by paying them in government bonds.

The result is the speedy vanishing of the institution. In one immense establishment, fifteen lonely monks wander through the melancholy white corridors, though I must admit the monks themselves did not look melancholy at all.

"How do you occupy yourselves all day long?" asked an American girl, whose youth and straightforward simplicity, directness, earnest and intelligent vivacity aroused no hostility—seemed, indeed, to elicit all the approval and interest that the Brother had to bestow. He was a brawny six-footer, broad-shouldered, a great placid ox of a creature, heavy-swept from head to foot with thick white woollen folds of gown and cape; not

a bump of thought on his round, black head ; not a ray of reflection in his large, dark eyes ; not a line of introspection in his healthy, handsome, bovine face. How did he occupy his time ? —no wonder. He paused for one puzzled moment, and then, as a philosopher who had found ample answer, replied :

"We lead the *vie contemplative.*"

Bless his good heart ! so does a cow ; and when he kindly stooped of his own accord and plucked me a sprig of lavender from the well-curb—perhaps æsthetics would call it a fountain—which Lorenzo the Magnificent had given to his house,—a well-curb as magnificent as the giver, with stone and bronze and carving enough to furnish forth a modern house, and concerning which I had asked him innumerable questions,—I blessed him unawares. But if he ever contemplated anything finer or further than his thriving kitchen-garden, the winding river below, and the green hills beyond, no sign of it had touched his stolid countenance. In the chapel beneath sleep the Acciajoli—the famous founder of this house, his monument, the handsome and brilliant Nicholas, friend and former of kings, patron of poets, borne from the sunny south to lay his head beside that of his beloved son, too early lost, on the heights that guard the home of his childhood, his dear native town, fair Florence. Of all that stirring life, the *vie contemplative* of my Chartreuse friend is as unaware as the river that curves below us. Name and date he knows, but all the stress of that brilliant and bitter career, full of promise and splendor, and power and disappointment, he heeds no more than the great seneschal who lies at our feet, heeding no more anything at all.

The Pope is fighting a losing battle, because the Time-Spirit is against him. Organization is strong, but reason is stronger.

The politics of Italy are at this moment the most interesting in the world. They are the politics of the world. Rome, the eternal city of the soul, Rome, the mother of our civilization, can never perish in the realm of spirit. The great Roman Empire that gathered in its going the splendor of the pagan and the Christian world, the powerful and picturesque ruler of rulers, faltered, feeble, senile ; spun but an attenuated thread of life till, twenty years ago, it parted. A pale shade hovers still amid the familiar haunts, knocks forever, with piteous passion, menace, and weakness, at the gates of living Italy, mistakes its ghostly

restlessness for the warm currents of vital blood, believes that permission would give it power to resume substance and sway. The task of Italy is to convince that ghost that it *is* a ghost; that the old Roman Empire is not only decently but honorably buried, as befits its storied grandeur; that, instead of a forlorn, beseeeching wraith hovering around portals that will never open, bringing disaster to the present, and upon the past mockery, its true spirit of order and protection should arise in might—its spirit of purity and beneficence, of cherishing to the weak and curbing to the strong and authority to the unreasoning, of self-sacrifice and devotion and piety; should ignore all the limitations of earthly kingdoms and become the Holy Spirit of the world.

GAIL HAMILTON.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING AND PUBLIC SAFETY.

BY SIR WILLIAM THOMSON.

ENGLAND and America are the freest countries in the world. Hence a remarkable feature of almost every city in the United Kingdom and the United States, which strikes with wonder all visitors from the continent of Europe—cirrus clouds of electric wire hovering perennially over the streets and houses. These clouds do not, to any sensible degree, diminish such light of heaven as the liberty-loving owners of domestic fire-places and steam-boilers allow to reach their fellow-citizens through the volumes of black smoke pouring from their chimneys. Some persons of taste object to the aërial wires as diminishing the beauty of our cities. The same people would complain of a forest of ships' masts seen from London Bridge, or completing the vista of some broad avenue of New York, or relieving the dulness or the squalor of some little old city by the sea, if ships were an invention of this century and shipping industry not fifty years old.

Ruskin eloquently admires ships with their masts and sails as the most beautiful and picturesque of the works of man. Some future Ruskin will no doubt be equally enthusiastic about the beauty of the gossamer lines of telephone wire, with their gentle curves stretching away by hundreds from stately standards fixed aloft over our houses, or from high cathedral domes, or from future Eiffel towers, and ornamenting whatever they touch. Hitherto, however, conservative æstheticism has barred many cities of the continent of Europe from the larger benefit of electricity in the service of man already enjoyed by America and England; and would, in England, if it were permitted, sweep all electric cobwebs from the sky, and not concern itself with the question of expense involved in banishing all telegraphic, telephonic, and electric-light wires to below ground.

Public work in most cities of Europe is tremendously under authority, and, as a rule, authority, except in America and England, is very timid, even in respect to matters of taste. The more

serious questions of public safety which the large development of the high-pressure alternate-current system with transformers for electric lighting has forced upon us, in the last four years, have scarcely hitherto come into account in determining the rules and usages of continental cities as to overhead and underground wiring.

In Paris, the electric-lighting companies, bound under stringent regulations of the city authorities, have all their conductors underground. There are no exceptions to this ; nor are there any overhead telegraph wires. Both telegraph and telephone wires are insulated in electric cables, and are placed underground in the excellent sewer system of Paris, except in some very rare cases where a subscriber lives in the outskirts of the town, and has an air-line to the nearest point of a cable-carrying sewer.

In Berlin, all the electric-light wires are underground, and the lighting is all done by continuous currents at low potential, much of it for out-of-doors, by arc lights in bridges of pairs, between conductors for the supply of indoor lighting, by Edison 100-volt lamps. No rules have been laid down in Germany to provide against personal danger, there being practically none to provide against with 100-volts' potential ; but rules to prevent danger from fire are imposed on makers and users of electric-light installations.

In Belgium, the telegraphic department issued, in 1887, a careful code of rules for the establishment and use of electric-light wires above ground in all parts of the Belgian dominion, and especially in the neighborhood of telegraphic and telephonic lines. Not one of these rules has reference to possible danger from conductors at high potential, because, in fact, in Belgium, as in Germany, there have been hardly any high-pressure electric installations of alternate current with transformers, and electric-lighting work has been done chiefly by continuous currents at 100 volts or other low potential.

In Italy there is no law restricting electric industry. In Milan and many other towns of Italy there are small stations for electric light, supplied through underground wires at low potential. In Milan and Turin there are installations of aërial wires at 2,500 volts for forty arc lights in series. These isolated installations have no doubt been put up with great care, and do not seem to have been hitherto found dangerous to the public. A grand installation for electric light in Rome, by water-power of the Tivoli Falls, at thirty-seven kilometres' distance, is now projected and

will no doubt be realized before long. It is designed to use 2,500 horse-power at the falls, which is to be transmitted by alternate current, at 5,000 volts, through aërial conductors over the country to the city gate. There, by a transformer, it is to be first reduced to 1,000 volts, and distributed by underground supply conductors to numerous transformers in different parts of the city, by which it is to be further reduced to the safe 100 volts for use.

In passing, I may remark that 100 volts in the house is perfectly safe to the user, whether the current be alternating or continuous, as is proved by large and varied experience in England.

There is, so far as I know, just one city in the world, outside of England or America or Italy, in which high-pressure overhead wires are used, and that is Temesvar, in Hungary, which has been thus supplied with electric light for many years.

In England, any individual or company wishing to carry wires above the houses and streets of our towns, or anywhere over the country, and having obtained permission from the proprietors to place the requisite bearing poles on roofs or other parts of buildings, or on unoccupied ground, has perfect liberty to do as he pleases in the air over town and country; provided that he comply with whatever conditions may be prescribed to protect the public safety and the convenience of previous occupants of the air.

Two years ago the Board of Trade issued, under the Electric-Lighting Act of 1888, very stringent regulations for safety, to be observed throughout the United Kingdom, in every case of placing an electric conductor otherwise than wholly enclosed within a building. A copy of these regulations is appended to the present paper.* They have been approved by the Institution of Electrical Engineers in consultation with the officials of the Board of Trade. If they are thoroughly *and permanently* fulfilled in every case, I believe their object—"the protection of the public safety and of the lines and works of the Postmaster-General, and of other electric lines and works"—will be effectually secured. So much being admitted—and I believe so much will be generally admitted—the question remains, Can these regulations of the Board of Trade be thoroughly and permanently fulfilled? All that is essential for public safety is provided for in regulations 1, 3, 7, and 9.

Regulation 3 places a problem before engineers which is certainly not beyond their powers of fulfilment. The bearing poles

* See page 194.

and standards, the strength of the porcelain insulators, and the tensions of the wires can certainly be so arranged that the whole structure of a set of aërial conductors will be as safe against breaking down as any railway bridge.

Under regulation 7, it may be remarked that the "crossing conductor" is the invader of a previously-occupied aërial province. The fulfilment of rule 3 by both the previous occupant and the invader secures, *ipso facto*, the fulfilment of rule 7. But rule 7 imposes on the new-comer—understood, no doubt, to be a provider of conductors for electric lighting—the obligation of guarding against an electric contact, even though the previously-existing telegraph or telephone wires violate rule 3 and break down.

If rules 1, 3, and 7 are fulfilled, rule 9 is unnecessary, unless for the protection of birds. If the two conductors, side by side or one over the other, constituting the mains of a "high-pressure" circuit of 2,000 volts, say, or of 10,000 volts, be bare copper, it would be instant death to a bird standing on one of them to touch the other with tail, wing, or beak. But no other creature could be endangered by bare aërial conductors, even at 10,000 volts, if they fulfil rules 1, 3, and 7. The protection of birds was certainly not thought of by the Board of Trade, and we infer that rule 9 implies a suspicion that the fulfilment of rules 1, 3, and 7 may occasionally fail in practice. The fulfilment of these rules can, indeed, be made practically certain. *But at what cost?* What of the cost for permanent maintenance of standards, suspending wires, "non-metallic ligaments"? And what of the "durable and efficient material" required by rule 9 as an insulating coating for the copper conductor, when we consider that every hitherto known insulating material that could be used for coating the wire experiences destructive deterioration in the course of years, especially if kept exposed to light and to the variations of outside atmosphere in our climate ?

We are forced to conclude that in laying down these regulations, and in arranging for careful inspection to secure their fulfilment as far as practicable, the advisers of the Board of Trade felt that the danger from high-pressure overhead wires could not be absolutely annulled. This view is confirmed by the fact that in most or all cases in which provisional orders under the Electric-Lighting Act of 1888 have been granted to companies for the

electric lighting of cities or districts of cities, it has been stipulated that the conductors shall be altogether underground, except in cases in which aërial wires have already been placed and brought into action; and that even in these cases the conductors, if for high-pressure supply, shall be removed from the air and replaced by underground conductors within two years.

It may be considered, indeed, as now definitively resolved that the distribution of electric energy for light and power in towns of the United Kingdom shall be by underground conductors, and plans for carrying this into effect safely and economically are engaging the anxious consideration of electrical engineers. The telegraphic department of the Post-Office has already replaced nearly all the aërial telegraph wires of the larger cities by underground conductors.

The telephone wires alone remain in the air. Long may they hold their place there: they are perfectly harmless to the general public, and they are enormously less expensive where they are than they could be if placed underground.

As for the country, telegraph, telephone, and electric-light conductors must all be in the air. The cost of placing them underground would be absolutely prohibitory of the great public benefit to be obtained by placing more and more of them in the air. The Board of Trade rules given herewith are amply sufficient guarantees against danger to man or beast in country districts, from aërial electric-light conductors, whether for high or low pressure; high pressure they must generally be for long ranges over country. Indeed, I believe these regulations may be largely relaxed for electric-light wires in the country. Provided only that strong enough and sufficiently well-engineered standards or well-stayed poles be placed for carrying the wires, and provided the spans from standard to standard be short enough, it will, I believe, be found quite unnecessary in respect to public safety to have any coat of insulating material on the copper of conductors for electric light or power along a country road. Fifty years may well pass, with all their gales and snowstorms, without a single break-down, and there are no telegraph or telephone wires to fall upon the deadly copper with its 10,000 volts. Until, however, the security of the poles and wires, which I believe to be attainable, is satisfactorily demonstrated, and until it is also proved that this security can be attained at moderate enough cost, I would not suggest the slight-

est relaxation of any of our Board of Trade regulations for the protection of the public safety, whether in town or country.

WILLIAM THOMSON.

Following are the regulations for the protection of the public safety and of electric lines and works of the Postmaster-General, and of other electric lines and works, prescribed by the Board of Trade under the provisions of the Electric-Lighting Act, 1888 :

In these regulations the words, terms, and expressions to which by the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, meanings are assigned, shall have the same respective meanings, provided that in these regulations :

" Energy" means electrical energy,and for the purposes of the Electric-Lighting Act, 1888, and these regulations, electrical energy shall be deemed to be an agency within the meaning of the word electricity as defined in the Electric-Lighting Act, 1882.

" Conductor" means an electric wire or line used for the supply of energy.

" Aërial conductor" means a conductor which is placed above ground and in the open air.

" Low-pressure conductor" means a conductor in which the difference of electric potential either between that conductor and earth, or between that conductor or any part thereof and any other conductor on the same poles or supports, does not exceed 300 volts, if the supply be on the continuous-current system, or the equivalent of 150 volts if on the alternating-current system. A difference of potential on the alternating-current system shall be deemed to be the equivalent of a difference of potential on the continuous-current system, when it produces an equal heating effect if applied to the ends of a thin stretched wire or carbon filament.

" High-pressure conductor" means a conductor in which the difference of electric potential as above described is greater than that of a low pressure conductor.

REGULATIONS.

(Height from ground and distance from buildings, etc.)

1. An aërial conductor in any street shall not in any part thereof be at a less height from the ground than 20 feet, or where it crosses a street, 30 feet, or within 6 feet of any building for the purpose of supply.

(Maximum intervals between supports.)

2. Every aërial conductor shall be attached to supports at intervals not exceeding 200 feet where the direction of the conductor is straight, or 150 feet where the direction is curved, or where the conductor makes a horizontal angle at the point of support.

(Supports, construction, and erection of.)

3. Every support of aërial conductors shall be of a durable material, and properly stayed against forces due to wind-pressure, change of direction of the conductors, or unequal lengths of span, and the conductors and suspending wires (if any) must be securely attached to insulators fixed to the supports. The factor of safety for the suspended wires shall be at least six and for all other parts of the structure at least twelve, taking the maximum possible wind-pressure at 50 pounds per square foot. No addition need be made for a possible accumulation of snow.

(Connection of support to earth.)

4. Every support, if of metal, shall be efficiently connected to earth, and if of wood or other non-conducting material, shall be protected from lightning by a lightning conductor fastened to the support along its entire length, and projecting above the support to a height of at least six inches, such lightning conductor being efficiently connected to earth.

(Efficient earth-connection defined.)

A support shall be efficiently connected to earth when it is connected to metallic mains for water supply outside of buildings, or, where these are not available, to a

mass of metal having a total surface of at least four square feet, buried to a depth of at least three feet in moist earth, provided that in either case the connecting conductor must possess a mechanical strength, and offer a passage to electrical discharges, equal to that of a strand of seven No. 16 galvanized iron wires.

(Lightning protectors.)

5. Every aërial conductor shall be protected by efficient lightning protectors of pattern approved by the Board of Trade.

(Angle of crossing thoroughfares.)

6. Where any conductor crosses a street, the angle between such conductor and the direction of the street at the place of such crossing shall not be less than 60 degrees, and the spans shall be as short as possible.

(Crossing other wires.)

7. Where any aërial conductor is erected so as to cross any other aërial conductor or any suspended wire used for purposes other than the supply of energy, precautions shall be taken by the owners of such crossing conductor against the possibility of that conductor coming into contact with the other conductor or wire, or of such other conductor or wire coming into contact with such crossing conductor by breakage or otherwise.

(Maximum working current.)

8. The maximum working current in any aërial conductor shall not be sufficient to raise the temperature of the conductor in any part to such an extent as to materially alter the physical condition or specific resistance of the insulating covering, if any, or in any case to raise such temperature to a greater extent than 30 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, and efficient automatic means shall be provided which will render it impossible for this maximum working current to be by any accident exceeded to the extent of 25 per centum, even for short intervals of time; and special care shall be taken that the cross-sectional area and conductivity at joints is sufficient to avoid local heating, and that the joints are protected against corrosion.

(High-pressure conductors to be insulated.)

9. Every high-pressure aërial conductor must be continuously insulated with a durable and efficient material, to be approved by the Board of Trade, to a thickness of not less than one-tenth part of an inch, and in cases where the extreme difference of potential in the circuit exceeds 2,000 volts, the thickness of insulation must not be less in inches or parts of an inch than the number obtained by dividing the number expressing the volts by 20,000. This insulation must be further efficiently protected on the outside against injury or removal by abrasion. If this protection be wholly or partly metallic it must be efficiently connected to earth, so, however, as not to cause undue disturbance to other electric lines or works by electrostatic induction or otherwise.

(Specification of insulation.)

10. The material used for insulating any high-pressure aërial conductor must be such as will not be liable to injurious change of physical structure or condition when exposed to any temperature between the limits of 10 degrees F. and 150 degrees F., or to contact with the ordinary atmosphere of towns or manufacturing districts.

(Minimum insulation resistance allowable.)

11. The insulation resistance of any circuit using high-pressure aërial conductors, including all devices for producing, consuming, or measuring energy, connected to such circuit, shall be such that should any part of the circuit be put to earth, the leakage current shall not exceed one-twenty-fifth of an ampère in the case of continuous currents, or one-fiftieth of an ampère in the case of alternating currents. (Indicator of leakage.) Every such circuit containing high-pressure conductors shall be fitted with an indicating device which shall continuously indicate if the insulation resistance of either conductor fall below the conditions required by this regulation.

(Suspension of conductors.)

12. Every aërial high-pressure conductor shall be efficiently suspended by means of non-metallic ligaments to suspending wires, so that the weight of the conductor does not produce in it any sensible stress in the direction of its length, and the in-

sulating conductors and suspending wires, where attached to supports, shall be in contact only with material of highly-insulating quality, and shall be so attached and guarded that, in case they break away, it shall not be possible for them to fall away clear of the support.

(Protection of telegraph and telephone wires from interference.)

13. In the case of aërial conductors carrying alternating currents, the two conductors constituting the line and return for any circuit shall be run parallel with each other, and at a distance apart not exceeding eighteen inches.

(Owner of conductor responsible for supports.)

14. The owner of every aërial conductor shall be responsible for the efficiency of every support to which such conductor is attached, and every support shall be efficiently marked with such mark indicating the ownership of the conductor as the Board of Trade shall approve.

(Maintenance.)

15. Every aërial conductor, including its supports and all the structural parts and electrical appliances and devices belonging to or connected with such conductor shall be duly and efficiently supervised and maintained by or on behalf of the owners as regards both electrical and mechanical conditions.

(Unused conductors to be removed.)

16. An aërial conductor shall not be permitted to remain erected after it has ceased to be used for the supply of energy, unless the owners of such conductor intend, within a reasonable time, again to take it into use.

17. Every aërial conductor shall be placed and used with due regard to electric lines and works from time to time used, or intended to be used, for the purpose of telegraphic communication or the currents in such electric lines and works, and every reasonable means shall be employed in the placing and use of aërial conductors to prevent injurious affection, whether by induction or otherwise, to any such electric lines or works, or the currents therein.

18 (a). A notice describing every aërial conductor erected or used for the supply of energy, shall forthwith, upon receipt of these regulations, be served upon the Postmaster-General, together with a plan showing the mode and position in which such conductor is erected.

(b.) The Postmaster-General, upon consideration of such notice and plan, may require such alteration in the position or mode of erection, or mode of use of such conductor, or compliance with such other conditions as he may think fit, having regard to the protection of the electric lines or works of the Postmaster-General, and any failure on the part of the body or person owning or using, or entitled to use, the said conductor to comply with such requirements, shall be deemed to be a non-compliance with these regulations.

(c.) Any notice required to be served upon the Postmaster-General under these regulations may be served by being addressed to him and left at, or transmitted through the post to, the General Post-Office, London, and any notice required to be served on the body or person owning or using, or entitled to use, any aërial conductor may be served by being addressed to such body or person and left at, or transmitted through the post to, their or his office or last-known place of address.

NEWSPAPERS HERE AND ABROAD.

BY E. L. GODKIN.

It is now forty years since Tocqueville compared a newspaper to a man standing at an open window and bawling to passers-by in the street. Down to his time the newspaper press in all countries in Europe, and almost down to his time in America, was looked upon as simply, or mainly, an ill-informed and often malignant critic of the government. The fearless and independent press of our great-grandfathers was a press that exposed the shortcomings of men in power in a style in which De Foe and Junius set the fashion. The ideal editor of those days was a man who expected to be locked up on account of the boldness of his invectives against the government, but did not mind it. Although he also gathered news, his news-gathering was so subordinate to his criticism that he was hardly thought of as a news-gatherer at all. Tocqueville's man bawling out of the window was not bawling out the latest intelligence. He was bawling about the blunders and corruption of the ministry, and showing them the way to manage the public business, but at the same time making the management of the public business difficult by spreading discontent and suspicion among the people. Crabbe, in his poem, "The Newspaper," produced in 1784, scourges the weekly journals of the day for their assiduity in collecting gossip and scandal, but his severest satire is reserved for their comments and criticism. "Blind themselves," he says,

> "these erring guides hold out
> Alluring lights to lead us far about."

Since that time a very great change has come over the relation of the press to the public. The news-gathering function, which the American press was the first to bring into prominence, has become the most important one, and the critical function has relatively

declined. But the most momentous alteration in the position of the newspaper press has been wrought by the increase in the number of readers. Since 1848 every country in the civilized world has been devoting itself to the work of popular education, with the result of increasing tenfold the number of persons knowing how to read and write and cipher, but knowing very little more. Contemporaneously with this has been the improvement in the means of travel and of transmitting intelligence, thus literally making news-gathering a new and important calling. What was at the beginning of this century the occupation of gossips in taverns and at street corners, had by the middle of the century risen to the rank of a new industry, requiring large capital and a huge plant. We read a great deal about the wonderful growth of the woollen and cotton manufacture since the application of steam to the power loom and the spinning-jenny; but it is safe to say that these things, could they have foreseen them, would not have amazed Burke and Johnson nearly as much as the conversion of "news," as they understood it, into the raw material of such factories as the great newspaper offices of our day. That "coffee-house babble" could ever be made to yield huge dividends and build up great fortunes is something they would have refused to believe.

Of course, this development of news-gathering side by side with the criticism and comment took place with different degrees of rapidity in different countries. The news-gathering grew in the direct ratio of the spread of the reading art and of the extension of the suffrage, and, therefore, grew more rapidly in the United States than anywhere else. Every man conducts his business under the influence of some one dominating theory as to what will prove most profitable. Accordingly, newspaper publishers early made their choice between the "leading article" and the news-letter as means of pushing their fortunes by extending their circulation. Few or none attached the same importance to both. As a general rule, the American publisher devoted himself to news, and the European to criticism or comment. The former found a much larger public which wanted news, and cared comparatively little for criticism or literary form; the latter found his account in catering for a smaller public, and one more exacting in the matter of taste. The spread of the reading art in America was far more rapid from the beginning than in Europe,

and brought into the market at a very early period in the history of the newspaper a body of readers who enjoyed seeing in print all the local gossip—collected, however, from a much wider area—which they used to hear at the tavern, the store, and the church door. European countries have been nearly a hundred years behind the United States in the production of this class of readers and in the provision of newspapers for their entertainment. In fact, it is only within the last thirty years that they have appeared in very considerable numbers in England, and they can hardly be said to have appeared yet in France, Germany, or Italy.

This difference in conditions has gone far to determine the difference in the place accorded in the two hemispheres to the "editorial article." In spite of the influence achieved by the London *Times* through this species of composition, and the great excellence which editorial writing has since attained in other English journals, France—and for this purpose France means Paris—must be considered its favorite habitat, the country in which it has carried the most weight, secured the largest amount of talent, and had the most care bestowed upon it. French journals, even now, can hardly be called newspapers in the American sense at all. In the earlier period, between the Restoration and 1848, they did even less in the way of gathering news than they do now. In fact, the idea of news-gathering as a business, or of the importance from a commercial point of view of having news accurate, has not to this day entered the journalistic mind in France. The French reporter or correspondent not only strays from accuracy,—our own do a great deal of this,—but he sees no reason to be ashamed of it. In the war of 1870, the letters from the scene of operations printed in the Paris newspapers were to a large extent as pure romance as the *feuilleton*, and one of the tasks which the moralists of the period used to perform was calling the attention of the correspondents to the greater seriousness and regard for truth which their English brethren brought to their work. But they made little or no impression, and the reason was, in the main, that the French newspaper-reader cares comparatively little for the news, and cares a great deal for the finish, or sprightliness, or drollery, as the case may be, of the editorial article. Men like Armand Carrel, Marc Girardin, Thiers, and Guizot, who either wielded great influence or rose into political power through journalism under the Restor-

ation and the Monarchy of July, owed nothing whatever to what we call journalistic enterprise. They won fame as editorial writers simply.

There could hardly be a more striking illustration of the fondness of the French public for editorial writing than the place which Mr. John Lemoine has for over thirty years held in French esteem, owing to his articles in the *Journal des Débats*. It is no injustice to say that their merit lies mainly in their style. His original contributions to the political thought of his time have been of but small importance, if, indeed, of any importance. But his elegance, his polish, the balance of his periods, the care and gravity and judicial-mindedness with which he states his case and extracts the wisdom of the occasion, have furnished a rare æsthetic treat every morning, or three or four mornings in the week, to two generations of Frenchmen. No such eminence has been achieved by a journalist in any other country, and he is in the French mind the type of the journalist in the best sense of that term.

Of course, there are now in Paris as great varieties of journalists as among ourselves; but they all try to achieve success by means of editorial writing of some kind, and not by news-gathering. This accounts for the facility with which new papers are started in Paris, and the great success which they sometimes achieve with hardly any investment of capital. The proprietors do not contemplate the collection of news as any part of the enterprise, and consequently have not to provide for the cost of telegraphing and reporting. They rely for their success on a leading article of some sort, or on the *feuilleton*, or on the theatrical and art criticisms. The stories which Parisian journalists tell each other in their cafés are not of their prowess as reporters, but of the sensation they have made and the increase in circulation they have achieved by some sort of editorial comment or critique; the American passion for and glory in "beats"—meaning superiority over rivals in getting hold of news—they do not understand, or thoroughly despise.

In England the equilibrium between the two functions of the newspaper has been fairly maintained, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country. Its great foreign trade and its large colonial possessions have, ever since the newspaper took its rise, given early and accurate intelligence a great commercial

value, and the proprietors of leading journals have from the first carefully cultivated it. The story of Rothschild laying the foundation of his great fortune by being the first to reach London with the news of Waterloo is an illustration of the importance which reliable foreign intelligence has had, ever since the beginning of the century, for the British mercantile men and politicians. What is going on abroad all over the world is of more importance in London than in any other place on earth, and it is fully as important for commercial purposes that the news should be accurate as that it should be early. The *Times*, therefore, which has furnished British journalism with its model, has, from the first, cultivated accuracy with great care, and with corresponding gain in weight and authority. In truth, this authority was never seriously shaken or impaired until the Pigott affair.

The rôle of the American press in the growth of journalism has been distinctly the development of news-gathering as a business, leaving to the work of comment only a subordinate place, and, in fact, one might say a comparatively insignificant one. In American newspapers, too, the field in which news may be found has been greatly enlarged; a much larger class of facts is drawn on for letters and despatches. News in the journalistic sense has never been clearly defined. Taken literally, news is everything that a man has not already heard; but no journal undertakes to supply him with news of this sort. The line has to be drawn somewhere between news which may be usefully and legitimately served up to him on his breakfast-table, and news which would either do him no good or to which he has no fair claim. When enterprise and business competition are allowed to trace this line without the control of either law or morality, it is sure to have as many zigzags in it as there are journals, and it is equally sure that the commercial result will largely determine the question of legitimacy in the public eye. In a commercial country, it is inevitable that the acquisition of money should be the generally recognized, as it is the most easily recognized, sign of success. As a consequence of this, the modes of acquiring it which only offend against taste or discretion, and are not legally criminal, are treated with considerable indulgence, or even, in some cases, call forth admiration. Nothing is more unreasonable, in truth, than the impatience of the American public with the excesses of the news-gathering department of American journalism, considering the

enormous rewards in money, and even in social consideration, which it pays and has paid to those who work this field with least regard to the conventions.

There has been from time to time considerable discussion as to whether newspapers are literature, as if the term literature could be properly confined to writings possessing the qualities of permanence and of artistic finish. Unhappily, literature is whatever large bodies of people read. Newspapers may be bad literature, but literature they are. The hold they have taken, and are taking, as the reading matter of the bulk of the population in all the more highly civilized countries of the world, is one of the most serious facts of our time. It is not too much to say that they are, and have been for the last half-century, exerting more influence on the popular mind and the popular morals than either the pulpit or the book press has exerted in five hundred years. They are now shaping the social and political world of the twentieth century. The new generation which the public schools are pouring out in tens of millions is getting its tastes, opinions, and standards from them, and what sort of world this will produce a hundred years hence nobody knows.

One of the most important peculiarities of newspapers is that but very few who read them much ever read anything else. The notion that a confirmed newspaper-reader can turn to books whenever he pleases, or that the newspaper-reading as a general rule forms a taste for any book-reading, except perhaps novels, finds little support in observed facts. The power of continuous attention which book-reading calls for—attention of the eye as well as the mind—is acquired, like the power of protracted bodily exertion of any kind, by continual training, ending in the formation of habit. Anybody who neglects it in youth, or lays it aside for a considerable period at any time of life, finds it all but impossible to take it up again. The busy man who eschews literature, or postpones culture, until he retires from active industry, usually finds book-reading the most potent soporific he can turn to. Now, nothing can be more damaging to the habit of continuous attention than newspaper-reading. One of its attractions to the indolent man or woman, or the man or woman who has had little or no mental training, is that it never requires the mind to be fixed on any topic more than three or four minutes, and that every topic furnishes a complete change of scene. The

result for the habitual newspaper-reader is a mental desultoriness, which ends by making a book on any one subject more or less repulsive. So that the kind of reading newspapers lead up to, for those who wish for more substantial mental food, is, at most, books or periodicals made up of short essays, which will not keep the attention strained for more than half an hour at most.

This view of the effect of newspaper reading is not weakened by anything we know of the increase in the number of books and book-readers which we see all over the world. The number of books, serious as well as light, undoubtedly increases rapidly, and so does the number of those who read them ; but they do not increase in anything like the same ratio as the number of newspaper-readers. They form a constantly diminishing proportion of the reading population of all the great nations, and their immediate influence on politics and society is undergoing the same relative decline. Even books of far-reaching sociological interest, like Darwin's, or Spencer's, or Mill's, have to undergo a prolonged filtration through the newspaper press before they begin to affect popular thought or action. In this interval it is by no means the philosophers and men of science who always command the most respectful hearing. The editor may crow over them daily for years, and carry his readers with him, before their authority is finally recognized as paramount. Some curious illustrations of this have been furnished by our own currency and silver discussions, in which the newspapers had their own way, and the "bookmen" were objects of general contempt for some time before the hard facts of human experience were able to reach the masses.

Side by side with this segregation of the newspaper-reader from the book-reader, there has grown up a deep and increasing scorn on the part of the book-reader and book-maker for the man who reads nothing but the newspapers, and gets his facts and opinions from them. This is true to-day of every civilized country. Go into a circle of scientific or cultivated men in any field, in America, or France, or Germany, or Italy, and you will have the mental food which the newspapers supply to the bulk of the population treated with ridicule and contempt, the authority of a newspaper as a joke, and journalism used as a synonym for shallowness, ignorance, and blundering. What the journalists oppose to all this is, usually, accounts of their prodigious circulation and large pecuniary receipts, and their close contact with the practical busi-

ness of life. But this mutual hostility of the two agencies which most powerfully affect popular thought, and shape the conduct of both nations and men, cannot but be regarded with great concern. Their reconciliation—that is, the conversion of the newspaper into a better channel of communication to the masses of the best thought and most accurate knowledge of the time—is one of the problems, and perhaps the most serious one, that the coming century will have to solve.

It would be very difficult to forecast now the precise manner in which this problem will be attacked, or the exact kind of society or government which the newspaper, as we know it, will, if it be not transformed, end by creating. It would, perhaps, be going too far to ascribe to newspapers the place in shaping national character which Fletcher of Saltoun ascribed to singers in that much-hackneyed saying of his. We cannot say, "Let me make the newspapers of a country and I do not care who makes its laws." But that newspapers have an increasing influence on legislation, and that legislation affects manners and ideas, there can be no question. Our society is, however, acted on by so many agencies that he would be a bold man who should as yet undertake to calculate closely the effects of any one of them.

E. L. GODKIN.

THE DOCTRINE OF STATE RIGHTS.

BY JEFFERSON DAVIS.

To do justice to the motives which actuated the soldiers of the Confederacy, it is needful that the cause for which they fought should be fairly understood; for no degree of skill, valor, and devotion can sanctify service in an unrighteous cause.

We revere the memory of Washington, not so much for his achievements in arms as for his self-abnegation and the unfaltering devotion with which he defended the inalienable rights of the people of all the United States. This made him "first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," and for this the great English poet wrote: "But one were worthy of the name of Washington." Yet he was what no Southern soldier in the war between the States could, with truth, be called—a rebel—and, without much extravagance in the figure, was said to have fought the battles of the Revolution with a halter round his neck. Had there been no inalienable rights, or had they not been violated, he could not rightfully have been absolved from his allegiance to the crown, or conscientiously have felt that he had not broken his faith as subject to the lawful powers of the British Government, in taking up arms against it.

In 1776 thirteen of the British colonies in America sent delegates to a general congress, who there, for the colonies they represented, made the declaration "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." Therefore these, like other British colonies in America, were dependencies of Great Britain; and to justify their declaration of independence, a formidable arraignment of the king for his violation of their mutual obligations and rights was submitted to the judgment of mankind. It has been customary among us annually to read this declaration to admiring audiences; and what Ameri-

can has raised his voice against the conclusion deduced? The permeating principle was that every people had the right to alter or abolish their government when it ceased to answer the ends for which it was instituted. Each State decided to exercise that right, and all of the thirteen united to sustain it. Great Britain denied the existence of the asserted right and a long war ensued. After a heavy sacrifice of life and treasure, the Treaty of Paris was negotiated in 1783, by which Great Britain recognized the independence of the States separately, not as one body politic, but severally, each one being named in the act of recognition.

In the year succeeding the Declaration of Independence—*i. e.*, 1777—the thirteen States by which it had been made sent delegates to a general congress, and they agreed to "certain articles of confederation and perpetual union between the States" they represented, and that "the style of the confederacy shall be the United States of America." That no purpose existed to consolidate the States into one body politic is manifest from the terms of the second article, which was: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled." The meaning of this article is quite plain, if it be borne in mind that under the confederation the congress was of States, each having one vote only, irrespective of population or the number of delegates in attendance, and the expressly-delegated powers were such as it was agreed that the congress of the States might use, all else being reserved to the States separately. Under these Articles of Confederation the war of the Revolution was conducted.

In the face of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Articles of Confederation, and of the Treaty of Paris, he who denies that in 1783 each State was a sovereign, free, and independent community must have much hardihood or little historical knowledge.

After the independence had been gained for which so much was risked and no little lost, when the condensing pressure of war was removed, the fact became apparent that it was impracticable to administer the general affairs of the Union without the possession of additional powers. In 1787 a convention met to amend the Articles of Confederation, and ended by proposing a new form of government which was to be submitted to the States,

and, if ratified by nine of them, should go into effect as between the States so ratifying it. If only nine consented, what was to become of the other four, and what of the plighted faith to a perpetual union? We are not left to speculation with different numbers; the case did actually occur. Eleven States ratified; two refused: what was to be done? The expedient of raising an army to coerce North Carolina and Rhode Island into an acceptance of the Constitution or new form of government seems not to have occurred to any one of that day, and the situation was especially embarrassing because the thirteenth article provided that the union should be perpetual, and that no alteration should be made in any of the Articles of Confederation, "unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State."

An easy escape from the dilemma was found; it was to disregard the pledges and prohibitions of Article Thirteen, secede from the confederation styled the United States of America, and form a new government with the same style as the old one. It was anticipated that some of the State legislatures would not confirm this procedure; therefore it was provided by the last article of the proposed new Constitution that the "ratification of the conventions of nine States" should suffice for its establishment "between the States so ratifying the same." It will be observed that the new Constitution was to be submitted for ratification to a higher authority than the Congress and State legislatures, viz., to conventions of the people of the States, the recognized form in which State sovereignty was represented. Mr. Madison, in the forty-third number of *The Federalist*, notices as a defect of the confederation that it had received no higher sanction than legislative ratification; hence, as provided in the last article of the new Constitution, it was to be submitted to our highest political authority—conventions of the people of the respective States.

That was the supreme authority which, according to the American theory, could alter or abolish their government, and by which, nine States concurring, it was proposed to dissolve the "perpetual union" of the confederation and establish a new one among themselves. In this connection the distinguished member from Massachusetts remarked: "If nine out of thirteen [States] can dissolve the compact, six out of nine will be just as able to dissolve the future one hereafter."

Mr. Madison, in *The Federalist*, to the question, "On what principle the confederation, which stands in the solemn form of a compact among the States, can be superseded without the unanimous consent of the parties to it?" answers: "By recurring to the absolute necessity of the case; to the great principle of self-preservation; to the transcendent law of nature and of nature's God, which declares that the safety and happiness of society are the objects at which all political institutions aim, and to which all such institutions must be sacrificed."

Thus the matter stood when the Constitution to form a more perfect union was adopted, not, as has been most unjustifiably asserted, by the people of the United States in mass, but by the people of the States, each acting in its own convention and ratifying at different dates, the first being December 7, 1787, the last May 29, 1790. In view of facts so generally known, or (if not so) accessible to every reader of American history, it is surprising that some have contended that the Union was formed by the people of the United States as one body politic.

Though the States by a voluntary compact created a general government and delegated to it enumerated powers, reserving all else to themselves, it has been attempted to deduce from these limited grants a supremacy for the agent over the States, and, consequently, to deny to the States of the Union the sovereignty they possessed as States of the confederation. No one has attempted to show by what grant of the Constitution it can be claimed that the States have surrendered their sovereignty, and it seems absurd to assume that by implication the great object for which our fathers staked all save honor could have been lost. But they were too watchful to leave the question open for argument. Therefore, though the body of the instrument was thought by its framers to be sufficiently explicit in its limitation of the powers of the general government to those expressly delegated, yet, in an abundance of caution, almost contemporaneously with the ratification of the compact, two amendments were proposed and adopted in the following words:

"Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Consolidationists, with more zeal than reason, have argued that the last two words in the tenth amendment referred to the whole people. But this is surely untenable; the only people known to the system were the people of a State or commonwealth; they only had been represented in the Congress or in the convention which framed the Constitution. To them that instrument had been submitted; by them it had been ratified. The expression fairly construed must mean the State governments, and the people of each State who held rights they had reserved from the control of their State government. Furthermore, the obvious purpose being to guard against the usurpation of undelegated power, it would have been worse than superfluous by reservation to provide protection for the whole people against themselves.

In claiming sovereignty for the States I must not be understood as meaning the State governments. When the word *State* is used, it means the people of an organized community. The founders of the American Republic never conferred or intended to confer sovereignty upon either State or Federal governments.

If the people of the States, in forming a Federal Union, transferred their sovereignty, or any part of it, to whom was the transfer made? Not to the people of the United States in the aggregate, for there was no such political body. The Articles of Confederation in their front declared that each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence; that could only mean the people in their organic character. In like manner the original constitution of Massachusetts declared: "The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic, or State, by the name of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts." In the debates of the convention which formed the Constitution, as they are found reported in Elliott's "Debates," there is abundant proof that the men who prepared the instrument recognized sovereignty as belonging to the people of the individual States; that there was no purpose to transfer it to the Federal Government, or to regard it as being divisible. The States intrusted to the Federal Government, as their agent, some of the functions of sovereignty, but the performance of these by authority of the people of the States did not involve a violation of a cardinal feature in the American theory; that sovereignty

belonged alone to the people, and the resolutions of ratification of the Constitution by the States show whether the purpose was to transfer the power or only to authorize its use.

The usual form of ratification was as in the following examples: "The delegates of the people of the State of New Hampshire, in the name and behalf of the people of the State of New Hampshire," etc., and "the delegates of the people of Virginia, for and in behalf of the people of Virginia," etc., do assent to and ratify the said Constitution for the United States of America.

As had been done by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and South Carolina in ratifying the Constitution, Virginia required certain amendments as a more explicit guarantee against consolidation, and accompanied the proposition with the following declaration: "That the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them," etc., etc. For whom were the delegates commissioned to speak? Only for the people of Virginia. By whom had grants been made? By the States severally, and the assertion could only mean that to each of them all undelegated power remained. Indeed, there was no other repository from which it could have been drawn; therefore no other in which it could have been said to remain.

New York was the eleventh State to assent to the compact of union, and her ratification was made more than seven months after that of Delaware, and was accompanied by a declaration of the principles on which her assent was given, from which the following extract is made: "That the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, by the said Constitution, clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments, to whom they may have granted the same," etc.

Here, even more distinctly than before, is answered the question as to who were THE PEOPLE by whom the powers might be reassumed. Provision had been made for several modes of amending the Constitution by the joint action of the States, and if it had

been the will of all the States to reform, or even to dissolve, the government, they would not have been obstructed, as they were under the Confederation, by a pledge to perpetual union or by a prohibition against any alteration of the Constitution except by unanimous consent of the States. Therefore, unless the right to reassume was asserted as belonging to any State being a party to the compact, the declaration was useless and seemingly without an object. Reassumption is the correlative of delegation.

By the published debates of the general convention of 1787 which prepared the Constitution, and of the State conventions to which it was severally submitted for approval or rejection as each should decide, and by the resolutions of ratification, it is clearly demonstrated that they did not surrender their dearly-bought, most prized sovereignty, freedom, and independence, or commit the absurdity of attempting to delegate inalienable rights.

At that early period sectional rivalry was manifested, and some of the most influential advocates of the new Union felt the lurking danger of faction and sought to provide against it by means consistent with the perpetuity of the Union. Faction, with the tendency of majorities to oppress minorities, was the recognized cause of failure in former federations and republics. To protect the United States from that evil, it was sought to secure a balance of power between the North and the South, by so organizing the two houses of Congress that neither section would have a majority in both. The purpose was good, but the calculation was bad, so that in a not-distant future the North, as a section, had a majority in both houses of Congress and in the electoral colleges for the choice of the President. Party did for many years control faction; and principles, independent of latitude and longitude, formed the cement of political parties. Thus it was, as late as 1853, that that true patriot and friend of the Constitution, Franklin Pierce, could conscientiously say that, politically, he knew no North, no South, no East, no West.

The wise statesmen who formed the plan for the new Union of 1787–90, with admirable caution, required a material barrier to check majorities from aggression under the influence of self-interest and lust of dominion. They could not have been certain that their method of preserving the balance of power between the sections would be permanently successful. What, then, was the remedy in case of violated compact and aggression upon re-

served rights? None was stated, but the proposition to authorize the employment of force against a delinquent State was denounced on all sides of the convention and rejected without a division. In the original draft of the Constitution the term "national government" was written: to this expression Mr. Ellsworth objected, and moved to drop the word "*national*" and retain the proper title, "*the United States*"; which motion was unanimously adopted by the convention. Both the coercion of a State and the use of the term "national government" were emphatically condemned by the framers of the Constitution.

A compact was made between independent States by which expressly-enumerated powers were delegated to a government instituted for their common benefit, which was a partnership without limitation. No mode of terminating it was specified, but Mr. Madison, than whom none was better informed of the opinions and purposes of the members of the convention, in the number of *The Federalist* heretofore quoted (which was an argument to justify secession from the confederation) wrote:

"It is an established doctrine on the subject of treaties that all articles are mutually conditions of each other; that a breach of any one article is a breach of the whole treaty; and that a breach committed by either of the parties absolves the others, and authorizes them, if they please, to pronounce the compact violated and void. Should it unhappily be necessary to appeal to these delicate truths for a justification for dispensing with the consent of particular States to a dissolution of the Federal pact, will not the complaining parties find it a difficult task to answer the multiplied and important infractions with which they may be confronted? The time has been when it was incumbent on us all to veil the ideas which this paragraph exhibits."

It is unfortunate that the convention should have thought proper to veil the delicate truth and did not in plain terms announce the right of a State to secede from the Union whenever it should cease to answer the ends for which it was established, viz., to insure domestic tranquillity and promote the general welfare. Our past history distinctly shows how reluctant any State would be to sever her connection with the Union; and may it not reasonably be inferred that, if the right to withdraw had been recognized, there would have been additional care not to give just cause for the exercise of that right?

Though not expressed, the existence of the right was often asserted and rarely, if ever, denied anterior to 1861. It cannot be said that it was then for the first time formally asserted and

therefore for the first time denied. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 created much dissatisfaction in the New England States, the reason of which was expressed by an eminent citizen of Massachusetts, who said that "the influence of our part of the Union must be diminished by the acquisition of more weight at the other extremity." ("Life of Cabot," by Lodge, page 334.)

In 1811, on the bill for the admission of Louisiana as a State of the Union, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, member of Congress from Massachusetts, said: "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation—amicably if they can, violently if they must."

The Hartford Convention assembled in December, 1814. From their published report the following extract is made: "If the Union be destined to dissolution by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administration, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent. . . . Whenever it shall appear that the causes are radical and permanent, a separation by equitable arrangement will be preferable to an alliance by constraint among nominal friends, but real enemies."

In 1844 the measures taken for the annexation of Texas evoked threats of a dissolution of the Union. The Legislature of Massachusetts adopted a resolution declaring that "the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, faithful to the compact between the people of the United States, according to the plain meaning and intent in which it was understood by them, is sincerely anxious for its preservation; but that it is determined, as it doubts not the other States are, to submit to undelegated powers in no body of men on earth"; and that "the project of the annexation of Texas, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into a dissolution of the Union."

The examples cited are sufficient to show that secession was not a new idea in 1861, and that its assertion was not of Southern origin. Before leaving the subject, it may in general terms be stated that the doctrine of State rights is not that of a section, but is that of a minority, seeking the protection of State sovereignty from the real or supposed aggression of a usurping majority. In vain have we asked by what clause of the Constitu-

tion the States surrendered their sovereignty and, by consequence, a State lost its right to secede; and the nearest approach we have had to an answer has been the inquiry, Where is the right of a State to secede set forth in the Constitution? This marks either an evasion of the issue or extreme ignorance of the history of the Union. The States delegated all the rights and powers which the general government possesses, and they agreed with each other that no State should exercise certain functions which were intrusted to the Federal Government as their agent; therefore it seems not less than puerile to ask from what part of the Constitution the right or power of a State was derived. Every power, function, or right which the States did not agree to delegate to their common agent remained with them. No one of ordinary information and intelligence can deny that the States were sovereign, free, and independent when they entered into the compact of Union. If they had not been sovereigns, they would not have been competent to form that treaty; and as none have even attempted to show where or how their sovereignty was lost, it must be regarded as among the reserved powers of the States, and hence, still being sovereigns, they had the same *legal* power and right to secede from the Union which they had exercised in acceding to it.

The declared purpose of the Union was to promote the GENERAL WELFARE, and to secure to posterity the BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY, which the States had achieved by the sacrifices of the Revolution. The men who negotiated the compact for a "more perfect union" of the States were not visionaries or optimists, but profound students of the world's history, from which they had learned the tendency of free government to breed faction and of majorities to oppress minorities, resulting in the lamentable wreck of past federations and the loss of the liberty they were formed to secure. To guard against that danger, the representation of the States in the two houses of Congress was to be apportioned so as to secure a balance of power—*i. e.*, so as to prevent either the North or the South from having a majority in both houses. The plan failed; the North got a majority in both houses, and history repeated itself. Under the power of Congress to levy duties on imports "to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," duties were levied not merely for revenue, but avowedly to protect domestic

manufactures from foreign competition. As the manufactories were mainly at the North and the exports from the South, this measure to increase the price of imports for the benefit of domestic manufacturers at the North was usurping an undelegated power, by sectional discrimination, in disregard of the obligation to establish justice and promote the general welfare. It was a twofold injustice to the South, by increasing the cost of its imports and diminishing the value of its exports in the markets of exchange. In this connection I will quote from Mr. Benton, a statesman of long experience and close observation, and not particularly friendly to the South. He says: "Under Federal legislation the exports of the South have been the basis of the Federal revenue." He names four Southern States as contributing three-fourths of the annual expense of the Federal Government, and adds:

"Of this great sum annually furnished by them, nothing, or next to nothing, is returned to them in the shape of government expenditures. That expenditure flows in an opposite direction—it flows northwardly in one uniform, uninterrupted, and perennial stream. This is the reason why wealth disappears from the South and rises up from the North. Federal legislation does all this. . . . No tariff has ever yet included Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, except to increase the burthens imposed upon them."

It has, in modern times, been asserted by some in high position, if not of high authority, that the will of the majority was the law of the land. Not so thought the men who formed the Constitution. They sought through every conceivable device to protect minorities from the despotism which majorities are ever prone to inflict, and I must insist that while each State retained its sovereignty it had a shield against the despotism of a majority in its power to withdraw to the precincts of its own dominion; and this, if the majority were heedless of every appeal to justice and their compact, was the only remedy which seems to have been left. De Tocqueville, in his "Democracy in America," Vol. I., page 301, writes:

"The majority in that country exercise a prodigious actual authority and a moral influence which is scarcely less preponderant; no obstacles exist which can impede or so much as retard its progress, or which induce it to heed the complaints of those whom it crushes upon its path."

Mr. Madison, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, said:

"Turbulence, violence, and abuse of power by the majority trampling on the rights of the minority have produced factions and commotions which in republics

have, more frequently than any other cause, produced despotism. If we go over the whole history of ancient and modern republics, we shall find their destruction to have generally resulted from these causes."

In 1861 all the plans proposed to restrain the majority had failed. The dangers which had been described as belonging to the condition we were in had to be met. The South, by her representatives in the two houses of Congress, tried, by select committees, to find some possible means of giving security to the Southern States short of adopting the last resort, secession.

The committee of the Senate organized in January, 1861, of which the writer of this article was a member, sought diligently to find some basis of adjustment on which a majority of the members representing the three political divisions of the Senate could agree. These divisions were known as the Radicals of the North, the Conservatives of the Middle States, and the Ultras of the South. The venerable Senator of Kentucky, Mr. Crittenden, had offered the resolutions which were referred to the committee. Mr. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, after the failure of the committee to agree upon anything, called the attention of the Senate to the fact that it was not the Southern members, naming particularly Toombs and Davis, who obstructed measures for pacification, but the Northern men, who had objected to everything, and on whom he then called for a statement of what they proposed to do, to which no answer was made. Exulting in the result of their recent election, feeling power and forgetting right, they yet dared not avow the evil purpose which they contemplated. One State had already withdrawn from the Union, and events in others were moving with accelerated velocity to the same conclusion; yet the men who were soon to be most vociferous in declarations of love for the Union were silent when words might have been effectual to save it. It had been but a few years since a hearing had been refused to abolitionist lecturers in New England; but now the eminent orator, Wendell Phillips, exulting in the terrible faction which was ruling in the North, said: "It does not know its own face and calls itself national; but it is not national—it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North, pledged against the South."

Mr. Seward, he of the irrepressible conflict, who was regarded as the power behind the throne of the incoming administration, was a member of the committee above referred to;

but he sat in the Senate silent under the challenge of Mr. Douglas, and allowed the language of Mr. Phillips to go for what it was worth.

For the first time in the history of the country a sectional candidate for the Presidency had been elected. A majority of the Presidents had been Southern men, but none of them had been elected as such. They had always been nominated by a party coextensive with the Union, and voted for in all the States; but Mr. Lincoln had been put forth on purely sectional grounds and did not receive a single Southern vote. He had announced that the Union could not continue to exist half slave and half free. What then? Was the Union to be dissolved? Was slavery to be introduced into the Northern or to be abolished in the Southern States? The declaration was an offence against the Constitution, and neither branch of the proposition could be executed without a palpable violation of it. Many of the States had passed what were called personal-liberty laws, in direct violation of the constitutional obligation to return fugitives held to service or labor under the laws of another State, which Mr. Webster in his great oration in Virginia said, if persisted in, would be destructive to the compact of Union.

The right of the South equally with the people of other sections to occupy, with every species of property known to any State, the common territory of the United States, was denied by the North, under the specious and wholly untenable plea that to take slaves to the territories would be the extension of slavery. Though the argument was upon a false basis, it served the purpose of inflaming the Northern mind. At the South the proposition to forbid a citizen who should migrate to the common territory of the United States from taking his slave with him was considered an offensive and unjust denial of equality in the Union, and as such, but not because of any money interest in the question, an intense excitement was created by it.

The serious troubles in Kansas were followed by the double-dyed crime of John Brown's invasion of Virginia. He came fresh from the Kansas school, and was fulfilling Mr. Seward's prophecy that abolitionism would invade the South. Though the avowed purpose of the invasion was to disturb domestic tranquillity, which it was one of the proclaimed objects of the Union to secure, arson and murder were its accompa-

niments. When Brown was tried with due formality, sentenced, and executed according to the laws of the land, inasmuch as his crimes had been committed with open hostility to the South, he was canonized at the North and a hymn to his memory became the marching song of the declared enemies of the South. For some years the abolition faction had borne upon its banner "No union with slave-holders," though, as has been before stated, when the first Union was formed all of the States recognized slave property by their laws. It was common among demagogues in later times to excite prejudice against that species of property by describing it as a chattel, though it never was more than a life-long right to service and labor, and that, with the right of increase, was all which could be the subject of purchase and sale. Without further reciting violations of the compact which rendered it void, suffice it to say that seven of the States, deliberately acting in the highest form of procedure,—*i. e.*, by convention of the people,—did pass ordinances of secession just as they had formerly passed ordinances of accession by resolutions of ratification of the Constitution of the United States.

Now we have reached the point of inquiry as to what was the moral duty of a citizen of a seceding State in 1861.

It is not proposed to discuss any question arising out of subsequent events. It had, so far as I know, in all the earlier periods of our history been uniformly held that allegiance was primarily due to the State of which the individual was a citizen, and that allegiance to the United States resulted from the fact that the State to which each individual belonged was by compact a member of the Union.

When the Southern States had, in the recognized mode of expressing their sovereign will,—that is, by convention of the people of the State,—resumed the grants made by them as parties to the Federal compact, they, following the precedent of 1787, formed a new union styled the Confederate States of America.

The wish of all, and the general expectation, was that the separation should be peaceable. For this purpose one of the first acts of the Confederate Government was to send commissioners to the United States Government to adjust all questions which would naturally arise in a dissolution of partnership. Our overtures were rejected, as I feared they would be, for the question was ever ringing in my ears, "If we let the South go, where will we

get a revenue ?" With continued assurance of peaceful intention the Federal Government made ready for war.

At the call of their States, the people of the South, with unexampled unanimity, volunteered to defend their hearths, their altars, and their inalienable rights. Gray-haired sires and beardless sons were in the same ranks; but preparation had not been made to arm and equip them, and they had little more than their brave breasts to offer for defence against threatened invasion. Vainly had the South relied on the Constitution as a shield; it was crushed by the mailed hand of a factious majority—the evil which Mr. Madison, in the tenth number of the *Federalist*, described as that which had covered with opprobrium federation as a form of government.

I make no excusatory plea that the men "thought they were right" when, at the call of their sovereign State, they staked all save honor in defence of the rights their fathers left them. If they were not right, then patriotism is an empty name, and he who looks death in the face under its sacred inspiration may be a traitor. If it be treason for a citizen to defend the State under whose protection he lives, even against the Federal Government, the Constitution has placed him in the cruel dilemma of being, in the event of conflict between his State and the United States, necessarily compelled to commit treason against one or the other. This surely cannot be the condition to which our fathers reduced us when they entered into the compact of union. Allegiance is everywhere due to the sovereign only. That sovereign, under the American system, is the People—the People of the State to which the individual belongs; the People who constitute the State government which he obeys; the People who alone, as far as he is concerned, ordained and established the Federal Constitution; the People who never delegated their sovereignty, and therefore retain the power to revoke all agencies created by them.

If the sovereign abolishes the State government and ordains and establishes a new one, the obligation of obedience requires the citizen to transfer his allegiance accordingly: there may be joint, but cannot be divided, allegiance; and this fact controlled the action of officers of the army and navy of the United States when continuance in the Federal service came in conflict with the ultimate allegiance due from each to the sovereign State to which he belonged.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

BRITISH CAPITAL AND AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

Mr. David A. Wells, in his remarkable work, just issued, on "Recent Economic Changes," says:

"It would seem, indeed, as if the whole world, during all the years since the inception of civilization, has been working upon the line of equipment for industrial effort,—inventing and perfecting tools and machinery, building workshops and factories, and devising instrumentalities for easy intercommunication for persons and thoughts, and the cheap exchange of products and services; that, this equipment having at last been made ready, the work of using it has for the first time, in our day and generation, fairly begun; and also that every community, under prior or existing conditions of use and consumption, is becoming saturated, as it were, with its results."

The striking nature of this thought is found in the fact that almost every man who thinks at all has had his mind turned in the direction of the excesses of the time,—not the excesses of dissipation or even of extravagance, but the extraordinary output of almost everything the world over, whether it be of lawyers or doctors; of railroads or penny weighing-machines; whether of agricultural products to such an extent that corn is being used in the Western States for fuel, or of manufactures, as in making boots and shoes, and collars and cuffs, for 100,000,000 people, with less than two-thirds of that number to wear them.

While this intense activity in industrial pursuits has been proceeding at this rapid rate on this continent, we have been absorbing and reëmploying the money or capital acquired, by occupying our ever-widening areas and developing our enormous natural resources. On the other hand, the smaller and richer countries of Europe, trading with nations other than themselves, have been equally overwhelmed with production and excess. Not being able to absorb the products of their own industries themselves, they have sent their surplus to the rest of the world; and while they have taken in exchange all that they could consume, the vast balance due to them has reached them in the shape of

money. This is especially the case with Great Britain, whose position to-day is that of levying tribute on almost every other nation under the sun. If this tribute is not in the shape of a profit on goods exported, if not in the shape of profits from trade by the use of English money within the foreign country itself, then certainly by direct loans, and returns in the shape of interest or dividends, does Great Britain receive tribute from almost all other countries. For instance, the great national debts the world over are largely due in England. The revenue derived in the shape of interest from other nations by Great Britain, from the constantly-increasing obligations of governmental borrowing, has grown to enormous proportions. The people of the United States can measure how vast is the sum to be paid in carrying national debts by the extent of their own taxation for this purpose. This taxation, though excessive and long-continued, with the object of obliterating the national obligation, nevertheless has always been lightened by the consideration that the bulk of the interest was paid to our own people, and that the drain was a constantly-diminishing, instead of a constantly-increasing, one.

This is hardly the case with any other country, and Great Britain profits by the growing necessities and the heavy burdens of other nations. The amount of interest paid to England, even by Russia, for money borrowed to create a peace establishment, in readiness for possible war with England herself, is no inconsiderable sum. Eastern countries, as Turkey and Egypt, apparently in the last stages of governmental decay, are dependent upon Great Britain equally with the South African colonies, in their earliest inceptions of governmental vigor. Central and South American republics, vast dependencies like India, Australia, and Canada, are all national borrowers in London, the interest on whose loans is usually paid with the regularity of clock-work. Referring to Canada, as a near-by illustration of the amounts paid to England, it may be stated that it is estimated that the governmental, railroad, municipal, and mortgage indebtedness to Great Britain of that colony amounts to 650 millions of dollars, implying that the tribute which England levies on her colony for the use of this money amounts to 25 millions of dollars a year, paid by barely five millions of people, and, although it is an agricultural country, amounting to almost double the export of breadstuffs.

If this is an illustration of what takes place all over the world,

it will afford some idea of the enormous revenues in the shape of interest which Great Britain is constantly receiving. But it is not solely by the revenue from governmental loans that England is enriched. In the public works of numerous countries she is a participant; and, indeed, in many independent nationalities, rich and prosperous in themselves, English capital has largely been used, especially in state and municipal improvements. This is shown in the case of the construction of the capitol at Austin, Texas, built by British money; in the ownership of water-works or school bonds of Northwestern towns and farm mortgages by British investment companies in the Pacific-coast States. Whether it is to construct a railroad in India or a canal in Bulgaria; whether it is to open and work a gold mine in the Transvaal, or to develop the great tin mines of Harney Peak, in Dakota; whether it is to dig for rubies in South Africa, or to profit a Dundee Scotch shareholder in an Illinois corporation by affording lodging on a Pullman car in any part of the North American continent,—no matter how, where, or when profits are made, the Briton somehow or other participates. The result of this vast volume of interest, dividends, and profits, which for many years has been trending, like the Gulf Stream, toward Great Britain and, like that current, rendering existence possible for so vast an aggregation in so small a space, has been the accumulation of money, and the creation of an annual income, far in excess of spending or absorbing possibilities within the island itself.

But in addition to the constant stream of profits, interest, and dividends which from almost the whole world tends toward Great Britain, there is an equally steady tendency of people with means in that direction. Men who have made their money in India, China, or any other Oriental land, are certain to return to spend their fortunes and the remainder of their lives in the only country where they think civilization has reached perfection. The British miner of South Africa, the gold-digger or sheep-farmer of Australia, the adventurer in South or Central America, at the conclusion of his labors, turns with almost unerring certainty to his native land, to enjoy its comforts and spend his competency.

Thus from all quarters of the globe, and in all departments of effort, the British capitalist somehow takes his share, the result being a stream of money returning into Great Britain, of enormous proportions, steadily increasing, and perfectly incapable of being

absorbed in that country, either in new pursuits or by expenditure on living. For it must be borne in mind that the English and Scotch people, who are the main recipients of this money, are an economical people; that, aside from the carefulness which they are taught and the habits of economy into which they are trained, habits of extravagance are indications of a lack of good taste, and that to live quietly and without ostentation, by the middle or money-earning class, is the surest way to recognition in the higher social or aristocratic strata of society. As to increased incomes, by successful investments, by economy, and by other influences in this direction, this is shown in the remarkable fact that since 1843, when the income-tax figures first began, the increase in national income has been $3,775,000,000. Of this amount the income from the capitalist class has increased from $950,000,000 to $2,000,000,000 annually.

Some idea of the magnitude of the amount of capital for investment in London is indicated by a table printed in the London *Economist*, showing the subscriptions to new enterprises launched in London during the last six years, which compresses into small space facts more eloquent than pages of remarks:

Total subscriptions to companies for year.		Total subscriptions to companies for year.	
1889	£175,859,365	1888	£160,149,000
1888	157,643,090	1887	98,066,000
1887	91,913,000	1886	101,074,000
1886	94,738,000	1885	77,972,000
1885	68,679,000	1884	109,031,000

It will be seen from the foregoing that the amount subscribed to new undertakings for the past year equals $815,000,000. The prediction seems a safe one, in view of the constant increase indicated in previous years, that the total amount likely to be subscribed toward floating new enterprises in London in 1900 will reach $1,000,000,000—equal to the almost fabulous sum of over $3,000,000 per day for every business day in the year!

Closely examining a list of companies absorbing so vast a sum, as furnished by the Messrs. Spackman to the London *Times* of January 1, it appears that three-fourths of the companies floated represent industrial enterprises, and one-half of them are located within the United Kingdom, while the other half are scattered all over the world. Of course, at this rate it will not take long until every concern even in Great Britain that can be profitably

merged into a limited company will take on that form, and the public become part proprietors of almost all the concerns in which private capital alone has heretofore been concerned. The releasing of money hitherto locked up in these enterprises, in its turn, begets a speculative tendency, for, in order to make it provide an income, it must be reinvested, in which process risks are run and new ventures made, which would never have been dreamed of if the capital had still been tied up in a conservative, old-established business. The whole list for 1889, as, indeed, the enormous amount taken by the public, indicates a highly-speculative condition of things, a collapse of which would not be surprising. This, however, would be but temporary, for even a collapse in the ranks of the numerous underwriters who are carrying a burden of speculative subscriptions would not be a permanent barrier to further investments. For it is apparent that there is a solid substratum of capital, in vast sums, needing investment, which even the heavy offerings of so many years, as indicated in the foregoing table, have not begun to absorb.

All that has been said points in one direction, and one direction only, viz., the enormous aggregation of money in Great Britain. While industrial activity has been going on all over the world to an extent unparalleled in history, England has been taking in the results in the shape of cash to a greater degree than any other country, and she must therefore become the great investor of the world. Concurrent with her success in thus acquiring so vast an annual income in the shape of interest has been the exhaustion, to some extent, of the credit of the countries which have borrowed from her; and it must begin to be the question of questions, for the British public, where money can be safely placed and an income assured. England itself, up to a late period, has not been a bad place for investing money; but its abundance and the limited nature of the country's area, with a competition already existing in every line of life, make it difficult to invest money in England with safety and profit. Heretofore land has been a safe medium for investment; but the disastrous condition to which the farming industry in Great Britain has been subjected is sufficient to deter capital from that direction. As to railway and other public construction, it is equally limited, for the country is so small, the public works are already so numerous, and the industrial activities so great, that the difficulties which an in-

vestor encounters to find safety and profit combined are exceedingly great.

Turning from England to the rest of the world, it is not an easy matter for the British investor to discover in avenues heretofore employed a safe outlet for his money. Countries like France, Germany, Belgium, have themselves accumulated largely, and do not need money either for governmental indebtedness or industrial activities; while Russia, Spain, Egypt, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria have already taxed their credit to the utmost. New countries like Canada, Australia, the Cape, and even the South American republics, have got about as much as they can stagger under, the amount sent out to the Argentine Republic alone in the last five years amounting to no less a sum than $500,000,000, involving an annual payment of at least $25,000,000 a year.

There is only one country in which the element of expansiveness, safety, and profit for the English capitalist seems assured, and that country is the United States. The vast object-lesson which the career of the American Republic affords to the average English observer is a most instructive one. The strides in material advancement; the growth in population, to which all the world has contributed; the stability of the government notwithstanding the most tremendous internal conflict that the world has ever seen; the creation of a great debt within itself and to its own people, and, more than all, its rapid obliteration, followed by a surplus unparalleled in the history of nations, are all circumstances that tend to impress upon the British mind the solidity and greatness of this country. A people of the same lineage, the same language, the same laws, and the same literature, and with such a record, it is no wonder that they turn in this direction when, with the ample opportunities which the continent has afforded for the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon race, such magnificent progress has been recorded in the annals of time.

It is no wonder, then, that, with a constant aggregation of capital pouring in upon Great Britain, with an inability to make it yield a profit within her own domain, and, still further, the impossibility of finding any other country where it can be so safely invested, she should turn in the direction of the United States, which alone of all nations seems to combine all the elements of safety and profit. From a list recently published it appears that the amount of English money which has been in-

vested in industrial enterprises in the United States has equalled, in the last two years, about a million dollars a week, amounting in all to about 100 millions. The chief properties included in these purchases were, first, certain New York breweries, at about five millions of dollars; then the brewing company at Portsmouth and Boston, owned by Mr. Frank Jones, at a capitalization of six and a half millions; the Chicago breweries at another five millions; the Bartholomay Brewing Company, at Rochester, approaching a still further five millions; the United States Brewing Company at an equal amount, together with the still more important purchase of the St. Louis Brewers' Association, at no less a sum than twelve millions of dollars. In this operation seventeen distinct establishments were united, indicating a possibility of a local combination of interests, hitherto competitive, of the greatest possible significance. But the investments have been by no means confined to the brewery interest. The great abattoir establishment of Mr. T. C. Eastman, in New York city, united with an English company, absorbed an investment of English capital to the extent of over five millions; the Otis Steel Company, of Cleveland; the Chicago and Northwestern granaries; the Pillsbury and Washburn Flour Mills, and the Virginia Development Company also absorbed considerable amounts. The City of Chicago Grain Elevator Line brought nearly five millions; the California Consolidated Quicksilver Companies, two millions; and, as if to show the infinite variety of pursuits to which capital can be diverted, no less a sum than three and a half millions has been absorbed in the purchase of the great patent-medicine establishment of Mr. H. H. Warner, at Rochester, where the "Safe Cure" remedies are manufactured. These and other indications, which so constantly appear in the newspapers, would imply that a very vast sum had already been realized from English capital in this country. But it is a fact that the amount, though large, is much less than people suppose; yet even at the rate of a million dollars a week is not inconsiderable.

There are those who indulge in the belief that the English capital brought out to the United States for investment in industrial enterprises will hardly yield a return that will be satisfactory; and that because of disappointment in the realization of the high returns promised, the present tendency is but a temporary one. These prophets point to the fate which has over-

taken not a few of the railroad enterprises in which English capital has been largely interested, as in the Erie, the Reading, the Wabash, and a few other projects; while with equal force they point to the loss and disaster which have overtaken English investments in ranching and cattle-breeding in the West. But the shape which British investments in industrial enterprises have taken in the past two years is widely different from the investments in railroads, ranches, mortgages, or other previous experiments in this direction. Whether it is from the experience of the past, or whether prompted by the conservatism of the leaders in this important movement, in order that it may be permanent, and of the most satisfactory character in its results, the utmost care has been exercised to base the operations on three great principles: First, that the greatest possible pains is exercised to secure the most exhaustive investigation of the properties to be taken over; second, that the control of the organization is irrevocably placed in the hands of the English parties who represent the new money put into the business; third, that the utmost precaution is taken to secure the continuance of the services of the vendor and his staff for the perpetuation of the success of the business, by not only insisting upon a contract for their continuous employment, but by their retention of a large proportionate interest. These three most important elements are as essential to success in floating a property in London as the sun is to daylight.

With regard to the investigation which precedes these transactions, it would be impossible to have it more thorough. The instrumentality chosen is that of an independent, impartial, and expert chartered accountant, from some well-known and long-established firm, whose position is sufficiently guaranteed by the fact that his firm are members of the Society of London Chartered Accountants (chartered by Parliament a century ago), famous the world over for their accuracy, probity, and sound judgment in matters of book-keeping. Without a certificate from a well-known firm, or individual member of this organization, as the result of prolonged personal investigation, no attempt to float a property could succeed. The result is that numerous enterprises cannot stand the test of this crucial examination, and only those whose claims to profit spread over a number of years are plainly demonstrable by the most impartial and rigid examination of every detail have any chance of success. In addition to this, all out-

side sources of information are made available, and reports as to the character, antecedents, and general business reputation of the parties concerned are most carefully gleaned, and even the debt-paying power of the bulk of the customers ascertained. So that, as far as is possible, a perfect photograph of the business is furnished from both the inside and outside.

Having perfectly apprehended the condition of the business to be sold, both in its past and present condition, the next move is to control it perfectly for the future. The usual practice is to incorporate under the local law of the State in which the business is situated (if it is not already in the shape of a corporation), and transfer every share of the stock, except that which is required for the qualification of local directors, to a trustee, who represents a second, or parent, company formed under the English Joint-Stock Act. This act is an extremely liberal one, and under it millions and millions of money have been administered with safety and profit. The English company, thus solely based upon the American securities, is usually officered by men of prominence and position, whose presence in a board of directors is a guarantee to capitalists that thorough investigation has taken place, and that the business will be honestly and efficiently administered. It is true that this seems a cumbrous plan, and the objection seems well taken that men perfectly unfamiliar with the business are placed in its practical control; that to manage affairs at long range has rarely succeeded; and that the average London director—chosen in many instances because he has a handle to his name, and not a few of them are denominated "Guinea-pigs," because they get a guinea for attending every directors' meeting—is hardly likely to add greatly to the shrewd business sagacity essential to success in America. But it will be found that the sense of control which even this cumbrous plan of a joint English and American company imparts has its advantages. It provides against a reckless and unauthorized departure from conservative business principles, and it insures a constant acquaintance with the business on behalf of those whose money has gone into the investment.

As to the objection that details cannot be apprehended properly three or four thousand miles away, it must not be forgotten that the third condition of the trade is also rigidly adhered to, viz., that the parties who have hitherto made the business a suc-

cess shall not only retain an interest at least equal to one-third of the securities issued as representing the property, but that the active management shall still be vested in those whose ability and energy have made the enterprise so conspicuously successful as to merit its recognition by British capitalists. With this latter condition complied with and a large interest maintained, and with little interference from the other side so long as the business is paying a return equal to its previous record, it would seem as if every precaution had been exercised.

The foregoing principles being rigidly adhered to in the investment of British capital in American industries, there is good reason for the belief that only those concerns which are really worthy, and only those whose profits for a series of years past afford a reasonable guarantee of equal success for years to come, have had a chance of ever being taken over. Should this expectation be borne out in the future, the amount of capital to come in this direction will certainly be very great. It is true that the price realized sometimes seems in excess of the possibilities of continued profit on the capitalization reached; but it must be borne in mind that this capitalization is based on a regular percentage of ascertained profits, spread over a series of years, and that under ordinary circumstances the future may be relied upon to yield as good a profit as the past. Whether it will do so or not remains to be seen, but all the conditions to accomplish this success seem to have been complied with. It may be that in all cases the extraordinary expectation raised for the common stock will not be fulfilled; but for the debentures and for the preferred stock, which comprise two-thirds of the securities issued, there is a reasonable certainty for as safe and as prompt a return as that from any other field of investment now open to English capital. There will be, of course, instances of failure from lack of good management, from misfortune, and because, perhaps, of the changed conditions of capital and administration; but it will be seen that all reasonable provision has been made against this possibility. In not a few instances great advantage may follow the introduction of enlarged monetary facilities, a close oversight in constant investigation by trained accountants, and the rigid methods of business which the English proprietors are likely to exact. The chances would seem to be about even that the thoroughly-organized establishments, based on really profitable

trade, and honestly administered by the men who have created them and who are still largely interested in them, will continue to yield returns that will fulfil the reasonable expectations of our new English partners.

It is a matter of surprise, both in England and America, that large and prosperous concerns in the United States are in the market, and the impression sometimes is imparted that the disposition to sell implies a weakness in earning power or overvaluation in the price demanded. But it must be understood that in this country the rapid growth of large establishments has always been at the expense of perfect ease in money matters, because active money is in small proportion to growth in plant, in the necessary stock of raw material, and in outstandings; that outside facilities in the shape of bank accommodations and outside loans have had to be relied upon for active capital in many instances, and the fact that the necessities of the business require constant permanent expenditure makes the attraction of new and active capital from abroad very difficult to resist. Further, men who have spent their lives in the promotion of great business establishments, possibly with no son or worthy successor fitted to carry on their business, and needing some leisure and ease of life, deem it prudent, in order that their business may go on, to avail themselves of the opportunity to interest foreign capital, especially when that capital comes in the impersonal shape of far-away shareholders, whose chief requirement is that the policy of the existing management shall be perpetuated and strengthened, and, in a monetary sense, relieved. It is certain that the introduction of corporative proprietorship, accompanied by ample foreign capital, will greatly contribute to the conservation of some of the larger establishments, and greatly aid in their perpetuation. The fate that overtook the great business of Mr. A. T. Stewart, the possibilities that impend in numerous concerns after the death or incapacity of the men whose genius and credit sustain them, influence the prompt acceptance of an offer of new capital and new ability, on the condition of a participation in the profits and the division of the assets into shares that are much more easily handled than the business taken as a whole, and in the distribution of which a certain succession can be secured.

Not the least important consideration flowing from the introduction of English capital is the possibility of combinations, or

consolidations, in various localities, of different establishments heretofore competing with each other. It is certain that this tendency of the times towards reducing the waste of expensive competition is a consideration that presses its desirability from a profit-earning point of view upon numerous competing establishments; and notwithstanding the severest criticism by the press, and adverse action by national and State legislatures, so long as the liberty of the citizen to trade with whom he chooses remains, this disposition will manifest itself. Just how far the introduction of British capital will encourage the tendency towards consolidation and the elimination of competition, it hardly yet appears, for up to this time the purchase of properties has been based solely upon the distinctive earning power which separate establishments show, and not upon their earning possibilities under combination. But this is clear, that the corporative character which each establishment has to assume in order to sell out offers great facility toward amalgamation. The impersonal character of a corporation rids it of the pride of possession inherent in personal proprietorship; and the impediments toward a union of interests, in rivalry, jealousy, and false or unjust estimates of value, are all removed. Indeed, it would seem as if the very facilities which the Englishmen require to have put in motion for their information and safety are the very first elements essential to combinations among competing establishments.

Further, it may be said that the new capital to be introduced is an instrumentality of equal advantage in effecting consolidations, and it is certain enough that just so soon as it is apparent that, in addition to the profits promised by distinct establishments, still better results can be secured by consolidations, and the abandonment of wasteful methods of production and expensive modes of distribution, just so soon will the desire be manifest to encourage a consolidation of interests. Such a tendency may possibly be essential from want of success as the consequence of the management of separate establishments at such long range as from London to America, and it is one of the elements of advantage which the English investors will always have in hand that, should competing concerns not pay, being within easy facility of communication with each other in corporative form, and with no purpose to serve but to secure profit, they can encourage a consolidation of interests in various localities, lessen competition, largely reduce

expenses, and make a good profit without the necessity of increasing prices to a point that will stimulate the creation of new and competing establishments. Possibly out of the changed conditions which impend for large individual industrial enterprises, in assuming a corporative form and then being largely absorbed by profit-hunting proprietors thousands of miles away, there may be found elements productive of a great change in the principles which govern the business world. The growing tendency toward eliminating competition because of its excessive cost and waste, as the bulwark of safety against exaction, may have additional encouragement in this trend of British capital toward America, and results far-reaching and influential may follow.

Up to this time the conservative element among the investors in Great Britain has hardly been reached by the attractiveness of American industrial securities. This is shown by the fact that it is not the debentures, or preferred stock, respectively at 5 and 6, and 7 and 8 per cent., that has been taken, but the common stock has been largely absorbed, on which a high premium in the London Stock Exchange is possible. But with the creation of more perfect instrumentalities in the shape of regularly-formed investment companies, which are now being developed by some of the best banking ability in both countries, and working together in harmony on both sides of the Atlantic, an equipment will be afforded that will, with much less expense, greatly enlarge the area of supply of money, and more perfectly control and investigate the properties offered. It is abundantly clear from recent indications that a regular business is now being developed in the direction of English investment, in which some of the best financial minds of the country will find an honorable and profitable field of employment. With the conservative investors of Great Britain once satisfied as to the facilities afforded, and a fairly profitable return secured on the investments already made, the organizations referred to will be most influential, and there can hardly be any doubt that the supply of money for investment in industrial enterprises here, which for the past two years has been at the rate of a million dollars a week, will very soon equal three times that amount, and perhaps reach as high a sum eventually as a million dollars a day. Even at a rate much smaller than this, the influences set in motion may be most potential. It would not require more than twenty years at this rate to place Great Britain in control

of one-half the industrial enterprises of the United States, and to turn the tide of money back from profits and dividends to such an extent as to make this country pay a vast tribute to London. Already the amount of interest remitted abroad from the United States to England, Germany, and Holland, for governmental, state, municipal, railroad, and mortgage indebtedness must approach a hundred million dollars annually. If the amount to be invested from abroad should increase three-fold in the next two decades, twenty years hence would witness a repayment to European countries of a sum equal to three hundred million dollars anually, or at the rate of almost a million dollars per day for every business day in the year. This seems a startling conclusion, and, as the bulk of it would go to Great Britain, it irresistibly brings to recollection the fact that, though the American people strenuously opposed, at the Boston tea-party and subsequently, the idea of paying tribute to England, the whirligig of time is bringing a condition of things by which the amount is increased ten-thousand-fold, but under circumstances highly beneficial to both countries.

It is impossible that there should have been for so many years so vast a stream of labor from Europe coming in the direction of the United States without in time being followed by a commensurate stream of capital; and it is a reasonable conclusion that, while foreign labor has enormously benefited the country, the employment of the capital now and hereafter to arrive from abroad will be even more beneficial. For it is clear that the money now coming from Great Britain occupies a vastly different place in our economy from that which she contributes to any other country. Here it comes to us, not as loans, bearing irrevocable fixed charges, which must be paid whether or no; it comes as a contribution to the business capital of the country, taking its chances of success with the accumulations of our own people. It takes the shape of a huge international partnership, in which individuals on both sides equally participate—a partnership in which the bargain is not to the disadvantage of either, but a profit is made for both, the extent and magnitude of which no man can tell.

No country needs money more than the United States; in no country can it be more safely employed. The increase of money capital has been small in proportion to the growth in the volume of business, to the development of natural resources, the growth of railway tonnage, or the enormous output of cotton, corn, oil,

and other products. The banking facilities are shown, by the continuous pressure of the past few months, to be quite inadequate to the needs of legitimate business—a condition that is intensified by the transitional state of our chief monetary institutions, in their relation to the general government. But aside from this, the ability to employ more capital is everywhere apparent. The South, with its marvellous growth and possibilities, the Northwest and its empire of wealth, the Pacific coast and its variety of products,—all are fields for enterprise for our own people, whose capital, being augmented, or released from investments in existing prosperous establishments, will stimulate our growth, and make this nation more than ever the wonder of the world, to the pride and profit of the mother-country that gave it birth. If to the opportunities already afforded within the boundaries of the United States should be added, for commercial purposes, that vast region of "The Greater Half of the Continent" included within the British possessions in North America, so that the commerce of this country may become continental in extent and continental in profit, no one can tell how advantageous may be this monetary connection between the two countries.

It is not difficult to estimate the ultimate influences set in motion by such a practical union of material interests between the two great English-speaking nations of the world. Mr. Gladstone, in his Paris speech, referring to the prediction that at the end of another hundred years the population of this continent may be six hundred millions, recognized "the prospective and approaching right of America to be the great organ of the powerful English tongue"; and, alluding to the United States and Great Britain, added these significant words, that "there was no cause upon earth that should now or hereafter divide one from the other." That the interests of mankind at large will be advanced by a close bond of union between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, no one can doubt, and nothing will contribute more certainly to this harmony than the mutuality of interests which is certain to be created by the investment of British capital in American industrial enterprises.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE AMERICAN BISHOP OF TO-DAY.

BY THE REV. JULIUS H. WARD.

THERE is a constant inquiry in a free country like our own, where Christianity is entirely controlled by voluntary associations, for men who have such discernment in affairs that they are able to interpret the signs of the times and to give their fellows the direction which they stand in need of. Every denomination has its wise leaders, who are trusted and followed because they are able to speak by the event and carry the rank and file with them. They are natural leaders, not crowned with authority, but the outgrowth of the soil,—men who have the instinct in morals and in religion which Chief-Justice Marshall had in the interpretation of the Constitution,—men who do the right thing at the right time. They gather a constituency around them, and are influential in their several denominations, because they know how to organize public opinion, and take the lead in religious affairs.

You can think of these men in our American development, and can trace their hand-prints in our ecclesiastical history as you can trace the furrow of a plough through a large field. Francis Wayland left such an impression upon the Baptist body; William Ellery Channing had such a guidance of the earlier Unitarians; Jonathan Edwards for one generation, and William E. Park for a later one, led the Congregationalists like a flock of sheep; John Carroll first organized the Roman Catholic body in Maryland; Francis Asbury set in order the Methodist household when his preachers lived on horseback; William Penn made the Pennsylvania Quakers a unique Christian sect; the Hodges have set their mark in this century upon the Presbyterian body, and among Churchmen there have been at least two bishops who have stood head and shoulders above others of their order in the ability to organize and develop a diocese into vigorous and expansive life —John Henry Hobart and Alonzo Potter.

These are but a few of the men who have left their mark upon the ecclesiastical life of the century. If one follows their plans of work and sees what they have accomplished in the religious organizations to which they severally belonged, he will find that in every instance they had natural qualities of leadership. Through the language of the spirit, or through the power of mind and will combined, they had great weight in shaping public opinion and in directing religious life. It is to-day as it was in the times of the Hebrew prophets. The Christian Church, taken as a whole, is advanced principally, though not entirely, by men who have the power of lead in them, men who see further than their associates, men who have the vision of the whole and comprehend life in its unity, men who have a certain divine right to govern the world, and really control it so far as humanity is uplifted and advanced.

These natural leaders can neither be commanded when they seem to be most needed, nor can they be grown at will, as the quality of the lower animals is improved by the law of natural selection. They come and they go, but it is the mark of wisdom in ordinary affairs that they shall be selected, whenever it is possible, to take the control of their fellow-men and to guide them in public affairs. Much study has been given to the beginnings of organic Christianity, and since Luther lost the opportunity to give the Catholic episcopate to the Protestant Church much ingenuity has been expended in trying to show that this doctrine of leadership, which in the state early assumed the form of kingship, and in the family or the tribe got the name of patriarch, has always had in the Christian Church first the name of apostle and then ever afterward the title of bishop. It matters not whether the episcopate is clearly traced in the records called the New Testament or not; the important fact to be noted is that the moment you begin to find anything like historical facts pertaining to Christianity, you discover that bishops have the leadership in the Christian Church, and that the endeavor everywhere seems to have been in the earliest days to select the best man among the clergy for this important apostolic office. The attempt was made to give the natural leadership which exists in unorganized society such a position in the church of God that the divine forces in the world might be not only highly organized, but applied with the best tact and discretion to the whole of society.

What constitutes the charm of such scanty records of the early

church as have been transmitted to us through the ante-Nicene Fathers is that the bishops brought all the forces at their command to bear upon the organization of society on a Christian basis. Their limitations were great, and yet their sagacity and insight and consecrated purpose were such that, even when it came to the point that Athanasius alone opposed the world, it was Athanasius who conquered, simply because he could not be put down, nor could the idea which controlled him be struck out of existence. There is no period in Christian history when this episcopal lead is not somewhere or at some point the glory and joy of the church; and it is by going back to the struggles which some of these great bishops endured to maintain the integrity of the faith, and to keep the church as broad and comprehensive as the whole of humanity, that we obtain that conception of the episcopal office in itself, and of its influence for good when great and consecrated men fill out its functions, which it is wise to keep before the church to-day in order that its leaders may not fall short of the high standard which their predecessors have reached.

The period in which we are now living, and the community in which the Catholic faith is to be extended, are not favorable to that type of Christianity which, for the sake of distinction, we call historical. The type of Christianity which was struck out at the Reformation is the prevailing type in the United States. For the most part the office of a bishop is not fairly understood, and his services are not in demand. So far as the popular rush and enthusiasm go, the purely Protestant form of Christianity is most desired and seems to have most weight. It is true that if the Roman and Anglican population are taken together, historical Christianity has numbers in its favor; but, if you take account of the elements which at the hour are most active in our religious world, it is Protestantism of evangelical or Puritan type which now controls North America, and is likely to control it for a long time yet to come. The set of the tide is that way. The political tendencies of the country are in accord with its evangelical movement. It is still the purpose of Americans, as it was two and a half centuries ago the purpose of our forefathers, to found a church without a bishop, as well as a state without a king. The Roman communion is so new in its power among us, and its influence is so strictly confined within its own people, that it does

not yet, to any appreciable extent, direct or control Protestant thought. The religious leader in the Protestant world is the smart man who happens to turn up, and who secures unexpectedly the confidence of his fellow-religionists.

The idea which is behind our working religious forces is not that of Christianity as an organized plan for the reaching out to the whole of society in a spiritual way that may be called constructive; it is, rather, the reaching out to individuals in the community and persuading them to accept, as single persons, definite religious beliefs which are to secure to them the pledge of heaven and the certainty of eternal blessedness. Perhaps the purpose of these two types of Christianity may in the end be called identical, but the method by which they act upon society, if they keep to their normal lines of work, is widely different. The one reaches out to society as a whole, while the other regards the whole of the community as a collection of individual units. The one lays hold of all the natural, the honest, the social, the active, forces which have free play in a community, and directs them to a spiritual end by lifting them up to the point where they take on a spiritual impression and receive spiritual lead; the other keeps more strictly to a highly sensitive spiritual purpose, and introduces into the community such a principle of selection that a strict line of demarcation is laid down, and the saints and the sinners are as distinctly known in this world as it is believed that the sheep and the goats will be known at the day of judgment. By the work of the one, where organic Christianity has sufficiently gained the lead to express itself distinctly through institutional as well as individual forms, society has received something like a Christian atmosphere and a Christian color and tone. People have gained a respect for Christian institutions, and, while humanity has not been fully redeemed, its vices have been lessened and its way of doing things has been improved. It is this more comprehensive influence of the church in society to-day which people are in search of, and the influence of the individual or personal method of building up the church of Christ, if it has not been greatly lessened, is more and more felt to be the use of one sort of power which needs its complement in organic methods to make it effective in reaching spiritual results. More and more the evangelical method seems to be barren of that kind of result which organizes the life of the com-

munity upon a higher plane. It is not that its leaders are not in earnest, or that they do not work hard to reach results; it is because they do not use all the agencies which have been transmitted through the historical church for the regeneration of society; it is mainly because they have lost the method of organizing social forces which the early church accomplished through the episcopate—forces which in modern times have chiefly been organized and controlled by that part of the Christian Church in which the episcopate has been a central and vital reality and a great working force.

It has been necessary to make this statement of the difference between organic and evangelical methods of building up Christian society, not in order to ascertain what the bishop is by canonical right in the church of Christ, but to see the place which he occupies not only in the historical church, but in the direction of the forces by which the church brings its strongest influence to bear constructively upon modern society. The American bishop of to-day does not differ in his title, in his functions, or in his authority from his episcopal brother of the first five Christian centuries; but his place is in the life of to-day, and unless he takes account of the elements which are around him, and knows how to organize public opinion and found institutions and repair the leakages of society, he may be an excellent functionary, but he is also practically a cipher in the Christian world. It would be better for such a man never to have been taken out of the natural obscurity where he belonged than to make a travesty of the functions of the episcopal office, when all men are longing to see whatever organizing power this office may possess applied quickly and strongly to the regeneration of society.

The American bishop—and here I mean not the Methodist superintendents who call themselves bishops, nor the Moravian apostles who are believed rightly to have a claim to this title, nor the Roman episcopate, whose authority is not doubted, but the episcopate of that communion which contains the largest number of English-speaking people in the world, and which in this country is called by a name that belittles its character—cannot be simply an ecclesiastical functionary who ordains priests and confirms the children of the church, settling down to diocesan work strictly within ecclesiastical lines and losing sight of what seems to be his providential place in American life. If he

has not some natural gifts for the control of men and the interpretation of life and character, he had better not be a bishop at all; he will be simply one of the painful failures, walking daily in the sight of all men, which the community does not like to tolerate. Society is so unformed, so in the process of realizing something better, so ready to be moulded, that the leader has as distinct an office and opportunity in the collective American church as the Hebrew prophet had under the Jewish kings in the direction of the life of the people of Israel. The Episcopal Church has often lacked its opportunity in this country because political and social forces have been arrayed against it, but to-day its opportunity has come; the demand for constructive religious forces is everywhere increasing; and of those religious bodies which have a Protestant character in distinction from the Church of Rome, it is chiefly the one that presents Christianity to the people in the organic and comprehensive form which has already been stated. There is thus opened to its episcopate an opportunity for service which is not to be thought of at all as the building up of one communion at the expense of another, but as the bringing into American society of a constructive and helpful element which the purely evangelical bodies do not seem to be able to command or to know how to employ. It is from this point of view that the office of an American bishop, in the light of his social opportunity and usefulness, becomes, perhaps, more important than it has ever been at any time since the Apostles intrusted to the bishops, whom they set apart by the laying-on of hands, the guidance of the infant church.

Neither too little nor too much is to be made of the organic method by which the historical church has always approached society; nor is the episcopate to be magnified, as some who are admitted to its offices and functions magnify it, as if the respect shown to the office were an acknowledgment of the superior personal qualities of the man himself over his brethren. American bishops have shown a great deal of iron and clay in their making-up, and sometimes their qualifications for the position have been such that nobody but themselves could discover them; but it is pleasanter to indicate what this office may be used for than to point out the personal weaknesses of those who sink the office in the man. In order to do this one must revert to the point of leadership. There are certain qualities which you look for in a

bishop as a matter of course. He must be an honest and devout man, the husband of one wife, one who has the gift of administration, one who knows how to approach his fellow-men not only as a priest, but as a member of society. All these things are commonly looked for in the choice of a bishop, but the election to this office by the rule of the majority, which is the American method,—as distinguished from the English method, which is that of selection by the prime minister, confirmation by the Queen, and then consecration by the archbishop of the province, or the Roman method, which is the sending by the archbishop of the province of two or three suitable names of priests to the Pope, who makes the selection,—is an uncertain method of securing a really competent leader. The worst bishops in the American Episcopal Church have been those who were chosen, not because they were wanted, but because, when neither party could obtain the priest it most desired, they happened to be so far without distinction as to be available candidates.

The essential point, the condition that is first after the implied fitness is determined on, is that the man to be selected for the episcopal office should be a natural leader of men, and should have practical ability to deal with the whole of life. He should be, humanly speaking, an all-around man. He should be able to deal with the questions which come before him as one who sees their different sides and looks at them not as a partisan, but in their totality; but, most of all, in dealing with Christian people of other names, he should remember that it is his business to begin with points of agreement rather than with points of difference, as St. Paul did in his celebrated address to the Greeks on Mars Hill. We have had quite enough of the episcopal functionary, the bishop strong in details, the bishop of one idea, the bishop who apes English customs which are well enough in England, but do not increase respect for the episcopal office in free America, the bishop who foists his personal likes and dislikes upon the congregations in his diocese like a spiritual autocrat, the bishop who deals in admonitions whether they are called for or not, the bishop whose head is the lightest part of the whole man, the bishop who throws away his opportunity and can never regain it any more than Esau could recover his birthright, the bishop who clutches at all the constitutional rights of the diocese and assumes them to be his just prerogative, the bishop who says one

thing and does another, the bishop who loses the confidence of his clergy because he is not true to them, the bishop who strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. These are some of the abuses of the episcopal office which have discredited it in the judgment of Americans.

There is an interpretation of this office in its relation to other Christian bodies which, perhaps more than any other single feature, has hurt the Christian consciousness of America, and that is the widely-prevailing, but not universal, attitude of the American episcopate toward other Christian bodies. Much can be said on both sides of this statement. The Memorial Movement of 1853 did great honor to most of the American bishops, and had the clergy in the General Convention been as broad-minded as their bishops, the Episcopal Church would at that time have extended terms of unity to other Christian bodies in the United States which they could have accepted without discredit to themselves. The difficulty with some High-Church bishops has been that they could not see beyond the battlements of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Bishop Whittingham had this limited vision. Low-Church bishops, like Bishop McIlvaine, on the other hand, have torn down the walls of separation so completely that they failed to make others understand in what the worth of the Episcopal Church consists. Neither extreme has promoted Christian unity, and the frequent hauteur of the American bishop, which is more in his manner than in his thought, has confirmed the Baptist or the Presbyterian in his traditional hatred of episcopacy as the "execrable sum of all villanies." The episcopate everywhere, even to-day, meets the prejudice that it is not in harmony with American ideas, and just so far as existing ecclesiastics help personally to confirm this impression, they put themselves out of sympathy with the American people and deprive themselves of the opportunity to contribute through the organizing agency of the episcopate a helpful element to American society. On the other hand, just so far as American bishops are truly national in sentiment and feeling, and have the power to adapt their office to the needs of American society, they are sure to find themselves in positions of leadership, where their influence is welcomed quite as heartily outside of their jurisdiction as within it. Any special aping what is distinctly English may be unimportant in itself, and yet it hurts an American

bishop as much as it hurts the congregations which are under his charge. But when he uses his opportunity in the social movements of the day, and in the Christian movements where he does not sacrifice principle, to give Christianity a broader and closer contact with the whole of life, he adds the weight of his office to his Christian manhood and takes a position which all men respect and honor.

Everything comes back to this point of leadership, and to the ability of a bishop to see where his work lies and to do it in such a way as not needlessly to wound people who have been trained in a different household of faith. It may be said that this is a worldly, rather than a spiritual, interpretation of the bishop's office. It is certainly an incomplete view. But if the limits of this article permitted it would be easy to show its essential harmony with the New Testament idea of the apostolate, as illustrated in the ministry of the first overseers of the Christian Church, and in the ministry of that preëminent man whose being all things to all men was never the surrender of principle, but always the offering of himself. Indeed, did these limits permit, it would not be hard to show that the essence of leadership in the Founder of Christianity consisted of two elements—the power of putting the mind of Jesus into touch with humanity, with all its varieties, and then the grace of self-effacing service, "even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister." Surely the ideal of his ministry must needs be the worthiest for any bishop! But in a community whose positive institutions are chiefly political, and in which Christianity is not developed specially through institutions and by an organizing process, the religious body that knows how to deal with the whole of life, and to extend its influence through every grade and order in society, has a work to do outside of strictly church lines, which is quite as important as the work to be done within them. In this work the parish clergy may be counted upon to assist, but it is the bishop who must take the initiative and lead off. In order to do this he must be unencumbered with duties which can be discharged by others; he must not waste his time in details; he must work through social channels and reach the heart of society, without neglecting his ministrations at the altar or his engagements to his own flock; he must be free to use his opportunity at the turning-points of power so that the common life of the day, not less

than the truly Christian life, shall be made to feel the spiritual impact of the church of Christ.

It is because the evangelical bodies in America have developed the individual Christian life at the expense of the corporate influence of the church as an institution, that the American bishop has a special influence to-day, if he is equal to the situation, in giving direction to American society. The position which the present bishop of New York took with reference to the drift of American life, at the recent celebration of the beginning of federal government in this country, is an illustration of this reaching-out to the direction of public opinion and the guidance of society. Bishop Potter could not at any time have wisely administered the rebuke which he uttered. The strength of that rebuke was in the fitness of the time and place for giving it quite as much as in the courage of the one who gave it. The service which Bishop Whipple has rendered to the government in behalf of the Indians is another instance in which the ecclesiastic and the man have worked together to advance the interests of a conquered race. No man has done more to ameliorate their condition or stood firmer as their friend. It is in this social leadership, which has behind it the spiritual leadership, that the American episcopate, using its opportunity wisely, can bring to bear upon the whole of American life a corrective and wise influence which, in its larger interpretation, means that the Christian Church is working constructively in the moral and spiritual life of the people in the same way that the nation is giving direction to their political life. There are examples in English and French episcopates of this sort of influence, such as those of Wilberforce and Fraser and Selwyn in our own day in England, and those of Dupanloup and Darboy in France, and in the episcopate of Nicholas Pavillon of an earlier date, in all of which one finds that men carried into society at large, without neglecting their duties to their immediate dioceses, the directing and inspiring influence of Christian leaders.

The American Episcopal Church in this country, with nearly seventy bishops engaged in active work, is employing the episcopate in religious leadership, especially in the newer sections of the country, with a very clear idea of its use in Christian and social guidance, and a very large number of these bishops, especially those in missionary jurisdictions, have been selected because they

had such gifts of building up parishes and of influencing general society as were required in the early church; and wherever these men are working with a large interpretation of their mission, with the consciousness that it may be within their power to knit together bodies of Christians in a way which never will be entirely lost,—which was the mission of Bishop Fraser,—their labors bear testimony to a use of the episcopal office in a very large and free way for the ends which have here been stated to be within its special province.

The recognition of this broader understanding of what the American bishop may accomplish has a wider bearing upon the future of Christian society in America than those are ready to acknowledge who live and move and have their being strictly within denominational lines. The mission of the American Episcopal Church lies in the possibility of its contribution of a better working system and a larger liberty under competent direction than has heretofore seemed possible in the whole field of American Christianity. The episcopate is valuable because it is the method by which the Christian Church can be kept as broad and inclusive as the whole of humanity, and by which men can be kept united in essentials while their individual ways of appropriating truth and developing the spiritual life are as unrestricted as the air of heaven which they breathe. The American bishops in offering this sort of episcopacy to the divided Christianity of the United States will be met by the olive-branch and the palm wherever they shall show simply and only that their ancient order is vital to the church of Christ in the sense that it supplies a method by which all Christians, with God's blessing, may reach better results in the work which they are trying to do as the organizers of modern Christendom.

JULIUS H. WARD.

A NEW VIEW OF SHELLEY.

BY OUIDA.

ABOVE my head in the starry July night goes with soft, swift, silent movement through the scented air, above the tall leaves of the aloes, and under the green boughs of the acacias, a little brown owl. Families of them live on the roof of this great house, and at sunset they descend and begin hunting for crickets and moths and water-beetles and mice. These owls are, in scientific nomenclature, the *scops carniola;* to the peasantry they are known as the *chèu ;* by Shelley they were called the aziola. I have never found any Italian who called this owl aziola, but I suppose that Mary Godwin did, since she said, "Do you not hear the Aziola cry ?" And he made answer, very truly, of this cry, that it was music heard

> "By wood and stream, meadow and mountain side,
> And fields and marshes wide,—
> Such as nor voice, nor lute, nor wind, nor bird
> The soul ever stirred."

The note is very far-reaching, deep and sweet and clear and melodious, one single note sounding at intervals of thirty or forty seconds through the still air of the summer night. It is said to be a love call, but I doubt it, for it may be heard long after the pairing season ; the bird gives it forth when he is flying as when he is sitting still, and it is unmistakably a note of contentment. Nor do I think it is sad, as Shelley terms it ; it has a sound as of pleased meditation in it, and it has a mellow thrill which once heard cannot be forgotten ever. For myself, never do I hear the call of the *chèu* (which is often heard from May time until autumn, when these birds migrate to the East) without remembering Shelley and wishing that he lived to hear.

Shelley is more truly a son of Italy than any one of her own poets, for he had the sentiment and passion of her natural beauty, which cannot be said of the greatest of them. I think that Shelley can scarcely be well comprehended by those who are

not intimately acquainted with Italian landscape. The exceeding truthfulness of his observation of and feeling for it cannot certainly be appreciated except by those who have lived amongst the sights and sounds which took so close a hold upon his imagination and his heart. Few, perhaps, if any, think of Shelley as often as I do; and to me his whole personality seems the most spiritual and the most sympathetic of the age.

The personality of Byron startles, captivates, entrances; he flashes by us like a meteor—lover, noble, man of pleasure and of the world, solitary and soldier by turns, and a great poet always, let the poetasters and sciolists of the moment say what they will in their efforts to decry and to deny him. Shelley's has nothing of this dazzling and gorgeous romance, as he has nothing in his portraits of that haughty and fiery challenge which speaks in the pose of the head and the glance of the eyes in every picture of Byron. Shelley's eyes gaze outward with wistful, dreamy tenderness; they are the eyes of contemplative genius, the eyes which behold that which is not seen by the children of men. That sweetness and spirituality which are in his physiognomy characterize the fascination which his memory, like his verse, must exercise over any who can understand his soul. Nothing is more unfitting to him than those wranglings over his remains which are called studies of his life and letters. The solemnity and beauty of his death and burial should surely have secured him repose in his grave.

In no other country than England would it be possible to find writers and readers so utterly incapable of realizing what manner of nature and of mind his was that they can presume to measure both by their foot-rule of custom and try to press both into their small pint-pot of conventional morality. Would he not have said of his biographers, as he wrote of critics,

> "Of your antipathy
> If I am the Narcissus, you are free
> To pine into a sound with hating me"?

What can his conduct, within the bonds of marriage or without them, matter to a world which he blessed and enriched? What can his personal sorrows or failings be to people who should only rejoice to hearken to his melodious voice? Who would not give the lives of a hundred thousand ordinary women to make happy for an hour such a singer as he?

The greatest duty of a man of genius is to his own genius, and he is not bound to dwell for a moment in any circumstances or any atmosphere which injures, restrains, or depresses it. The world has very little comprehension of genius. In England there is, more than anywhere else, the most fatal tendency to drag genius down into the heavy shackles of commonplace existence, and to make Pegasus plough the common fields of earth. English genius has suffered greatly from the pressure of middle-class English opinion. It made George Eliot a hypocrite; it has made Tennyson a chanter of Jubilee Odes; it has put in chains even the bold spirit of Browning; and it has kept mute within the soul much noble verse which would have had rapture and passion in its cadences. The tone of hypocrisy, of Puritanism, of conventionality, has deeply entered into the English character, and how much and how great has been the loss it has caused to literature none will ever be able to measure.

Shelley affranchised himself in its despite, and for so doing he suffered in his life and suffers in his memory. He was a Republican in a time when republican doctrines were associated with the horrors of the guillotine and the excesses of the mob, then fresh in the public mind. He would now be called an Altruist where he was then called a Jacobin. His exhortation to the men of England—

> "Men of England, wherefore plough
> For the lords who lay ye low?
> Wherefore weave with toil and care,
> The rich robes your tyrants wear?"—

would, were it published now, be quoted with admiration by all the good Radicals, with John Morley at their head; indeed, it is astonishing that they have never reprinted it in their manuals for the people. It is wonderful that "The Masque of Anarchy" has escaped quotation by the leaders of the Irish opposition, and that the lines written during the Castlereagh administration have not been exhumed to greet the administration of the present Lord Londonderry. Shelley forgot, as poets will forget, his own law, that the poet, like the chameleon, should feed from air, not earth. What then was deemed so terrible a political crime in one of his gentle birth and culture would now be thought most generous and becoming, as the democratic principles of Lords Dalhousie and Rosebery are now considered to be by their political party; the odes and sonnets which then drew down on him execration

and persecution would now procure him the gratitude of Gladstone and the honor of the *Nineteenth Century*.

"A people starved and stabbed in the untilled field,"

is a line which has been strangely overlooked by orators for Ireland.

In politics, had he lived now, he would have fared much better; in moral liberty also he would, I think, have found more freedom. Though the old hypocrisy clings still in so much to English society, in much it has been shaken off, and within the last twenty years there has been a very marked abandonment of conventional opinion. There is much that is conventional still; much to the falsehood of which it is still deemed necessary to adhere. If the Jubilee festivities have shown anything, they have shown the potentiality for gigantic powers of humbug possessed by the nation in all classes: no single voice was lifted to say the truth to or of the Crown, the country, or the century. But still there is a greater liberality, a wider tolerance, an easier indulgence; and it may certainly be said that Shelley, if he lived now, would neither be worried to dwell beside Harriet Westbrooke, nor would Mary Godwin be excluded from any society worthy of the name. Society is arriving at the consciousness that for an ordinary woman to expect the monopoly of the existence of a man of genius is a crime of vanity and of egotism so enormous that it cannot be accepted in its pretensions or imposed upon him in its tyranny. Therefore it is wholly out of date and unfitting to the times to see critics and authors discussing and embittering the memory of Shelley on account of his relations with women.

These relations are in any man indisputably those which most reveal his character; but they are none the less indisputably those with which the public have least permission to interfere. We have the "Prometheus Unbound" and "The Revolt of Islam"; we have the sonnet to England and the ode to the "Skylark"; we have the "Good-night" and the "Song"; and with all these riches and their like given to us by his bounteous and beautiful youth, shall we dare to rake in the ashes of his funeral-pyre and search in the faded lines of his letters to find material for carping censure or for ingenious misconstruction? It adds greater horror to death—this groping of the sextons of the press amongst the dust of the tomb, this unhallowed searching of alien hands amongst the papers which were written only to be read by eyes beloved. The common mortal is freed from such violation;

he has left nothing behind him worth the stealing; he has been a decorous and safe creature, and his signature has been affixed to his weekly accounts, his bank drafts, his household orders, his epistles to his children at school, and not a soul cares to disturb the dust on their tied-up bundles. But the man or woman of genius has no sepulchre buried so deep in earth or barred so strongly that the vampire of curiosity cannot enter to break in and steal; from Heloise to Shelley the paper on which the burning words which come straight from the heart are recorded is the prey of the vulgar, and the soul bared only to one other soul becomes the sport of those who have not eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor mind to understand.

I have said ere now often, and I shall say it as long as I have power to say anything, that with the private life of the man or woman of genius the world has nothing to do.

What is it to the world who was Allegretta's mother, or who was the prototype of Mignon, or who was the Lady of Solitude of the Elysian isles of the "Epipsychidion"; what matter whether Shakespeare blessed or cursed Anne Hathaway, or whether personal pains and longings inspired the doctrines of the "Tetrarchordon"? It matters no more than it matters whether Lesbia's sparrow was a real bird or a metaphor, no more than it matters whether the carmen to Cerinthe were written for the poet's pleadings *in propria persona* or for his friend. It matters nothing. We have "Don Juan" and "Wilhelm Meister"; we have "Hamlet" and the "Lycidas"; we have the songs of Catullus and the elegies of Tibullus: what wants the world more than these? Alas! alas! it wants those which shall pull down the greater stature to the lower; it wants that which shall console it for its own drear dulness by showing it the red spots visible on the lustre of the sun.

The disease for "documents," as they are called in the jargon of the time, is only another name for this insatiable appetite to pry into the private life of those greater than their fellows, in the hope to find something therein wherewith to belittle them. Genius may say as it will the *nihil humanum a me alienum puto;* humanity always sullenly perceives that genius *is* genius precisely because it is something other than humanity, something beyond it, above it—never of it; something which stands aloof from it, however it may express itself as kin to it. That the soul of man

is divine is a doubtful postulate; but that whatever there is divine to be found clothed in a human form is to be found in genius is true for all time. The mass of men dimly feel this, and they vaguely resent it, and dislike genius, as the multitude in India and Palestine disliked Buddha and Christ. When the tiger tears it or the cross bears it, the mass of men are consoled for their own inferiority to it. In the world Prometheus is always kept chained; and the fire he brings from heaven is spat upon.

"Oh, weep for Adonais!—The quick Dreams,
The passion-winged Ministers of thought,
Who were his flocks, whom near the living streams
Of his young spirit he fed, and whom he taught
The love which was its music, wander not,—
Wander no more, from kindling brain to brain,
But droop there, whence they sprung; and mourn their lot
Round the cold heart, where, after their sweet pain,
They ne'er will gather strength, nor find a home again.

. . . . . .

The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are."

Every line in Shelley's verse which speaks of Italy is pregnant with the spirit of the land. Each line is a picture; true and perfect, whether of day or night, of water or shore, of marsh or garden, of silence or melody. Take this poem, "Julian and Maddalo":

"How beautiful is sunset, when the glow
Of heaven descends upon a land like thee,
Thou paradise of exiles, Italy!

. . . . . .

As those who pause on some delightful way,
Though bent on pleasant pilgrimage, we stood
Looking upon the evening, and the flood
Which lay between the city and the shore,
Paved with the image of the sky: the hoar
And airy Alps, towards the north, appeared,
Thro' mist, a heaven-sustaining bulwark, reared
Between the east and west; and half the sky
Was roofed with clouds of rich emblazonry,
Dark purple at the zenith, which still grew
Down the steep west into a wondrous hue
Brighter than burning gold, even to the rent
Where the swift sun yet paused in his descent
Among the many-folded hills—they were
These famous Euganean hills, which bear,
As seen from Lido through the harbor piles,
The likeness of a clump of peaked isles—
And then, as if the earth and sea had been
Dissolved into one lake of fire, were seen
Those mountains towering, as from waves of flame,
Around the vaporous sun, from which there came
The inmost purple spirit of light, and made
Their very peaks transparent."

Whoever knows the lagoons of the Lido and of Murano knows the exquisite justness and veracity of this description. I thought of it not long ago when, sailing over the shallow water on the way to the city from Torcello, I saw the sun descend behind the roseate Euganean hills, whilst the full moon hung, exactly opposite, over the more distant chain of the inland mountains.

Then this again:

"I see a chaos of green leaves and fruit
Built round dark caverns, even to the root
Of the living stems who feed them; in whose bowers,
There sleep in their dark dew the folded flowers;
Beyond, the surface of the unsickled corn
Trembles not in the slumbering air, and borne
In circles quaint, and ever-changing dance,
Like winged stars the fire-flies flash and glance
Pale in the open moonshine; but each one
Under the dark trees seems a little sun,
A meteor tamed; a fixed star gone astray
From the silver regions of the Milky-way.
Afar the Contadino's song is heard,
Rude, but made sweet by distance;—and a bird
Which cannot be a nightingale, and yet
I know none else that sings so sweet as it
At this late hour;—and then all is still."

He said, "which cannot be a nightingale," because he wrote this on the 1st of July, and nightingales rarely sing after June is past. But I have heard nightingales sing in Italy up to the middle of July if the weather were cool and if their haunts, leafy and shady, were well protected from the sun; so that this bird which he heard was most likely Philomel. Blackbirds and woodlarks sing late into the dark of evening, but never in the actual night.

How he heard and studied the nightingale!

"There the voluptuous nightingales
Are awake through all the broad noonday,
When one with bliss or sadness fails,
And through the windless ivy-boughs,
Sick with sweet love, droops dying away
On its mate's music-panting bosom;
Another from the swinging blossom,
Watching to catch the languid close
Of the last strain, then lifts on high
The wings of the weak melody,
Till some new strain of feeling bear
The song, and all the woods are mute;
When there is heard through the dim air
The rush of wings, and rising there
Like many a lake-surrounded flute,
Sounds overflow the listener's brain
So sweet, that joy is almost pain."

There is not the slightest exaggeration in these lines, for exquisite as they are, they rather fall below than exceed the rapture and riot of countless nightingales in Italian woods by noon and night, and the marvellous manner in which the stronger singers will take up and develop the broken songs of weaker birds.

"If I were a dead leaf thou mightest bear;
If I were a swift cloud to fly with thee;
A wave to pant beneath thy power, and share

"The impulse of thy strength, only less free
Than thou, O uncontrollable! If even
I were as in my boyhood, and could be

"The comrade of thy wanderings over heaven,
As then, when to outstrip the skyey speed
Scarce seemed a vision, I would ne'er have striven

"As thus with thee in prayer in my sore need.
Oh! lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!

"A heavy weight of hours has chained and bowed
One too like thee: tameless, and swift, and proud.

"Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is:
What if my leaves are falling like its own!
The tumult of thy mighty harmonies

"Will take from both a deep autumnal tone,
Sweet though in sadness. Be though, spirit fierce,
My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!

"Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth;
And, by the incantation of this verse,

"Scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth
Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!
Be through my lips to unawakened earth

"The trumpet of a prophecy! O wind,
If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?"

In the "Ode to the West Wind," written in a wood washed by the Arno waters, how completely his spirit loses itself in and is identified with the forces of Nature! how in every line we feel the sweep and motion of the strong *libeccio* coming from the gray Atlantic, over "the sapless foliage of the ocean," to

"waken from his summer dreams
The blue Mediterranean, where he lay,
Lulled by the coil of his crystalline streams,

"Beside a pumice isle in Baiæ's bay,
And saw in sleep old palaces and towers
Quivering within the wave's intenser day."

When that wind sweeps up the channel of the Arno, the yellowing canebrakes bend, the rushes thrill and tremble, the sum-

mer's empty nests are shaken from the ilex and acacia boughs, the river, stirred by the breath of the sea, grows yellow and gray and swollen and turgid, the last swallow flies southward from his home under the eaves of granary or chapel, and the nightingales rise from their haunts in the thickets of laurel and bay and go also where the shadows of Indian temples or of Egyptian palm-trees lie upon the sand of a still older world.

In that most beautiful and too little known of poems, "Epipsychidion," the whole scene, though called Greek, is Italian, and might be taken from the woods beside the Lake of Garda or the forest-like parks which lie deep and cool and still in the blue shadows of Apennine or Abruzzi.

"There are thick woods where sylvan forms abide;
And many a fountain, rivulet, and pond,
As clear as elemental diamond,
Or serene morning air; and far beyond,
The mossy tracks made by the goats and deer
(Which the rough shepherd treads but once a year,)
Pierce into glades, caverns, and bowers, and halls
Built round with ivy, which the waterfalls
Illumining, with sound that never fails,
Accompany the noonday nightingales;
And all the place is peopled with sweet airs;
The light clear element which the isle wears
Is heavy with the scent of lemon-flowers,
Which floats like mist laden with unseen showers
And falls upon the eyelids like faint sleep;
And from the moss violets and jonquils peep,
And dart their arrowy odor through the brain,
Till you might faint with that delicious pain."

In the whole world of poetry Love has never been sung with more beauty than in this great poem.

"Ah me!
I am not thine: I am a part of *thee*.
. . . . . .
Pilot of the Fate
Whose course has been so starless! O too late
Beloved! O too soon adored, by me!
For in the fields of immortality
My spirit should at first have worshipped thine,
A divine presence in a place divine;
Or should have moved beside it on this earth,
A shadow of that substance, from its birth;
. . . . . .
We—are we not formed, as notes of music are,
For one another, though dissimilar;
Such difference, without discord, as can make
Those sweetest sounds, in which all spirits shake

As trembling leaves in a continuous air?

. . . . . .

The day is come, and thou wilt fly with me.
To whatsoe'er of dull mortality
Is mine, remain a vestal sister still;
To the intense, the deep, the imperishable,
Not mine, but me, henceforth be thou united
Even as a bride, delighting and delighted.
The hour is come:—the destined Star has risen,
Which shall descend upon a vacant prison.
The walls are high, the gates are strong, thick set
The sentinels—but true love never yet
Was thus constrained : it overleaps all fence;
Like lightning, with invisible violence
Piercing its continents.

. . . . . .

This isle and house are mine, and I have vowed
Thee to be lady of the solitude.
And I have fitted up some chambers there
Looking toward the golden Eastern air,
And level with the living winds, which flow
Like waves above the living waves below.
I have sent books and music there, and all
Those instruments with which high spirits call
The future from its cradle, and the past
Out of its grave, and make the present last
In thoughts and joys which sleep, but cannot die,
Folded within their own eternity.
Our simple life wants little, and true taste
Hires not the pale drudge Luxury to waste
The scene it would adorn, and therefore still,
Nature with all her children, haunts the hill.
The ring-dove, in the embowering ivy, yet
Keeps up her love-lament, and the owls flit
Round the evening tower, and the young stars glance
Between the quick bats in their twilight dance ;
The spotted deer bask in the fresh moonlight
Before our gate, and the slow silent night
Is measured by the pants of their calm sleep.
Be this our home in life, and when years heap
Their withered hours, like leaves, on our decay,
Let us become the overhanging day,
The living soul of this Elysian isle,
Conscious, inseparable, one. Meanwhile
We two will rise, and sit, and walk together,
Under the roof of blue Ionian weather,
And wander in the meadows, or ascend
The mossy mountains, where the blue heavens bend
With lightest winds, to touch their paramour;
Or linger, where the pebble-paven shore,
Under the quick faint kisses of the sea,
Trembles and sparkles as with ecstacy,—
Possessing and possest by all that is
Within that calm circumference of bliss,
And by each other, till to love and live
Be one:—or, at the noontide hour, arrive
Where some old cavern hoar seems yet to keep

The moonlight of the expired night asleep,
Through which the awakened day can never peep;
A veil for our seclusion, close as Night's,
Where secure sleep may kill thine innocent lights;
Sleep, the fresh dew of languid love, the rain
Whose drops quench kisses till they burn again.
And we will talk until thought's melody
Become too sweet for utterance, and it die
In words, to live again in looks, which dart
With thrilling tone into the voiceless heart,
Harmonizing silence without a sound.
Our breaths shall intermix, our bosoms bound,
And our veins beat together; and our lips,
With other eloquence than words, eclipse
The soul that burns between them; and the wells
Which boil under our being's inmost cells,
The fountains of our deepest life, shall be
Confused in passion's golden purity,
As mountain-springs under the morning Sun.
We shall become the same, we shall be one
Spirit within two frames, oh! wherefore two?
One passion in twin-hearts, which grows and grew
Till like two meteors of expanding flame,
Those spheres instinct with it become the same,
Touch, mingle, are transfigured; ever still
Burning, yet ever inconsumable:
In one another's substance finding food,
Like flames too pure and bright and unimbued
To nourish their bright lives with baser prey,
Which point to Heaven and cannot pass away:
One hope within two wills, one will beneath
Two overshadowing minds, one life, one death,
One Heaven, one Hell, one immortality,
And one annihilation. Woe is me!
The winged words on which my soul would pierce
Into the height of love's rare Universe,
Are chains of lead around its flight of fire.—
I pant, I sink, I tremble, I expire!

No words which were ever written ever expressed more truly that infinite and indefinite yearning which exists in all love that is a passion of the soul as well as of the senses; that nameless longing for some still closer union than any which physical and mental union can bestow upon us; that desire for absolute absorption into and extinction within the life beloved, as stars are lost in the light of the sun, which never can find full fruition in life as we know it here.

Keats, Shelley, Savage Landor, Byron, Milton, Browning, and Robert Lord Lytton have been each and all profoundly penetrated by and deeply imbued with the influence of Italy; and it may be said of each and all of them that their genius has been at its highest when under Italian influences, and has been injured

and checked and depressed in its development by all English influences brought to bear upon it. Shelley most completely of all escapes the latter, not only because he died so early, but because his whole temperament resisted conventional pressure as a climbing plant resists being fastened to the earth; flung it off with impatience, as the shining plumage of the sea-bird flings off the leaden-colored rain and the colorless sands of the shore. Shelley had not only genius: he had courage—that most rare, most noble, and most costly of all forms of courage, that which rejects the measurements and the laws imposed upon the common majority of men by conventional opinion. And this praise, no slight praise, may be given to him, which cannot be given to many, that he had the courage to act up to his opinions. The world had never dominion enough over him to make him fear it, or sacrifice his higher affections to it. In this, as in his adoration of nature and his instinctive pantheism, he was the truest poet the modern world has known.

To the multitude of men he must be forever unintelligible and alien; because their laws are not his laws, their sight is not his sight, their heaven of small things makes his hell, and his heaven of beautiful visions and of pure passions is a paradise whereof they cannot even dimly see the portals. But to all poets his memory and his verse must ever be inexpressibly dear and sacred. His "Adonais" may be repeated for himself. There is a beauty in the manner of his death which we must not grudge to him if we truly love him. It fitly rounded a poet's life. That life was short, measured by years; but, ended so, it was more complete than it would have been had it stretched on to age. Who knows?—he might have become a magnate in Hampshire, a country squire, a member of Parliament, a sheriff for the county, any and all things such as the muses would have wept for; Shelley in England, Shelley old, would have been Shelley no more. Better and sweeter the waves of the Tyrrhene Sea and the violet-sown grave of Rome. Sadder and more painful than earliest death is it to witness the slow decay of the soul under the carking fret and burdensome conventionalities of the world; more cruel than the sudden storm is the tedious monotony of the world's bondage. The sea was merciful when it took Adonais who sang "Adonais" from earth when he was yet young. He and his friends, he and those who wrote the "Endymion" and

the "Manfred," were happy in their deaths: their spirits, eternally young, live with us and have escaped all contamination of the commonplace. Byron might have lived to wrangle in the Lords over the Corn Laws; Keats might have lived to become a London physician and pouch fees; Shelley might have lived to be *Custos Rotulorum* and to take his daughters to a court ball. Their best friend was the angel of death who came at Rome, at Missolonghi, at Lerici. "Whom the gods love die young."

The monotony, the thraldom, and the pettiness of conventional life lie forever in wait for the man of genius, to sink him under their muddy waters and wash him into likeness with the multitude: Shelley, Byron, and Keats escaped this fell embrace.

What may be termed the material side of the intellect receives assistance in England—that is to say, in the aristocratic and political world of England; wit and perception and knowledge of character are quickened and multiplied by it. But the brilliancy, liberty, and spirituality of the imagination are in it dulled and lowered. If a poet can find fine and fair thoughts in the atmosphere of a London square, he would be visited by far finer and fairer thoughts were he standing by the edge of the Adrian or Tyrrhene sea, or looking down, eagle-like, from some high spur of wind-vexed Apennine. The poet should not live forever away from the world, but he should oftentimes do so.

Shelley's political creed—if an impersonal but intense indignation can deserve the name of creed—was born of his hatred of tyranny and a pity for pain which amounted to a passion. But his nature was not one which could long nurture hate; and he says truly that, with him and in all he wrote, "Love is celebrated everywhere as the sole law which should govern the moral world."

The atmosphere of Italy has been the greatest fertilizer of English poetical genius. There is something fatal to genius in modern English life: its conditions are oppressive; its air is heavy; its habits are altogether opposed to the life of the imagination. Out-of-door life in England is only associated with what is called "the pleasure of killing things," and is only possible to those who are very robust of frame and hard of feeling. The intellectual life in England is only developed in gaslight and lamplight, over dinner-tables and in club-rooms, and although the country houses in some instances might be made centres of intellectual life, they never are so by any chance, and remain

only the sanctuaries of fashion, of gastronomy, and of sport. The innumerable demands on time, the routine of social engagements, the pressure of conventional opinion, are all too strong in England to allow the man of genius to be happy there, or to reach there his highest and best development. The many artificial restraints of life in England are, of all things, the most injurious to the poetic temperament, which at all times is quickly irritated and easily depressed by its surroundings. There is not enough leisure or space for meditation, nor freedom to live as the affections or the fancy or the mind desires; and the absence of beauty—of beauty, artistic, architectural, natural, and physical—oppresses and dulls the poetic imagination without its being sensible of what it is from the lack of which it suffers.

It has been said of a living statesman that he is only great in opposition. So may it be said of the poet who touches mundane things. He is only great in opposition. Milton could not have written a Jubilee Ode without falling from his high estate; and none can care for Shakespeare without desiring to expunge the panegyric on a Virgin Queen written for the Masque of Kenilworth. The poet is lord of a spiritual power; he is far above the holders of powers temporal. He holds the sensitive plant in his hand, and feels every innermost thrill of nature; he is false to himself when he denies nature and does a forced and unreal homage to the decrees and the dominion of ordinary society or of ordinary government.

"Both are alien to him, and are his foes."

This line might fittingly have been graven on Shelley's tombstone, for it was essentially the law of his soul. The violence of his political imprecations is begotten by love, though love of another kind—love of justice, of truth, of tolerance, of liberty, all of which he beheld violated by the ruling powers of the state and of the law. Shelley, with the unerring vision which is the birthright of genius, saw through the hypocrisies and shams of kings, and priests, and churches, and council-chambers, and conventional morality, and political creeds. The thunder of the superb sonnet to England which begins with the famous line,

"An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king,"

came from his heart's depths in scorn of lies, in hatred of pre-

tence, in righteous indignation as a patriot at the corruption, venality, and hypocrisy of

> "Rulers who neither see, nor feel, nor know,
> But leech-like to their fainting country cling."

It is perhaps to be lamented that the true poetic temperament should ever turn aside to share the fret and fever of political strife. It is waste of the spirit of Alastor to rage against Swellfoot. But the poet cannot wholly escape the influences of baser humanity, and, watching the struggles of "the blind and battling multitude" from afar, he cannot avoid being moved either to a passion of pity or to a passion of disdain, or to both at once, in view of this combat, which seems to him so poor and small, so low and vile. Men of genius know the mere transitory character of those religions and those social laws which awe, as by a phantasm of terror, weaker minds, and they refuse to allow their lives to be dictated to or bound down; and in exact proportion to their power of revolt is their attainment of greatness.

The soul of Shelley was, besides, deeply imbued by that wide pantheism which makes all the received religions of men look so trite, so poor, so narrow, and so mean.

> "Canst those imagine where those spirits live
> Which make such delicate music in the woods?
> . . . . . .
> 'Tis hard to tell:
> I have heard those more skilled in spirits say,
> The bubbles, which enchantment of the sun
> Sucks from the pale faint water-flowers that pave
> The oozy bottom of clear lakes and pools,
> Are the pavilions where such dwell and float
> Under the green and golden atmosphere
> Which noon-tide kindles through the woven leaves;
> And when these burst, and the thin fiery air,
> The which they breathed within those lucent domes,
> Ascends to flow like meteors through the night,
> They ride on them, and rein their headlong speed,
> And bow their burning crests, and glide in fire
> Under the waters of the earth again.
>
> If such live thus, have others other lives,
> Under pink blossoms or within the bells
> Of meadow flowers, or folded violets deep,
> Or on their dying odors when they die,
> Or on the sunlight of the sphered dell?"

The loveliness of nature filled him with awe and deep delight.

> "How glorious art thou, Earth! and if thou be
> The shadow of some spirit lovelier still,
> Though evil stain its work, and it should be
> Like its creation, weak yet beautiful,
> I could fall down and worship that and thee."

"My soul is an enchanted boat,
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
And thine doth like an angel sit
Beside the helm conducting it,
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.
It seems to float ever, forever,
Upon that many-winding river,
Between mountains, woods, abysses,
A paradise of wildernesses!
Till, like one in slumber bound,
Borne to the ocean, I float down, around
Into a sea profound, of ever-spreading sound."

This intimate sympathy with Nature, this perception of beauty in things seen and unseen, this deep joy in the sense of existence, make the very life of Shelley's life; he is the ideal poet, feeding

"on the aërial kisses
Of shapes that haunt thought's wildernesses."

Taine has said, with truth, of modern life:

"Nous ne savons plus prendre la vie en grand, sortie de nous mêmes; nous nous contennons dans un petit bien-être personnel dans une petite œuvre viagère. [He is writing in the mountains beyond Naples.] Ici on reduisait le vieux et le couvert au simple necessaire. Ainsi dégagée l'âme, comme les yeux, pouvait contempler les vastes horizons tout ce qui s'etend et dure au déla de l'homme."

Modern life gives you six electric bells beside your bed, but not one court or chamber that a great artist would care to copy. The poet yawning among the electric bells becomes a commonplace person, with a mind obscured by a gourmet's love of the table and the cellar; he is the chameleon who has lost his luminous and magical powers of transfiguration, and become a mere gorged lizard stuffed with sugar.

Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, were in their different lives so great because they had all the power to reject the drowsy and dulling influences of the common world of men, and withdraw from it to Ravenna, to Lirici, to Rydal. The commonplace of life, whether in occupations, relationships, or so-called duties, eats away the poetry of temperament with the slow, sure gnawing of the hidden insect which eats away the tiger-skin until where the golden bronze and deep sable of the shining fur once glistened, there is only a bald, bare spot, with neither color nor beauty left in it. There are millions on millions to follow the common tracks and fulfil the common functions of human life. When the poet is dragged down to any of these he is lost. The moth who descried the star lies dead in the kitchen fire, degraded and injured beyond recall.

Above all else, the poet should be true to himself—to his own vision, his own powers, his own soul,

> "like Heaven's pure breath
> Which he who grasps can hold not; like death,
> Who rides upon a thought, and makes his way
> Through temple, tower, and palace, and the array
> Of arms."
>
> "There is a path on the sea's azure floor;
> No keel has ever ploughed that path before."

Such should be the poet's passage through life. Not his is it to sail by chart and compass with common mariners along the sea roads marked out for safety and for commerce.

The supreme glory of Shelley is that he, beyond all others, did go where "no keel ever ploughed before," did dwell more completely than any other has ever dwelt

> "on an imagined shore
> Where the gods spoke with him."

The poet is wisest and to earth most beautiful when his thoughts roam alone in

> "fields of Heaven-reflecting sea,
> . . . . . .
> Beneath the uplifting winds, like plains of corn
> Swayed by the summer air";

and when he, like Proteus, marks

> "The shadow of fair ships, as mortals see
> The floating bark of the light-laden moon
> With that white star, its sightless pilot's crest,
> Borne down the rapid sunset's ebbing sea;
> Tracking their path no more by blood and groans,
> And desolation, and the mingled voice
> Of slavery and command; but by the light
> Of wave-reflected flowers, and floating odors,
> And music soft, and mild, free, gentle voices,
> That sweetest music, such as spirits love."

And he is wisest when he says, with Apollo,

> "I shall gaze not on the deeds which make
> My mind obscure with sorrow, as eclipse
> Darkens the sphere I guide; but list, I hear
> The small, clear, silver lute of the young Spirit
> That sits i' the morning star."

If ever poet held that lute on earth, Shelley held it all through his brief life; and if ever there be immortality for any soul, his surely is living now beside that Spirit in the light of a ceaseless day.

> "Death is the veil which those who live call life;
> They sleep, and it is lifted."

OUIDA.

FINAL WORDS ON DIVORCE.

BY MARGARET LEE, AUTHOR OF "DIVORCE; OR FAITHFUL AND UNFAITHFUL," AND THE REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D.D., OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, BOSTON.

WHEN David coveted Bathsheba, he sent Uriah to the front of the battle. To-day, in the United States, Bathsheba trumps up a cause for divorce, and Uriah lives to see his wife married to his influential rival.

I am an American, and a proud one. For thirty years I have been watching with admiration the progress of my country. I am inclined to think that our very prosperity has nourished the evil called divorce.

Now, we are, as a people, wholly independent of the laws that control other nations. We have had a century of freedom, education, and elbow-room. We have no excuses to urge for making mistakes in marriage. Young people meet socially without restraint; they cannot be forced into marriage, and they possess all the facilities for deliberation in taking marriage-vows. I am anxious to believe that the majority marry from right motives.

Our high-pressure civilization has much to do with after-troubles. Young people must enjoy luxuries which are quite inconsistent with the young man's honest purse. Hence comes discontent.

Were marriage indissoluble, the old-fashioned virtues would possibly grow apace. But divorce is the open door. Selfishness, greed, and vanity murder devotion, economy, and faith. A richer man stands in view. I think that divorce appeals to the grosser elements of our nature. The refined, sensitive men and women who marry with just ideas are never heard of in divorce courts.

Divorce is not the settlement of an evil; it is the beginning of endless complications. I am amazed at the general in-

difference to the magnitude of the misery threatening us. Parents, happy in each other and rejoicing in their children, are blind to the dangers that may destroy the future peace of their offspring. Society is haunted by divorced men and women, who prey upon the inexperienced of both sexes and bring trouble and grief into happy family circles. In former years such a condition of affairs was impossible. The standard of morality is declining, and the social tone is correspondingly lowered. People are afraid to be true to their own convictions, and tolerate individuals who poison the moral atmosphere. Where are we drifting, when, among people with social position, a man woos a maiden and, having won her consent, tells her that he cannot marry her until he has forced his wife into obtaining a divorce from him? This is the simple statement of a fact.

Is it not time for Americans to rouse conscience from its lethargy and come to the rescue of the cardinal virtues—patience, charity, forbearance, and faith? This evil, which for the past twenty-five years has been slowly undermining the morals of the republic, needs a radical cure.

The remedy is radical. Let divorce be abolished.

This is possible by placing Christian marriage where it belongs. We have reached a point where Christians should draw the lines around the institutions of Christianity. Marriage is, among Christians, a contract for life, involving a vow before God. The law has no authority to annul this compact. Let it stand guarded by the command, "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder."

Let sceptics have their own system. A civil contract, elastic as necessary, could be drawn by each State. This would satisfy couples who do not care to face poverty, sickness, or trouble together.

I hope this proposition will commend itself to law-makers for these reasons: A republic owes its existence and its continuance to the personal purity of its people. Divorce is the disintegrating wedge, and no time should be lost in forcing it out.

MARGARET LEE.

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1. DO YOU believe in the principle of divorce under any circumstances?

This question can scarcely be answered by a simple nega-

tive or affirmative. Divorce is of two kinds, partial, *a mensâ et thoro*, and absolute, *a vinculo matrimonii*. In the first case it is the legal suspension of a relation which is not wholly dissolved; in the second case it is the complete dissolution of the marital bond. Properly, a decree of absolute divorce is the legal recognition of a dissolution that has already taken place.

Can the marriage-tie be dissolved save by death? The negative of this it would be difficult to maintain. Man's power of self-destruction is not confined to the physical realm. Marriage is quite as much a moral relation as it is a physical relation. Just as certainly as one may destroy his life by vice, or destroy his moral sensibility by self-abandonment to evil impulses, just so surely may he destroy both the physical and the moral tie which he has formed by marriage. That the laws governing society should and must recognize such dissolution is unquestionable.

There are both rational grounds and social necessities for divorce. To many minds the very idea of divorce is repugnant. It seems to be a violation of the divine order of human life. But one must not ignore facts. Amputation is repugnant to a sensitively-organized nature; but if a limb is gangrened it must be cut off. The entire prohibition of divorce would work harm to individuals and, through them, to society. It seems pretty clear also that to some degree it would promote vice. It certainly would inflict great wrong on many innocent and defenceless people. In some cases it would even destroy the family. Society must protect itself as a whole, but in doing this it must not disregard individual rights and needs. Indeed, as surgery often saves human life by cutting away a member of the physical organism, so society often saves the family by cutting off a noxious member.

That divorce is needlessly and even dangerously frequent, especially in the United States, one who has examined the statistics on this matter cannot doubt. That decrees of divorce are often granted on insufficient grounds, and that multiform evils result from the ridiculous facility with which divorce can now be procured, is equally beyond question. But that divorce is sometimes a sorrowful and imperative necessity, in the present condition of human society, can be denied only by shutting the eyes both to facts and to fundamental ethical principles. While conceding, however, that divorce is sometimes not only necessary, but also beneficial to society, we must affirm that absolute divorce

is very rarely necessary, or even tolerable from a high moral point of view. Almost all that can be accomplished by divorce for the protection of innocent and injured individuals, and for the preservation of households, the destruction of which is threatened by the infidelity of husband or wife, can be secured through legal separation.

2. Ought divorced people to be allowed to marry under any circumstances?

Of course this question refers only to such as have received a decree of absolute divorce. The question is difficult to answer. There are strong arguments in favor of entire prohibition of marriage to divorced persons during the life of either party to the dissolved marriage, save a remarriage of the divorced husband and wife. But those arguments are not conclusive.

Absolute divorce is justifiable only as a legal declaration of the fact that the marriage-tie has already been dissolved, that the moral union is gone and the integrity of the physical union has been destroyed. In such a case the freedom of the innocent person, whether wife or husband, would seem to be as clear as if the guilty one had died. Entire prohibition of marriage to the person so released would result often in extreme hardship. To give to the guilty violator of the marriage-tie the right to marry again is to put a premium on crime. The practical difficulty is to be found in restraining the guilty and at the same time guarding the rights of the innocent. In view of this difficulty, some have argued that the innocent would better suffer deprivation than that the guilty should be absolved from the just deserts of his crime.

The difficulty attending the legal regulation of divorce in the United States is enormously increased by the want of uniformity between the laws and customs of the various States. If through a convention of the States some unification of divorce laws could be secured, a long step would be taken in the direction of sound and lasting divorce reform. If there could be secured a general agreement on the principle that most of the present grounds for divorce should be causes only of legal separation, or divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, and that only in extreme cases, and in these only for exceptional reasons, should absolute divorce be granted, apparently it would then be safe to grant to the petitioner freedom to contract new ties, and, at the same time, possible effectually to restrain from such freedom the guilty defendant.

It is pretty clear that if, in place of the now prevalent divorce *a vinculo*, legal separation, *a mensâ et thoro*, were very largely substituted, as reasonably might be done, all the advantages arising from entire prohibition of divorce would be secured without the inevitable disadvantages and even positive evils of such prohibition.

3. What is the effect of divorce on the integrity of the family ?

Undoubtedly the effect of divorce on the integrity and moral health of the family is often most harmful. Only a careful inductive study of domestic life in the United States during the past twenty years can qualify one to give a full and accurate answer to the above question. But, reasoning from well-known and accepted principles of moral causation, it is safe to say that almost always divorce is an evil. It is true that sometimes divorce saves a family, as amputation saves a life ; but nothing can make the remedy other than painful and perilous. Easy divorce strikes directly at the sanctity and integrity of the family, and, therefore, at the foundations of social purity and strength. It lowers the true idea of marriage, as a permanent moral union, to the level of a contract dependent on mutual caprice. It stimulates hasty and ill-made marriages by the opportunity it affords for their speedy dissolution. It lessens the sanctity of wifehood and maternity. It depresses the moral tone of the home life. It magnifies the difficulties of mutual adjustment between husband and wife, which inhere in the imperfections of human nature. It checks the disposition to have children, who may be grave embarrassments in case of separation. It drives away the sweet spirit of pure religion, and defiles the temple and sanctuary of domestic life with the unclean spirit of legalized lust. It would be difficult to use language in denunciation of free divorce that would be extravagant.

It is too early to determine the full effects of the epidemic of divorce which recently has spread over our country; but unless the present tendency is very greatly checked, we may be sure that social corruption on a wide scale must follow the decay of that pure domestic life which has its spring in honorable and enduring marriage. Rare and difficult divorce may conserve a true family life. Easy divorce promotes a freedom of sexual relations in society in which the family cannot live and thrive.

4. Does the absolute prohibition of divorce where it exists contribute to the moral purity of society ?

This is a question of fact. In South Carolina divorce is not allowed, and Bishop, in his "Marriage and Divorce," "quotes judicial testimony to show that the effect of this state of things is to bring about a partial recognition of concubinage. The portion of his goods which a married man may leave to his concubine has in fact been fixed by statute." (Ency. Brit., 9th Ed., volume vii., page 304.) It is pretty safe to say that where prohibition has been absolute there has not therefore been the greatest moral purity of society. Roman Catholic countries, where divorce has been forbidden, but where separation has been allowed for cause,—for example, Italy and Spain,—have scarcely been exceptional for social purity. Like enforced celibacy, the entire prohibition of divorce would seem to promote concubinage and illicit intercourse. Lecky says:

"Laws prohibiting all divorce have never secured the purity of married life in ages of great corruption, nor did the latitude which was accorded in imperial Rome prevent the existence of a very large amount of female virtue." (Hist. of Euro. Morals, II., page 326.)

The question, however, is not a simple one. Much depends on the general intelligence and moral training of a people. Great freedom of divorce certainly promotes sexual immorality under forms of law. Absolute prohibition works vastly less evil. On the whole, the suggestions of experience and careful reasoning alike point to the maintenance of stringent laws on divorce as a necessary and effective safeguard of the family, and, through the family, of healthful and vigorous social life.

PHILIP S. MOXOM.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE PREVAILING EPIDEMIC.

AT THE present writing the epidemic of *la grippe* appears to be abating. To say positively that it is leaving us is not possible. We should, therefore, not allow statements in the public press, to the effect that the outbreak is waning, to mislead us into becoming careless of exposure to causes that may induce an attack.

The prevailing epidemic originated, or seems to have originated, in Russia about November 1, 1889. According to the European press accounts, one-half of the population of St. Petersburg were attacked by it within three weeks of its appearance in that city. The weather at the time of the outbreak was unusually warm and humid. These conditions were probably the exciting causes. By December 15 the disease had spread over entire northern Europe, and in the opinion of the writer it reached this country about December 20. It is uncertain whether to New York or Boston belongs the doubtful honor of having had the first case. Within fifteen days of December 23, on which date the first cases were reported in New York, fully 200,000 persons had been afflicted with *la grippe* in that city.

There can be no doubt that the American epidemic is identical with the Russian. The disease is due to some micro-organism carried in and by the air, and probably also by clothing and other material. This micro-organism infects the human system, giving rise to the symptoms peculiar to the disease, but in so doing it is rapidly destroyed by some protecting influence in the human body.

Observers of the highest standing differ upon the subject of contagion, some holding that it is highly contagious, others that it is slightly so, and others still that it cannot be transmitted from person to person. The arguments advanced by the latter in defence of their opinion are that its rapid and almost simultaneous diffusion precludes the idea of personal contagion. The extremely short period of incubation tends also to disprove it. In households persons who cannot be shown to have been subjected to the disease are seized with it one after another, a few hours only intervening between each case. Then, too, they say, previous epidemics have occurred and have disappeared entirely after running a short course. If, therefore, it were contagious, the disease would be kept alive for a longer period; indeed, it would, like other contagious diseases, never entirely leave us.

On the other hand, the advocates of the contagious theory point out that the disease always follows the main lines of commerce and travel. In hospital wards it has been observed to affect patients in regular order, travelling from bed to bed. They also quote numerous instances of contagion from infected clothing, letters, etc.

It must be admitted that neither side have satisfactorily proved their theory. To the writer it appears to be a contagious disease in the ordinary acceptation of the term, though it is probably only slightly so, for he has frequently seen one or two members of a large family afflicted, while the others, though exposed to the disease, enjoyed immunity. Its propagation is due largely to infection.

The period of incubation appears to be from eighteen to twenty-four hours. The onset is extremely sudden. Patients complain of shivering or chilly sensations down their back, vertigo often, excessive frontal headache, and great prostration. In an

exceedingly short time the temperature rises as high in some cases as 105° Fahr. It varies according to the severity of the attack from 101° to 105°, or even in rare cases rises to 106½° Fahr. The pulse is accelerated, but not in proportion to the high temperature.

Two distinct varieties of the disease have appeared in this epidemic—the febricular, or nervous, and the catarrhal. The former is most common ; the latter most severe in its effects. The febricular, or nervous, form is characterized by the symptoms already mentioned and by severe pains attributed by patients to the bones of the lower extremities, back, and hips. The prostration is not dangerous except to weakened and debilitated individuals. I have known of but one death from it, and that was of an aged person. It, however, engenders a most aggravated form of " the blues," and several suicides of persons suffering from it have been reported. As the disease progresses rheumatic pains occur in the joints, especially of the lower extremities, and severe lumbago often sets in. The tongue is coated, the breath foul, and the bowels constipated. A very curious symptom in a few cases is that of cutaneous eruption, of which I have known six well-anthenticated cases, five of which were reported to the Board of Health of New York as cases of scarlet fever, so closely did the rash resemble that of the latter disease; sore throat and strawberry tongue were also present. In twelve to twenty hours this rash totally disappeared. The French Academy of Medicine discussed this eruption at some length, and, as far as I can at present ascertain, decided that it was due to antipyrine, which has been so commonly used in the treatment of the disease. In five of the cases reported, however, no medicine of any kind had been administered.

The catarrhal form of the epidemic is marked by the same prodromal symptoms as the febricular; but, in addition to these, there are sneezing and coughing, due to congestion of the mucous membrane of the respiratory tract. This sometimes results in a bronchitis of the smaller, or capillary, bronchi, or even in a bronchopneumonia. The eyes are congested and watery. Some cases even suffer from acute catarrh of the stomach, and have, in consequence, persistent vomiting. The sense of taste, as well as that of smell, is, in many instances, temporarily lost.

The febricular form almost invariably terminates in recovery in from thirty-six to forty-eight hours. The catarrhal variety, however, lasts longer, taking from three to nine days to run its acute course. Convalescence from both is slow, but especially so from the catarrhal. The patient is weak and ailing for some time. The slightest exertion causes profuse perspiration, and relapse, in consequence, easily occurs. Chronic catarrh of the air-passages is apt to be left after an attack of the catarrhal form.

The name contagious influenza is a misnomer, as it applies only to the catarrhal variety, and this probably occurs in only about 10 per cent. of the total number of cases. It was this name and the description of the catarrhal form that misled the physicians of the country and delayed the recognition of the disease.

Males appear to be affected more frequently than females, and those following outdoor occupations more frequently than those employed within. Children seem least of all subject to it.

La grippe is rarely, if ever, fatal in itself, except to the aged. It is, however, highly dangerous to persons suffering from severe chronic ailments, such as consumption, Bright's disease, affections of the heart, etc. Persons excessively debilitated from any cause frequently succumb to its effects.

Physicians have been struck with the resemblance of *la grippe* to dengue fever, or dandy fever, as it is sometimes called on account of the rheumatic affection of the joints, which gives the patient a stiff, dandified walk. They are doubtless closely allied.

The treatment of *la grippe* is varied somewhat with the symptoms presented. A laxative at the onset; antipyrine, or, better still, phenacetine, for the headache and fever; expectorants, sedatives, and inhalations of the compound tincture of benzoin, and steam for the catarrhal form; tonic doses of quinine during convalescence do great good. The excessive sweating may be controlled by the means taken to control it in other diseases.

The following preventive measures should be followed, especially by persons convalescing from other ailments, by those suffering from chronic diseases, and by old persons: Wear warm clothing next to the person. Adopt a plain, nourishing diet and take your meals regularly. Avoid late hours. Keep in-doors as much as possible, especially at night. Shun crowded places, public meetings, etc. When in the open air keep in motion; avoid wetting the feet. On entering a house remove overcoat or wraps at once. Keep away from those suffering from the disease. In a word, avoid exposure and excess; adopt regular habits and live well. On the first symptom of the disease do not attempt to treat yourself, but send at once for a physician.

A good deal has been said by alarmists concerning the probability of cholera following the present epidemic. I cannot do better than to quote a paragraph on this subject from an able editorial in the New York *Medical Record* of December 14, 1889, which voices exactly my opinion:

"We observe that some feeling of alarm prevails lest this epidemic be a precursor to cholera, as was the case in 1831 and 1847. There have been, however, plenty of cholera epidemics without a preceding influenza, and a great many influenza epidemics without any associate cholera. The micro-organisms of the two diseases are as essentially different as are the diseases themselves. The cholera germ lives in water and soil, the influenza germ in the air. The relation between the two diseases has been, we believe, purely accidental."

There is every probability that within a few weeks *la grippe* will have become a thing of the past, and that, having thinned the ranks of the sickly and aged, it will, like our dear old blizzard, be utilized to mark another mile-stone in the history of the nineteenth century.

CYRUS EDSON, M.D
(Of the New York Health Department.)

II.

SPREAD OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA.

IN "Les Châtiments," a remarkable collection of his later poems, Victor Hugo assumed the rôle of a political prophet. Looking forward to the twentieth century, he declared that, in that century, while America would exclaim, in wonder, "What! I had slaves!" Europe would, with a shudder, retort, "What! I had kings!"

The dawn of the twentieth century is close upon us; and it does not need a very keen observer to see that there is, the world over, a manifest tendency to fulfil the great French poet's prophecy. Nor is this tendency confined to the American, or even to the European, continent. In the present year, the great empire of Japan, "the land of politeness and graceful arts," will enter fully upon the experiment of constitutional government, modelled upon those of the western constitutional states. That it is an experiment, and may, after all, fail to adapt itself to the present condition and even the genius of the Japanese people, does not alter the fact that the democratic idea of popular self-government has captivated the mind of an Oriental monarch, now endowed with absolute power, and the minds of his chief native advisers. Nor would it follow from one failure that this idea, once planted in Japanese thought, and seriously, though inadequately, put into practical effect, would not remain as a seed, to come later into vigorous growth and fruition there. Not less significant is the recent step taken by the Shah Nasr-ed-din of Persia. This strong-minded potentate has enjoyed an absoluteness of power which is not paralleled, perhaps, anywhere among king-ridden nations. The lives and property of his subjects, one and all, are completely at the disposal of his will and whim. The Shah, however, has travelled much, has observed minutely, and has thus undergone a civilizing process which has both broadened and quickened his mind. He now commands his wise men to study European institutions and to see how far they can be successfully put in practice in Persia; and declares that, if this can be done, he is willing to surrender so much of his prerogative as will make constitutionalism a genuine feature of Persian government.

These are two instances in which absolute sovereigns, ruling in ancient des-

potisms, have been so impressed by the civilizing and power-conferring attributes of a government in which the people have a share, that they voluntarily offer to exchange a portion, at least, of their power in order to confer such a government on their own subjects.

But the democratic idea is almost everywhere advancing, in spite of hereditary rulers. The recent revolution in Brazil serves to show how, in a country where it was scarcely recognized that any such thing as the democratic idea existed at all, even among a small number, it had already ripened, and was sturdy enough, at the opportune moment, to overturn a régime, strong, at least, in its justice, vigor, and progressiveness. It may be said, very truly, that it is too soon yet to declare that the United States of Brazil has securely and permanently established itself; that it may turn out to be simply a military despotism under a republican mask; or that it may yet again give place to a restored Braganzan dynasty. The fact still remains that the democratic idea has planted itself in Brazil, has given evidence of a vigorous presence there, and is not likely to be extinguished even by a failure of its present powerful manifestation.

Can any one be blind to the fact that everywhere in Europe the democratic idea is steadily at work, undermining everywhere old laws, customs, and prejudices, and seeking everywhere to plant itself in the very citadel of government? Sometimes, as in Great Britain, its ascendency has been attained under the forms of law, by a peacefully and clearly recognized revolution, yielded to by the forces hostile to it as an inevitable destiny imposed by the spirit of the age. The adoption of household suffrage throughout Great Britain and Ireland has wonderfully strengthened democratic power in those countries; so that to-day we find both of the great English parties competing with each other in the advocacy of democratic measures and for the support of the democratic masses. In France, the democratic idea has maintained the republic through a difficult life of nearly twenty years; and the republic is stronger to-day, in its nineteenth year, than any other French government of the century was in its fifteenth. The recent general election in France has not only increased the confidence of the world in the stability of French republicanism, but it has given solid encouragement to those who are struggling—as able and earnest men are in every Continental country struggling—to obtain for the masses of the people a larger or less share in the government.

In some countries, the democratic spirit takes a socialistic form, and in this form is sure to be yearly growing more troublesome and more formidable to the wearers of crowns. It may be taken for granted that nine out of every ten German Socialists are also Democrats, and would, if they had the power, replace the empire by a republic. That the German Socialists are waxing in numbers and in influence may be deduced not only from the elections, in each successive one of which a larger socialistic vote is cast, but also from the energy with which Prince Bismarck constantly seeks to restrict their propaganda by the increasing severity of law; and not less from the fact that he has sometimes shown a disposition to outbid them on their own ground by himself proposing measures of a distinctly socialistic tinge.

Scarcely less clearly is the democratic idea at work in various parts of the mosaic empire ruled over by the Emperor Francis Joseph. Therein socialism is not as rampant as in Germany; but therein there is a constant effort to enlarge the sphere of local self-government. The agitations on this subject which periodically arise in various portions of Austria-Hungary indicate a distinct tendency to seek for a democratic solution of political difficulties and needs.

In Russia the democratic idea labors necessarily underground. It takes now and anon violent and desperate methods of showing itself. But no one can doubt that it is widespread and spreading wider. Nihilism is, perhaps, a vague term, including in its meaning all Russians who are restive under the grim and pitiless despotism of the Czar and of the Tschinn. But it is scarcely to be doubted that the great mass of the Russians who are thus disaffected have the democratic idea more or less firmly fixed in their brains.

In the minor European monarchies phenomena might be indicated to show that aspirations for more democratic systems exist in some degree of activity. Spain

has already tried the republican experiment, and disastrously, although under the lead of the ablest Spaniard of the present century. Yet it would be rash to conclude that, as a result of that failure, the ideas of republican democracy are extinct or even lifeless in Spain. Castelar still lives, and still is a Republican; and in that faith he is in harmony, undoubtedly, with many of the most intelligent and public-spirited of his fellow-countrymen. The fact that, when the Brazilian revolution was announced, a momentary tremor passed through European capitals, lest Portugal should follow her former dependency's example, raises the suspicion that democratic ideas are afloat even in Portugal, despite the mildness of the reign of Dom Luis. In both Belgium and Holland signs have not been wanting of the growth within the past few years of a sentiment which may fairly be described as democratic.

It is not, of course, intended to argue that the thrones of Europe are in imminent danger of overthrow. The process of the democratizing of the civilized world is a slow one, proceeding against many and most formidable obstacles. Unanticipated events may at any time prove fatal to monarchy in almost any European nation. Disaster in war, or the passing from the stage of politics of some group of veteran statesmen, some sudden revolution, might be among such events. But it is only intended here to show how, here and there, the trend of national destinies is, at a more or less rapid rate, towards democratic self-government, and away from kingship; and this in spite of some reactionary incidents which retard and, in some instances, seem to reverse the movement.

GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

III.

MISQUOTATION AGAIN.

I SHOULD like to add a word of cordial approval to what Dr. William Mathews had to say in the January number of THE REVIEW on the subject of "Quotation and Misquotation." It is not only true, as he points out, that many familiar passages are frequently quoted incorrectly; it is likewise true that very few writers think it worth while to take the trouble of verifying their quotations, and that the truly conscientious editor is thus put to infinite pains in order to make sure that he is printing correctly what one writer says another writer has said. Verifying one's quotations ought to be a matter of conscience and morality. It is not enough to say that you give the meaning of the author you profess to quote; you are in honor bound to give his words precisely as he wrote them, *verbatim et literatim et punctuatim.*

It is to be hoped that few writers have possessed such a lax literary conscience in this matter as the late Walter Bagehot. The editor of the new edition of his works found Bagehot's writings filled with slips and mistakes of every kind, which "cover almost the entire possible range of human blunders, and are sometimes of serious moment." The errors of grammar alone show the need of careful editing even in the case of a writer of established fame. "But"—I quote from *The Critic*—"the worst case is that of the false and mangled quotations; and in respect to these it is impossible to acquit Bagehot of gross negligence. Correct quotation is a matter of duty and not of literary taste; and Bagehot's quotations, as the editor clearly shows, are oftener [*sic*] incorrect, and, what is worse, he gives some passages as quotations which are not so at all. Thus, in the essay on 'The First Edinburgh Reviewers,' he professes to quote three sentences from Sidney Smith, sneering at Malthus and Ricardo, on which the editor remarks: 'There is no such passage in his [Smith s] writings, and his references to Malthus are not only respectful but almost reverential.' Several other such cases are noted." This offence of manufacturing quotations in order to enforce one's point is, I am glad to believe, very rare; and it is almost incredible that any one should ever resort to it.

But unfortunately I am compelled to believe that verification of quotations by those who use them is very rare also. It is a lost art, or, more probably, it is one that has never been acquired. I once had occasion to verify an elaborate extract from Buckle which a well-known writer employed in a magazine article. The extract covered about a page and a half in the "History of Civilization," and it

scarcely seems possible that even one exceptionally familiar with it would undertake to write down so long a passage from memory. In that page and a half, however, I discovered no less than seventeen errors—some words omitted, some inserted, and some substituted for those which stood in the original. How could this occur? I confess that I cannot understand it at all. I cannot think that a writer would make so extended a quotation from memory alone, and if he had Buckle lying open before him when he copied out the extract, how is it possible that he failed to copy him accurately?

I open this morning's paper and find a minister of repute writing a letter in which he quotes Emerson as saying:

"For Nature ever faithful is
To them that trust her faithfulness."

Emerson is doubtless very familiar to him, but if he had taken down the volume of poems, instead of trusting to his memory, he would have found that Emerson wrote:

"To *such as* trust her faithfulness."

Tennyson, in his fine poem, "In the Children's Hospital," wrote:

"Wonderful cures he had done, O yes, but they said too of him
He was happier using the knife than in trying to save the limb."

Not long ago I saw a portion of this quoted in this fashion:

"For it was said of him
. . . He was fonder of using the knife than he was of saving the limb."

Evidently the quoter in this case trusted his memory, and so came to grief. But had he any right to do this in matter intended for publication? I think there cannot be two answers to the question.

I had the pleasure of listening the other day to a most interesting account, written in a letter by herself, of Dr. Amelia B. Edwards's methods of literary work One passage in it particularly impressed me. It was that in which she spoke of the extreme care she exercised in making quotations, never writing down even the most familiar passage without going to the original in order to insure accuracy, and following the punctuation of the original writer with the utmost care. It would be well if her words on this head could be inscribed in letters of gold above the desk of every literary worker throughout the world. If the rule, *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, prevailed in literature, many a fine piece of work would be vitiated by an incorrect quotation.

I would not be understood as meaning that adaptations are never admissible. Sometimes the substitution of one word for another in a quotation will bring out your meaning precisely; but in doing this you must not break faith with your reader; you are bound to indicate to him, either by the use of italics or by a plain statement of the fact, that you have modified that which you have quoted. Then, again, a good effect may, perhaps, be obtained by throwing the present tense into the past or the past into the present. For example, take Emerson's familiar lines from "The Problem":

"And Nature gladly gave them place,
Adopted them into her race,
And granted them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat."

Throwing this into the present tense, we should have:

"And Nature gladly *gives* them place,
Adopts them *now* into her race,
And *grants to* them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat."

That does not a particle of violence to Emerson's meaning, but still it is taking a liberty with his words; and that, I think, no one has a right to do without raising a cautionary signal for the benefit of the reader.

"There," said my friend, with a triumphant air, pointing to the introduction of the chapter on Mount Washington in Starr King's "White Hills," "—there is what Emerson says about Mount Washington."

I had read Emerson's poems with considerable care, and in a former conversation had expressed my conviction that he had written nothing relating to the most famous of the White Mountains. But it looked as if I were at fault, for on the page held open before me I read:

> "Every morn I lift my head,
> Gaze o'er New England underspread,
> South from Saint Lawrence to the Sound,
> From Catskill east to the seabound";

and so on for a page, with Emerson's name at the bottom. Silenced, but not fully convinced, I took an early opportunity to consult Emerson in the original, and found that what Mr. King represented as having been written in reference to Mount Washington belongs to Emerson's noble poem, "Monadnock." The second line, however, should read

> "See New England underspread,"

and "Catskill" is spelled with a "K." But would not any reader of "The White Hills" be justified—as my friend was—in the belief that the lines were written as if uttered by Mount Washington and not by Monadnock? Is there either right or reason in an author's playing fast and loose with his readers in such a fashion? An offence like this is less easily condoned than Starr King's mistake, in this same book, of making the Connecticut River empty into the Sound at New Haven.

Considerable experience in handling manuscripts and inquiry among others engaged in such work have sufficed to form a very firm conviction that carelessness in quoting is one of the besetting sins of literary workers. The authors who can trust their memories implicitly in this respect are very few indeed, if there are any such. The only safe rule is to verify every quotation by a personal examination of the original. This takes some time, but it makes accuracy certain ; and if the practice should become universal, it would materially lighten the labors of overworked and often patience-tried editors. May the time speedily come when along with the legend "All Rights Reserved" at the portals of our books there shall be inscribed, "All Quotations Verified by the Author"!

ARCHIE EMERSON PALMER.

IV.

IS SUICIDE A SIN?

SIN is the transgression of a divine law; but there is no divine law against suicide: therefore suicide is not a sin.

The Mosaic records and the New Testament exhibit eight instances of suicide, viz., Abimelech, Judges, ix., 50-55; Samson, Judges, xvi., 23-31; Saul and his armor-bearer, I. Samuel, xxxi., 3-6; Ahithophel, II. Samuel, xvii., 23; Zimri, I. Kings, xvi., 18; Razis, II. Maccabees, xiv., 37; Judas Iscariot, Matthew, xxvii., 3.

Strabo, who lived in the first half-century before our Lord, tells us that in the island of Ioulis, one of the Cyclades, persons sixty years of age were permitted to commit suicide, as they could no longer enjoy life, and were unfit to serve the republic. They terminated life at a festival. They girded their brows with a floral chaplet, and, taking a cup of the juice of hemlock or of poppies, sank insensibly into fatal sleep.

Aristotle tells us that an Athenian suicide was adjudged culpable for having deprived the republic of a citizen, and, as a stigma, his hand was separately buried.

Socrates said that it was not lawful for any one to deprive himself of life, because we were placed on earth as soldiers at a post, and we ought not to quit our station without permission of the gods. Suicide was rare in Greece, for public opinion reproached the perpetrator with moral cowardice. But Plutarch praises Demosthenes for his success in concealing the poison by which he rescued himself from the cruelty of Antipater. The annals of Rome are bloody with self-slaughter. It was esteemed an evidence of manly fortitude, sanctioned by the maxims of the

Stoics, and encouraged by public opinion. Under the imperial dynasty every new reign was inaugurated with the blood of many citizens. An official intimation that a man had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor was tantamount to a sentence of death. If the citizen anticipated his execution by a voluntary death, his innocence was presumed, his body was honorably buried, and his family were allowed to inherit his estate.

The right, duty, and privilege of self-immolation were so universally conceded that no poet or writer questioned them. Virgil, however, seems to entertain some scruple, for, in describing Æneas's visit to Hades, he says that the shades of suicides were sad and expressed a willingness to endure poverty and adversity patiently if they could be allowed to return to earth. But the custom was permanently established, and after the capricious massacres of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, suicide became fashionable even among the Roman women; and this feminine eccentricity was corrected only by a proclamation that the bodies of all female suicides should thereafter be exposed, naked, in the Forum.

Cicero and Brutus condemned suicide, and the latter wrote a treatise reproaching Cato as guilty of impiety and cowardice, but afterwards withdrew his censure and avowed a change of opinion, and finally imitated Cato by falling on his sword at Philippi.

However variable the opinions of individuals might be, the ancient laws recognized the right of suicide. At Marseilles, France, in ancient times, the Senate kept poison which was supplied to persons who gave sufficient reasons for desiring to kill themselves. This was done with the view of preventing hasty suicides, and to give the would-be self-destroyer time for due reflection. In India widows ostensibly desired to be burned alive on their husbands' funeral-piles; but, thanks to Great Britain, that, with other heathen abominations, has ceased. No general proclivity to suicide has been manifested by Egyptians, Persians, Assyrians, or other ancient nations, but isolated instances have occurred.

Gibbon alludes to the suicide of the wife of Gerontius, in the fifth century, and expresses surprise at the praises bestowed on this act of despair by Sozomon, an ecclesiastic historian, who observes that "the wife of Gerontius was a Christian," and that "her death was worthy of her religion and of immortal fame." Gibbon mentions, also, that a Chinese emperor, driven from his throne by Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century, "ascended a funeral-pile, and gave orders that, after he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants," and thus consummated his abdication. A correspondent describes a most remarkable suicide in Shanghai not very long ago. It was that of a young widow, who resolved to end her miserable existence after the death of her husband, a widow not being permitted to remarry in China. A gay procession was formed, and proceeded to a scaffold furnished with seats affording the best view of the sacrifice. The woman chatted with her friends, partook of a collation, caressed a little child, presented it with a necklace, scattered flowers among the spectators, and then cheerfully placed her head in the noose and swung herself into eternity.

Japan, although an ancient nation, has become so modernized that the hari-kari has fallen into "innocuous desuetude."

Now, what is the reason that, notwithstanding the absence of threats, reproof, or admonition from the records on which the Christian religion is founded and sustained, there should have been, and still is, so general a conviction that suicide is an unpardonable sin? There is not, from Genesis to Revelation, a single commandment against suicide. In the eight cases adduced from the Jewish records, the facts are simply set forth without comment. The prevalent belief is based on false deductions and interpretations of Holy Writ. These deductions and interpretations were addressed, centuries ago, to an ignorant and credulous laity, who received them with humility and awe. The people at that time knew no better. Kings authenticated their charters with a "his mark," and nobles used as their seal the haft of the dagger. The Italian hierarchy monopolized all knowledge. Their authority was recognized as divine. All human beings in Christendom were subject, from the cradle to the grave, to ecclesiastic discipline.

It is the nature of power to take and to keep all it can grasp; and by baptism, parochial catechism, auricular confession, penance, extreme unction, consecrated burial, masses, etc., etc., every man, woman, and child was exposed to an espionage incessant, minute, and inquisitorial. The Bible was not a book obtainable by the laity, who, indeed, were too ignorant to read it, even if the attempt were permissible. They were told by the priests what was in it, and they took it for granted that to verify the priests' instructions might imperil their salvation. This condition of things continued for several centuries.

The first official proclamation in regard to suicide was issued by the Council of Braga in the year 563. This forbade any burial service for those *qui violentan sili ipsis infermet mortem;* to which was added, about 750, the limitation "if they do it by the instigation of the devil." It was further decreed "concerning those who, by any fault, inflict death on themselves, let there be no commemoration of them in the oblation; nor for them who are punished for their crimes; nor shall their corpses be carried unto the grave with palms." (Wilkins.)

These extracts from canon law enable us to understand the obsequies of *Ophelia*, as set forth in "Hamlet." *Laertes*, her brother, demands the full funeral ceremony. The priest replies:

> "Her obsequies have been as far enlarg'd
> As we have warranty: her death was doubtful;
> And, but that great command o'ersways the order,
> She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd
> Till the last trump; for charitable prayers,
> Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her."

Shakespeare was apparently "a heretic," but he still entertained the tradition against suicide, for *Hamlet* says:

> "O that this too too solid flesh would melt,
> Thaw and resolve itself into a dew!
> Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!"

And *Imogene* says:

> "Against self-slaughter
> There is a prohibition so divine
> That cravens my weak hand."

And *Iago* says to *Roderigo:* "If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it in a more delicate way than drowning."

Between the Council of Braga in 563 and the age of Shakespeare a thousand years had elapsed, and the persuasion of the implacable wrath of God had become universal.

The Word of God is freely circulated now, and is no longer read with fear and trembling. The body of a suicide is no longer buried in England at a road-crossing with a stake driven through it. But the Italian hierarchy still refuses the corpse "Christian" burial in "consecrated" ground. Yet it is doubtful whether such exclusion of the natural body has any deleterious effect on the good standing of the spiritual body at its resurrection, when the question is not, "How did he die?" but "How has he lived?" The good old Friend, William Penn, as early as 1700, prescribed in his charter to Pennsylvania "that if any person, through temptation or melancholy, shall destroy himself, his estate, real and personal, shall, notwithstanding, descend to his wife, children, or relations, as if he had died a natural death."

In modern times France and England have been most noted for thus shuffling off this mortal coil, but of late years our own people have been emulating them, and our daily papers seldom appear with this department of their record blank.

This sad epidemic is to be deplored because it deprives the State of citizens. But how can it be prevented? New York has passed a law for punishing such attempts, but how few verdicts have been rendered! The law, however, serves as an admonition to do the thing thoroughly.

Reform must be brought about by moral suasion, not by terror.

Finally, suicide, though not a sin, is a weakness and a folly. It is more manly to endure the burdens and responsibilities of life than to desert our station, in panic fright at, perhaps, the very crisis of victory. A man may be vexed with cares, fretted by adversities, and despondent in grief; but who is free from such trials? He must bravely sustain them, and he will find his strength confirmed by the discipline. Have faith in a God loving, omnipotent, and wise. "Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."

SAMUEL YORKE AT LEE.

V.

LANDLORDISM IN FRANCE.

THE world has always been more or less puzzled over the recuperative power displayed by France, and the economists have been pleased to explain it by the existence of an extensive peasant proprietorship, which, they have said, has prevented the monopolization of the soil. In year 1889, when the eyes of the world were fixed upon Paris and her wonderful exposition, the same old question intruded itself upon all thoughtful persons, and the same answer was generally given.

It seemed as if no other solution could explain the relative prosperity of this country, which supports the second largest army and navy of Europe, and carries a grinding tax system with unbowed back. Persons who have not been satisfied with this explanation expected that some of the international congresses held at the French capital during last summer would throw a new light upon the subject. They were not deceived, for there was much discussion of the theme in the congresses on the land and the labor questions. Various estimates were presented, more or less authentic, and out of them all has come a clearer understanding of the relation of the great French republic to national progress. Instead, however, of being a nation of small land-owners, she is proved to be quite the contrary. Figures leave no doubt as to the existence of an oppressive landlordism in France, and make a comparison with the condition of things just after the Revolution a painful study.

One of the greatest reforms of the Revolution was the levying of a good round tax on the lands of the nobility, which comprised a very large portion of the cultivable surface of the nation. The nobles would not use them and would not let any one else use them. A feeling that whatever the nobility possessed should be made to benefit the public was probably with the Revolutionists a stronger reason for taxing these lands than a clear idea of what part land plays in production.

At any rate, the exemption was taken away and the nobles' lands were heavily taxed, and to-day that exemption has practically been restored, immensely to the profit, not of a nobility, but of a later aristocracy that possesses estates which, placed beside those of the ante-Revolution days, would by no means make the present owners blush.

The law of 1790 had fixed the land tax at 300,000,000 francs. If this tax had remained in operation upon the same basis,—that is to say, upon the revenue from the ground,—it would produce to-day more than 1,500,000,000 francs, since the revenue has increased more than five-fold. But the triumphant reaction from the Revolution saw no good in this system. It was opposed to the work of the great physiocrats, Turgot, Quesnay, and others, and haste was made to undo it by throwing the burden of taxation upon labor by means of indirect *impôts* which should be more favorable to the monopolizers of the land. How steadily this was done may be judged from the following table of reductions accorded to landed property by the reactionary governments since 1789:

Land tax in 1790	300,000,000 francs.
Reductions in francs.	
1797	22,000,000.
1798	11,000,000.
1799	17,000,000.
1801	5,000,000.
1802	1,500,000.
1804	8,500,000.
1805	3,000,000.
1819	4,000,000.
1821	13,500,000.

While the tremendous strides of material progress in the present century have given to the lands an immense value, the taxes they pay annually have fallen to the sum of 120,000,000 francs, a little more that one-third what they were one hundred years ago. As the area of the ground is 50,000,000 hectares, this gives but two or three francs per hectare.

This reduction is not, however, sufficient for the landed proprietors. With the audacity of Oliver Twist, but with none of his inspirational hunger, they demand further exemptions. They have recently actually inaugurated a campaign to give landed estates a complete freedom from taxation. The leader of this movement has been Léon Say, grandson of Jean Baptiste Say, the economist. He is also, it may be remarked in passing, the intimate friend of M. de Rothschild.

An idea of what he is aiming at is furnished by the following incident: He was present not long ago at a great dinner in Paris. Conversation turned upon the revival of the cry of free land in America. "I am doing the same thing here," said M. Say, proudly; "there are too many taxes on our land now; I want to see it free from all taxation."

The system of "progressive liberation," for the full fruition of which M. Say is laboring, has brought about the dominancy of large proprietors. For a long time the contrary was the popular belief; and it may be doubted even now if the French people have abandoned their long-cherished delusion. Ask a Frenchman what makes his country so prosperous—that is, relatively to its continental neighbors—and he will reply that it is the large number of small landed proprietors. This belief has been strengthened by the actual existence of an enormous number of small proprietors. Much prominence has been given to this phase of French life, and it has been the stock theme of about every speech on tax reform in Paris for half a century.

But the trouble with this is that the proprietors are all too small. Put all their possessions together and they would represent only the smallest portion of the general area. The totality of the lands possessed by peasants who cultivate them themselves does not exceed a tenth part of the whole area, or but 5,000,000 hectares.

This fact, so painful to French pride, has just been officially recognized. In a report published last year on the decennial agricultural inquiry from 1872 to 1882, M. Tisserand, director of French agriculture, expresses himself as follows: "But our small cultivators, if they form the immense majority of the landed proprietors are far from cultivating the largest surface of our soil. On the contrary, they occupy but a very small fraction of it. It is, then, an error to believe that the land of France is in the hands of the small cultivators."

Unflinching as this conscientious official is in the face of an unpleasant duty, his words are no more striking than the following figures presented by the Minister of Finance on the question of land-holding in France:

Size of holdings.	Number of land proprietors.	Total area in hectares.	Percentage of number.	Percentage of area.
0 to 2 hectares.....	10,426,368	5,211,456	74.09	10.53
2 to 5 "	1,894,847	6,010,847	13.47	12.16
5 hectares and over.....	1,754,305	38,166,001	12.44	77.31
Total liable to taxation...	14,075,520	49,388,304	100.00	100.00

In other words, 75 per cent. of the total number of landed proprietors possess only 10 per cent. of the entire area of the country; 13 per cent. of the number of proprietors own 12 per cent. of the area; 12 per cent. of the total number of proprietors possess 77 per cent. of the total area.

About nine million hectares are occupied by tenant farmers and five million by the *metayer* farmers, who share the harvest with the proprietors. Nearly nineteen million hectares are cultivated by proprietors, or *chefs de culture*, with the aid of salaried workmen and domestics. Then five million hectares are tilled by the peasants themselves, with their wives and children. But there are proprietors owning more than 100,000 hectares devoted to the pleasures of the chase, which pay almost no tax.

Rothschild possesses already more than 200,000 hectares (about 500,000 acres); but he does not wish to cultivate; all is for the chase. When he buys an estate, he demolishes the structures, if there are any, and drives out the inhabitants, and his game devours the harvests of the vicinity.

France has millions of farmers who are crushed by mortgages. The value of these mortgages rises to the enormous figure of 20,000,000,000 francs, or $4,000,000,000. There are millions of landed proprietors so small that the Minister of Finance preferred to let them go unrecorded, believing that the cost of recording would be greater than the revenue derivable therefrom.

Probably not for many centuries has the surface been more poorly cultivated. Official investigations show that one-third of France is totally uncultivated ; another third yields but half harvests, while the third third produces anything at all only under conditions that are positively grinding.

The position of the French Government in regard to taxation is like Paddy's toward heads: when you see any property, tax it. The burden that falls on the agriculturist is enough to discourage cultivation. The more he works and produces, the more extensively is he the victim of the tax collector. With a direct tax on houses, windows, doors, etc., and on all beverages, sugar, tobacco, etc., he is simply going round and round in the same circle of making and paying. This idea struck a French peasant recently, when, worn out by the repeated visits of tax-collectors, he cried : "My God ! it seems that I was created for only two things—to make all I can and pay to the government all I can."

So cities grow and the country is deserted. Absenteeism prevails here as much as and more than in England. The emigration from the country toward the cities and the industrial centres grows from year to year; the great estates are causing the void in the country. Lands are rented no longer except with the greatest trouble; field workers and capital alike shun land, while the industrial workmen wage between themselves a desperate rivalry which lowers salaries to a figure even below what is strictly necessary to repair the laborer's strength and rear his family.

Millions of houses have no windows, and millions have but one. Millions of families eat meat but twice or three times a year, living on chestnuts during many months and on black bread of a detestable quality.

W. E. Hicks.

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FREE TRADE OR PROTECTION.

A CONTINUATION OF THE GLADSTONE-BLAINE CONTROVERSY.

BY THE HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VERMONT.

APOLOGY FOR THIS ARTICLE.

ANY extended argument of the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone must always afford ample evidence of great ability, as well as wealth of learning, and it would have been presumption on my part to accept the invitation to reply to his recent article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW on "Free Trade or Protection," if it were not that "Protection," the easy side of the question, had been allotted to me. It was a further encouragement when I found, upon examining in detail Mr. Gladstone's free-trade argumentation, that I could sincerely reciprocate some of his own words, and say, While we listen to a melody presented to us as new, the idea gradually arises in the mind, "I have heard this before," and it has been heard by me so often from our Democratic revenue-reform friends that the refrain, if not a bore, excites neither delight nor alarm.

Remembering, as I do, the masterly speech of Mr. Gladstone when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he opened the debate on the budget of 1853, and also his later eloquent series of remarkable speeches for three days in the Midlothian campaign, I can have no feeling but that of the highest respect for one who must be regarded as the foremost living statesman of our mother-country. For this discussion he appears to have formulated a

rule, after the manner of the Marquis of Queensberry, which I cannot refuse to accept, that "in the arena of discussion" one must take his chance as "a common combatant, entitled to free speech and to fair treatment, but to nothing more."

It is my purpose to controvert some share of the free-trade assertions directly, but for the most part by the general scope of my reply, as to copy at length all of the statements to be refuted, and to follow each with a special reply, would cover too much space. Happily, Mr. Gladstone does not sweeten free trade by another name and conceal it by what, in America, has been styled its "varioloid," *revenue reform.*

Mr. Gladstone appears to have had the subject of "Free Trade or Protection" on the anvil ever since he was challenged to its discussion by Mr. McKay pending the Presidential election of 1888. He admits the victory of protection in that election, but strives to convince Americans of their folly. His great ability as an instructor may be admitted, and his teachings in Great Britain, where he has had experience, are deservedly of the highest authority; but in America, where we all regret that he has never set his foot, they are as unworthy of practical application and as much out of place as British laws for the regulation of the government of India would be if applied to the Dominion of Canada.

THE LOGIC OF FACTS.

It will be claimed by me that the logic of facts and results is more worthy of acceptance than any theory, however plausible it may seem to be, and that by this test American protection has long been triumphant; not arguing that an excess of protection would be beneficial, but in favor of such moderate and healthful discrimination as will protect American industries, from their birth to maturity, against destruction by foreign competition.

Protectionists deny that there is any possible scientific system of tariff upon foreign imports which merits and requires universal application. It is a question of practical experience alone as to what may be best at the time for each and every independent nation, to be most intelligently determined by its own legislative authority.

Mr. Gladstone assumes, in substance, as Free-Traders generally assume, that free trade, or the let-alone revenue system, which was started in 1846 with the repeal of the Corn Laws, and practically adopted by Great Britain less than thirty

years ago, is based on scientific truth, natural law, and moral virtue, applicable to all nations and to all times alike, and that any other system is not only false, but wasteful and unchristian. This overlauded economical discovery appears to have been unknown to Bacon and Locke, Newton and Paley, unregarded by a great majority of enlightened Christian nations, and especially unregarded by the British colonies. And yet it seems almost a personal grief to Mr. Gladstone that the United States should be unwilling to accept the beatitudes of free trade, although British interests, as he claims, have prospered, and will prosper, in spite of American adherence to protection. Why not, then, let us alone?

If the whole world were one vast Utopia of communistic brethren, and swords were to be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, free trade might be the accepted gospel of all international intercourse, and the glories of patriotism shunned as a reproach; but the world is a conglomerate of different races of men, having discordant ambitions, higher and lower conditions of civilization and wealth, many religious creeds, unequal physical and mental vigor, and aptitudes and habits as diverse as color and climate. The idea that there is any economical principle, whether of science, nature, or morals, which should be left to its own course, and that nothing should be done by any people through legislation to change or to elevate and increase their industrial power, is the fetich of British Free-Traders. As well might all social virtues be left unprotected and without legislation. As well leave all individuals without the help of education as to leave the nation without such help. It is nothing less than the old fallacy, "Shoot without taking aim, and you will be sure to hit the mark." Can any friend of Ireland, for instance, after years of close contact with a great free-trade kingdom, and with two-thirds of its productive area abandoned to permanent pasture, believe that the free-trade policy has been best for Ireland? The sublime virtue of having no prejudices in favor of their own country does not seem to have taken root in that part of the United Kingdom.

UNDERPAID BRITISH LABOR BENEFITED BY AMERICAN PROTECTION.

Mr. Gladstone claims that other nations, and above all others the United States, have derived immense benefits through British free-trade legislation. If this should be admitted, as it need not

be, why, then, should the United States wish to revolutionize and change its position by a change of its revenue policy? But, he says, "We [Great Britain] have not on this ground any merits or any claims whatever. We legislated for our own benefit and are satisfied with the benefits we have received." Other nations are also satisfied that have legislated for their own benefit, though adversely to free trade, as, with the exception of the Britannic Isle, the whole of Europe and America now adheres to the doctrine of protection. The people of every nation must be allowed to comprehend best what will be for their own benefit, notwithstanding the gracious efforts of British statesmen to promulgate their precepts and expound their virtuous example. Few outside of Great Britain will care to dispute that free trade may now be her wisest policy, and perhaps a paramount necessity; nor will any one doubt, were it otherwise, that the policy of free trade, in spite of the moral sublimity now claimed for it, would be swiftly changed, whether the Tory or the Liberal party were in power. British wealth, however, was founded upon the most stubborn measures of protection that the world has ever known, which were only discontinued after they had accomplished their chief and greatest work,—the general perfection and supremacy of their manufactures,—as protection, with an enterprising people, is designed to accomplish. Protection was no longer needed, but cheap bread and cheap wages were the British problem to be solved by free trade.

Great Britain formerly not only exacted heavy protective duties from merchandise imported into her home territories, but she pitilessly monopolized both the export and import trade of her numerous colonies,—drawing sustenance from the bosoms of her own daughters,—from which the fortunes and titles of many great families were created and the mercantile power of the kingdom established. These colonies are now far more prosperous under their own protective policy, but the mother-country continues to be largely their creditor, and still profits by a large share of their trade.

After nearly 400 years of the most unexampled protection, Great Britain acquired the command of capital, machinery, steam power, and of long-trained labor, including even that of children, by which to compete successfully in the chief markets for the trade of the world. Her labor during the long season of protec-

tion, though never sinking to the level of the Continent, had long been underpaid, by direct act of Parliament until 1813, and underpaid to this day by class domination. It may be true that the wages of British workmen have advanced in the progress of the age even under the system of free trade, not *post hoc, ergo propter hoc,* but because their best workmen have had a whip in their own hands, and for $20 have had the power in one week to transplant themselves to America, where they could be better fed, better clothed, better educated, and better housed, or where, with fewer hours of labor, they could add from 50 to 100 per cent. to their wages. American competition has thus compelled an increase of free-trade wages, which must be conceded, or their best men would desert the manufacturers, and the latter, it should be confessed, do not seem to be grateful to the American promoters of such good works.

It follows that the British workmen have derived and still derive an immense benefit from the system of American protection. We claim no merit for this because we also "have legislated for our own benefit and are satisfied with the benefits we have received." The number of British immigrants to the United States, for the year ending December 31, 1888, was 171,141, more being from England than from any other part of the kingdom, and a large proportion being mechanics and skilled workmen. This does not include the many thousands arriving through the back door of Canada, of whom no account is made. This ceaseless flow of British immigrants supplies a multitude of potential reasons why wages in England "have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade." Mr. McKay may not have been entirely accurate as to the wages paid in Wigan, though there is unlimited proof on the general subject of the great disparity of British wages when compared with American; but the living testimony of these thousands of British immigrants is an incontestable support of the American contention of protection against all theories.

Workmen in Great Britain, when out of employment, are said to have no resource but the workhouse, but American workmen generally own their own houses, take their own newspapers, and have money in savings-banks. The increase in wages under protection enormously increases the power of consumption by wage-

earners and by their families, while free trade only increases the luxuries of the rich, and the common people find them beyond their reach.

Slavery in America, not caring for the wages of labor, long wedded many Southern States to free trade, but, having parted from slavery, they are now fast finding reasons for a divorce from free trade.

Free trade does not even profess regard for the wages of artisans, and is based wholly on the idea of supplying the demands of the consumer at the lowest cost. How the armies which delve in mines and work in mills and factories are fed and housed, educated and paid, does not concern the "dismal science" of Free-Traders—if only they can be cheaply paid. They start in the race by challenging the competition of the lowest-paid laborers of all the world. That wages under free trade, in such a race, can be equal to wages under protection is glaringly preposterous.

Mr. Gladstone asserts that "in your protected trades profits are hard pressed by wages." The fair inference is—reversing the proposition—that profits of capital are not hard pressed by wages under free trade. In other words, wages must be hard pressed by free trade, and this is painfully exhibited by the present abounding strikes of British workmen.

Mr. Gladstone gives Mr. Giffen as authority on British wages, and claims that from 1833 to 1883 the wages paid on exportable manufactures of Bradford and Huddersfield have advanced 20 and 30 per cent. Why go back so far when the complete enjoyment of free trade is only claimed for less than thirty years? It would possibly be more fair to assume that much of the advance claimed may have occurred long before the era of free trade. In America we go back no further than 1860 to claim an advance of more than double the amount specified in the wages of laborers, both in factories and on farms. But, as Mr. Gladstone does not insist that wages are not higher in America under protection than in Great Britain under free trade, it would seem superfluous to offer statistical proofs of the wide difference known to exist, and with which the public on both sides of the Atlantic are not altogether unfamiliar. One fresh illustration of the difference, however, may not be inopportune. The late great wage-strike of the London dockmen was made to obtain an increase of one penny per hour,—6d. (12 cents), instead of 5d. (10 cents), per hour,—

and the increase of one penny per hour has been reckoned as a crowning victory. But the 'longshoremen, employed in the same kind of work on the docks of New York, are paid 30 cents an hour for day, and 40 cents an hour for night, work. Twelve cents an hour was stoutly resisted in free-trade London, while 250-per cent. higher wages still prevail under protection in New York.

PROTECTION PUTS THE CHIEF BURDEN ON THE FOREIGNER.

Protectionists claim, as Bismarck claims, that protection puts the chief burden upon the foreigner, who is compelled to pay the duty or give an equivalent by reducing the price of his products. They also claim that, in the long run, the consumers supply their wants at less cost than would be possible without protected home competition. For example, years ago moquette carpets brought $5 to $6 per yard, but under protection, and owing to a loom invented by an American, they are now sold at $1.50 per yard and sometimes for less. Bessemer steel rails in 1867 brought $166 per ton, but with a protective duty the price in 1885 was only $28.50 per ton, and $27.50 in 1888. From 1867 to 1888 there were made in the United States 15,803,011 tons of steel rails, and 1,256,857 tons were imported. This new industry gives employment to many thousands of people, and presents only a single example of many showing the creation, as well as the increase, of the wage fund by protection. American railroads unquestionably obtained their steel rails in the aggregate at far less cost than would have been possible even with free rails and dependence upon foreign supply and foreign prices. When the American demand in 1872 exceeded the home supply, the British price at once was advanced from 230 shillings per ton to 350 shillings, and again in 1880 the British price was for the same reason advanced from 170 shillings per ton to 200. This shows how merciless would be the greed of foreigners were our manufactures suspended for lack of protection.

HOME MANUFACTURES SAVE MUCH OF THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION AND DISTRIBUTION.

Home manufactures planted in every State alongside of the farmer largely save in distribution the heavy cost and waste of long transportation. Foreign merchandise landed at some seaport must be distributed at great expense across the whole country, and exports of grain must be freighted from the remotest interior States to seaports and then across the Atlantic. Both of

these outlays are either wholly avoided or greatly reduced by the presence of home manufactures, which are sold (their value being well known) by the wholesale, as well as the retail, dealer for a much smaller commission than are foreign goods, of the cost and merit of which the public are ignorant.

The immediate proximity to farmers of manufactures is an advantage so great that the holdings of farmers, in every locality of America where such proximity exists, can readily be sold for more than 50 per cent. above the price of land where manufactures have not been established, and annually yield a much larger income.

Americans prefer to make a home market for all of their agricultural products, and not to depend upon uncertain and elusive foreign markets. Every ship-load of wheat or corn exported not only impoverishes the fertility of the land whence it was taken, but tends to reduce both the price abroad and at home. Free trade in America would cripple, perhaps ruin, both agriculture and manufactures, and protection is accorded to both; for here it is applied to both, and tends not only to shield them from harm, but has operated to increase the wages of agricultural labor equally with the wages of employees in manufactures,—which shows that any pretence about unprotected labor is wholly false and intended by American Free-Traders only to deceive.

We have no class legislation, and protection protects one-half of the population no more than the other; wool as well as cloth. All of our people are now free to labor where they choose, where they can earn the most and receive the highest reward; and the man who to-day works on the farm may to-morrow, if he pleases, find employment in the mine, mill, or factory, and obtain the customary wages awarded to like skill and service.

PROTECTION PRODUCES THE BEST WORK.

Protection turns out not merely good work, but the best. Local competition always pushes the best to the front. American locomotives are received in Australia, New Zealand, South America, and elsewhere, as equal to any in the world, and as cheap. Some British manufacturers and traders stamp their cotton goods with American trade-marks because similar American goods, wherever known, fetch the highest price. House-furnishing and saddlery hardware, locks, joiners' tools, watches, silverware, jewelry, paper of all kinds, and many other articles of American

manufacture are often both superior to and cheaper than similar articles produced abroad. Our agricultural implements are recognized everywhere as the best inventions of the age. American sewing-machines and carriages easily take the lead of foreign fashions and foreign makes. When Mr. Gladstone presented to his forester an axe, he did not seek for one of English make, but found the best and presented one of American make.

Mr. Gladstone declares that under high duties they had the "worst corks in Europe." This was deplorable, but if they had only adopted the American remedy of the Maine law, they would not even have had

"To stop for one bad cork the butler's pay,"

as the demand for corks would suddenly have been estopped. On our part, it is remembered that, prior to the development of home manufactures, America was forced to accept such sorry foreign goods as were offered, and here was the great dumping-place for inferior and Brummagem articles, which, like Pindar's razors, were "made only to sell." Protection has brought relief from such imposition

Mr. Gladstone would be humorous, and endeavors to plunge the advocates of protection into the mire of a *reductio ad absurdum* by saying :

"If the proper object for the legislator is to keep and employ in his country the greatest possible amount of capital, then the British Parliament (*exempli gratiâ*) ought to protect not only wheat, but pineapples."

This tropical illustration, though dimmed by age and long service, shows that Free-Traders claim not only a monopoly of trade, but of common-sense. The pineapple argument may be dismissed as too far-fetched.

But Mr. Gladstone appears fond of extremes and pursues the subject by adding the following :

"If protection be, as its champions (or victims) hold, in itself an economical good, then it holds in the sphere of production the same place as belongs to truth in the sphere of philosophy, or to virtue in the sphere of morals. In this case, you cannot have too much of it; so that, while mere protection is economical good in embryo, such good finds its full development only in the prohibition of foreign trade "

It may be observed, "in the sphere of philosophy," that in the case of fire, water, and air, though all are useful servants, no one would say of either, "You cannot have too much of it." The supporters of American protection, on their guard against all

suicidal extremes, propose to reduce, as they have reduced protective legislation, wherever and whenever the prosperity of their countrymen requires it, and are in no danger of being burned or drowned by protection, though they cannot escape an occasional gust of free trade from the trade-winds across the Atlantic.

Evidently Mr. Gladstone would enforce the reverse of his proposition, or that "you cannot have too much of" free trade; doubtless feeling that other nations cannot have too much of it to suit Great Britain. If free trade is one of the moral virtues, however, as seems to be claimed, is it not rather reckless, "in the sphere of morals," to disregard the wisdom of classic ages handed down by the axiom, *In medio tutissimus ibis?* In their hard-pressed corn, iron, cotton, and silk industries, are there not many Englishmen ready to say of free trade, "Good Lord, deliver us!"?

FREE TRADE AMONG THE STATES.

Certainly Mr. Gladstone has a fondness for the logic of extreme cases, and he asks, in relation to the greater profit in keeping labor and capital at home, this question:

> "But if this really is so, if there be this inborn fertility in the principle itself, why are the several States of the Union precluded from applying it within their own respective borders?"

If this were asked with the expectation of serious consideration, it might be answered that local tariffs between the States would not only be inexpedient, but impossible to enforce, and they are properly superseded by the far better protection afforded by the general government. As a nation, we are one great family, or, as he calls us, "a world, and not a very little world," where each one of the members contributes to the general welfare, where free trade has a special and exceptional domain for its proper development, and where its results are beneficent. As dependencies of Great Britain, we were annually robbed and had no protection, and therefore declared our independence. It was a great point through the union then established to escape local State tariffs, and national protection was secured in our very earliest legislative acts.

It may not be impertinent now to offer a Roland for an Oliver, and to inquire, if there be inborn fertility in the principle of free trade, why it is not beneficently applied to the several large and populous colonies of Great Britain by the omnipotence of the

British Parliament. Surely a measure of this transcendent importance, which keeps her legislators constantly awake looking with anxious pity after the fiscal and moral interests of the United States, should not permit them to sleep when it equally concerns (to borrow Mr. Gladstone's phrases) the *waste, robbery, and imposition* that are so rampant in British colonies and dependencies—embracing one-seventh of the land surface of the globe and nearly one-fourth of its population. "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" Is it possible that Mr. Gladstone should have been unmindful of these great possessions—virgin fields for the planting of unadulterated free trade—when he penned the following eloquent sentence?—

"There opens before the thinking mind when this supreme question is propounded a vista so transcending all ordinary limitation as requires an almost preterhuman force and expansion of the mental eye in order to embrace it."

America won the battle for the colonists in 1776, when they were not suffered by Great Britain to work in the more refined manufactures even for their own consumption. The erection of steel furnaces and slitmills in any of her American plantations was prohibited. The exportation from one province to another by water, or even the carriage by land upon horseback or in a cart, of hats, wool, and woollen goods of the produce of America, was also wholly prohibited. We have changed all that.

PRIMACY.

Mr. Gladstone is pleased to say

"that in international transactions the British nation for the present enjoys a commercial primacy; that no country in the world shows any capacity to wrest it from us, except it be America; that, if America shall frankly adopt and steadily maintain a system of free trade, she will by degrees, perhaps not slow degrees, outstrip us in the race, and will probably take the place which at present belongs to us; but that she will not injure us by the operation."

When all the great markets of the world are drying up as to imports of manufactures, and are being supplied by their own home products, how is it possible that the United States would not, as a rival, injure British trade by coming to the front and taking the place and primacy which at present belong to Great Britain? Their government is making ambitious efforts in every quarter of the globe to obtain an increase of its foreign trade, and, if that is now diminishing, or insufficient for one, how can it be enough for two, or for both England and America?

Of course Mr. Gladstone is sincere. He is among the first, if not the foremost, of ~~loyal~~ Englishmen, and could not be induced to advocate any measure that would not benefit his own country. He sees that free trade with America would offer a prodigious market for British manufactures, and that absorbing advantage hides everything beyond. But it will not be forgotten that the leaders of Great Britain, he proudly eminent among them,* not very long since were quite willing that such primacy as we then alone enjoyed on the American continent should be nullified and overthrown, and for their unlawful aid in that direction made an atonement of $15,000,000.

But Mr. Gladstone plainly and bluntly builds all of his castles-in-the-air relating to our primacy upon our producing more wheat, corn, cotton, and mineral oils for foreign export, and says that we should not invest "in mills or factories to produce yarn or cloth which we could obtain more cheaply from abroad." It follows that he would have the primacy wholly restricted to agricultural exports, and is oblivious of the fact—while his own country furnishes a very limited and about the only foreign market—that our present exports of these products operate adversely upon our agricultural interests, and that the policy of American protection is vigorously maintained in order to create a larger body of consumers at home and to give to agriculture higher rewards. Why should not America have its own home market? Surely nature is not against it, morality is not against it, and if free-trade science is against it, so much the worse for the science. We must make the market we do not and cannot elsewhere find. We have found that often less has been obtained for a very large export of cotton than for a medium or smaller one, showing that an excessive crop pays the least profit. Some of our Western States have also found the largest crop of corn most valuable as their cheapest fuel, and the wheat crop in some of our territories, like that of the apple elsewhere, when very large, pays little more than for the harvesting.

Beyond this, Russia, Egypt, India, and other countries leave us to supply only a pitiful share of any deficiency of European

* Mr. Gladstone was a Southern sympathizer, and in the Roebuck debate on the recognition of the Southern Confederacy said: "It is not, therefore, from indifference—it is not any adequate or worthy object on the part of the North—that I would venture to deprecate in the strongest terms the adoption of the motion of the honorable and learned gentleman."

food crops, and that at the minimum prices. South America, and our great American desert, improved by irrigation, may also soon prove the marvels of the age in the production of food crops. An increase of the supply from any quarter would instantly depress foreign prices, leaving for American exports losses instead of profits; and our farming interests, with increased crops and without an increase of consumers, would sink to the level of those now so greatly depressed in Great Britain. Again, if, as suggested, we were no longer to protect and support home manufactures, or investments in "mills and factories," but put our home market of 95 per cent. in limbo, or the paradise of fools, in order to increase the 5 per cent. (not including cotton) which we occasionally have of such exports, how long would it be before the prices of the products of foreign "mills and factories" would mount far above the present current rates in America? Our manufactures, outside of household industries, amounted in 1880 to $5,369,579,191, and it is estimated will reach $7,000,000,000 in 1890. Were we to surrender this unmatched field to free trade, the immense capital invested must be largely sacrificed, and thousands of laborers turned adrift, "the world all before them where to choose." Europeans, with their

"discontent
Made glorious summer,"

would rush to fill the void with their products, upon their own terms, and for them a new world would have been discovered by free trade.

Purchasers of home products are sure to retain capital for the wage fund of laborers in their own country and keep it in circulation; but when purchases are made abroad, the capital goes to a bourn whence it never returns.

The increment of capital employed in British manufactures is apparently becoming unsatisfactory and doubtful. If this were not so, why are there so many millions of British capital at the present moment fleeing from their free-trade home and running to and fro in America as supplicants for any random employment? Evidently the wage fund for English workmen would appear to be unstable and on the wing.

As to the charge of waste in practical protection, it would be equally just to charge the blessings of the falling rain and the heat of the summer sun with undue waste. It will be sufficient

for an American to point to the fact that the United States since 1860, notwithstanding the boundless losses of both North and South in the late war, has much more than doubled its wealth and population, and since 1865 has reduced its public debt by the large sum of $1,693,426,676, so that our yearly interest charge *per capita* was in 1888 only 63 cents, while that of Great Britain was $3.75 *per capita,* or nearly six times as much. When any equal prosperity shall be visible among the people of Great Britain, it may be proper to meditate on the felicities of free trade. In this debt-paying race for the primacy, the British are just now only in sight, and Americans are not hard pressed by any rivals.

Free trade miserably fails to offer remunerative employment or any vitality to the forces of the great mass of the people, and the waste of latent power is enormous. The division of the British population according to occupation, as set forth in their own statistical publications of 1889, was :

Agricultural and industrial	10,818,206
Indefinite, unoccupied, and non-productive	19,703,745

Is not free trade responsible for this extraordinary excess of the non-productive population? These plethoric millions of mere drones surely cannot all be justly charged to the aristocracy.

THE HINDER PARTS OF BRITISH FREE TRADE.

It will be proper to inquire, What is the practical system of British free trade, which Americans are so urgently pressed by British statesmen, and by others who are not statesmen, to adopt? It may have worked well or ill for Great Britain ; but what is there about it that should lead Americans to renounce the legislative precedents and the wisdom of their fathers, and to abandon the highway of their past and present matchless prosperity in order to follow a later-born experiment of our foremost rival in commerce and manufactures? "I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts."

To answer the question, we are limited to a survey of the solitary British example, for no other nation treats free trade as anything better than a delusion and a snare. Free trade opens in Great Britain by levying a tariff duty on imported manufactured tobacco of 84 cents to 92 cents per pound ; on unmanufactured tobacco, 104 to 116 cents per pound ; on cigars, $1.32 per pound;

on tea, 12 cents per pound; on coffee, 3 cents per pound—if ground or prepared, 4 cents per pound; on cocoa, raw, 2 cents per pound—if manufactured, 4 cents per pound. Among other items subject to duty are currants, figs, raisins, plums, prunes, soap, pickles, varnish, wine, gin, and all other spirits. These duties, it will be observed, bear heavily upon laboring people, who consume not less than 90 per cent. of the articles from which the largest part of British tariff revenue is obtained. The so-called revenue duty on tobacco, supplied from America, amounts to at least 1,500 per cent. The duty on tea and coffee is the same upon the lowest grade as upon the highest and choicest varieties. The free-trade idea is to place duties on articles not produced at home, instead of on such as are or ought to be produced there, and is the reverse of the American idea.

But this model free-trade tariff failed to yield (in 1888) more than $98,150,000 of revenue, being only a little more than one-quarter part of the sum ($378,300,000) required for the ordinary support of the British Government, and our British friends are compelled annually to exhaust all the resources of extreme taxation to cover the enormous deficiency of thrice as much more.

This dismal but inexorable sequence of the free-trade system has been in America studiously kept out of sight, where it forever should be, except in the emergency of a great war, and it will be enough now to catalogue its many sore titles. Supplemental to British free trade, and inseparable from it, will be found the following: A land and house tax, paid by occupiers as well as by owners; a tax on legacies and successions; a stamp tax on bills of exchange, receipts, and patents; a tax on carriages, horses, man-servants, guns, and dogs; an excise on gin and all other spirits; and a tax on incomes. The woes of our rebellion gave us all the experience in this sad line of taxation we shall ever covet. Only a nation struggling to preserve its existence, or to protect its people from famine and sudden death, would be willing to tolerate so many Briarean arms clutching at the pockets of the people.

This onerous system of taxation is made necessary by free trade, and by the ponderous British public debt. The public debt of the United States, less cash in the treasury, is $1,063,004,894, while in 1888 the debt of Great Britain, with about half as much population, was £705,575,073, or $3,527,875,365—almost three and a half times that of the United States.

Revenue for the support of government must be had, but the British system presents its revolutionary odium, and Americans have lost nothing of their ancient repugnance for stamp and excise taxes. The United States, however, is paying off its public debt upon the canter, and raises its revenue by duties on imports, scarcely felt by taxpayers, but which are a great encouragement to home industries, and so levied that the foreign producer must pay for his entrance to our market. Pedlers are made to pay a license to sell their "truck" by each and every State; and why should not the foreigner, exempt from all local taxes, who seeks to sell his products not merely in one State, but throughout the whole Union, be required to pay for the privilege?

Great Britain has an annual deficiency of food products, and it seems necessary to obtain a foreign supply for more than one-half of her people. Without the command of the sea for transportation this supply might be cut off; and, to obtain means of purchasing it, it is also necessary to export manufactures and undersell all competitors in foreign markets, or her people must go without their daily food.

Free trade appeared to flourish until it encountered too many protective tariffs of other nations, now universal, and unlikely to be abolished. They are Gibraltars that everywhere frown upon those who are plotting to supersede and destroy the home industries of other people. British Free-Traders have found it hard to kick against such pricks, and now beg the help of America.

"No other country," Mr. Gladstone says of America, "has the same free choice of industrial pursuits, the same option to lay hold not on the good merely, but on the best." And yet this free choice, which gives to our people the control of all their natural forces, he would now limit, and give no option of mills and factories. America does not thrust its industrial theories upon Great Britain, and will be happy whether protection or free trade shall prevail there. The large subsidies that are paid to British ships for carrying foreign mails far transcend what that service might be obtained for if free trade were allowed with foreign competitors, and the annual sums also paid to large and fast-going steamers, to be utilized first for trade and second for war purposes when needed, furnish examples in the highest fields of protection; and we only lament and criticise our own shortcomings in the same service.

MORE CHAPTERS OF GLORY THAN OF SHAME.

Notwithstanding our ancient family difficulties, Great Britain must be credited with more chapters of glory than of shame, and America is now more firmly and tenderly attached to her people than to those of any other nation, and should be claimed as their best and most powerful friend, more especially since Great Britain seems to be step by step Americanized by the extension of the right of suffrage. Still we are now asked, in substance, to plod contentedly with hand labor, to raise corn and pasture herds, to dismiss our artisans, and forego machinery and all the forces of steam-engines, without which no nation, either in peace or war, can hope to be great or even independent. The selfishness of those who merely seek an extension of British trade may ask for this, but not those who more prize American power and American fraternity. In Europe, Great Britain, if not misrepresented, has no allies, and, among all first-class powers, not one earnest friend. Would it not be a blunder for even British Free-Traders to promote our acceptance of a policy that would be sure to reduce the United States to the rank of a second-rate power?

Mr. Gladstone bestows lofty praise upon the unrivalled strength of our country by an eloquent recital of the American advantages over all nations, of our immense territory where there is nothing that the soil would refuse to yield, the rare excellence of the climate, the vast extent of coal and other mineral resources, the inventive faculty of the people surpassing all the world, and sums up as follows:

"I suppose there is no other country of the whole earth in which, if we combine together the surface and that which is below the surface, Nature has been so bountiful to man. The mineral resources of our Britannic Isle have, without question, principally contributed to its commercial prëminence. But when we match them with those of America, it is Lilliput against Brobdingnag."

Yet in the face of all this, with a continent instead of an island, with twice the population of Great Britain, and with more of the natural aptitudes for the widest fields of manufactures than can be claimed even for the people from whom we sprang, Mr. Gladstone would place "the most inventive nation in the world" in subservience to British free trade, and confine the American people to the production of cotton, corn, meats, and mineral oils, and have them abandon more millions of manufactures than are annually produced by Great Britain herself, and sink all ambitions

for the protection of any products "we could obtain more cheaply from abroad." The anti-climax of the argument is rather conspicuous, and the American people will be in no mood to trail with a "broken wing" their ambition in the dust, and will surrender neither their manhood nor the bountiful gifts of nature.

MORAL ASPECTS OF FREE TRADE.

After all the economical arguments against protection appear to have been concluded, but not without some misgivings as to their efficiency, Mr. Gladstone summons to his aid for the final assault all the terrors of denunciation. He cannot finish what he calls his "indictment against protection" until he has anathematized it as "morally as well as economically bad"—not that all Protectionists are bad, but that the system tends to harden all "into positive selfishness." This is an indictment with which all nations are graciously covered except the British, and the British may stand up and thank God that they "are not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." The world, however, will be slow to believe that free trade was adopted, or is now upheld, for any other reason than its supposed advantages, not to moral, but to British material and trading, interests. If any nation has exhibited more of purely financial selfishness than embroiders the history of some British administrations, it has not been recorded. This part of the indictment against protection is as gratuitous as it would be to say that not all Free-Traders are liars, but the system tends to harden all into positive falsification. Though we might highly appreciate the good opinion of Mr. Gladstone, he leaves us in no doubt that it cannot be won unless we "frankly adopt and steadily maintain a system of free trade." We must, however, frankly and steadily maintain that the terms are too exorbitant.

In his pathetic exhortation to Americans on the selfishness and moral aspects of the question, urging Protectionists to be good as well as great, Mr. Gladstone forgets that he and his countrymen are not entirely without sin, and may not, therefore, cast the first stone across the Atlantic even to hit Americans. But others have not forgotten that free trade was begotten by greed for the trade of the world, that it was the British war power which forced, and continues to force, the opium trade upon China, by which the Indian government obtains an annual income of near forty million

dollars; that the religion of Great Britain, politically established, may have something too much of perfunctory support through the union of church and state; that its laws of primogeniture were ordained to make the first-born rich and all the rest of the family poor; and that the soil of the United Kingdom is in fewer hands than that of any other country in Europe.

To refute the charge against protection of a tendency to selfishness and lack of morality, American Protectionists may, with more pleasure than is afforded by showing that Free-Traders occupy a glass house, turn the light on all their past history, and offer the evidence of the equality of their laws and citizenship, the uprooting of the inherited laws of primogeniture, the universal education through common schools, the liberal and spontaneous support of Christian churches, the extinction of human slavery originally planted by the mother-country, the free homesteads to the landless, the disbandment of our vast armies at the close of the late war, and their prompt return to the peaceful pursuits of life, the national magnanimity exhibited after victory over rebellion, the payment of our public debt even before it is due, the liberal pensions to those who have suffered in patriotic service (perhaps annually exceeding for like services all British appropriations for the last century), the higher dignity and respect accorded to women, the paternal care of the poor, as well as of the insane, the blind, and deaf-mutes, and the general absence of all beggars.

We appeal finally from Mr. Gladstone to Mr. James Bryce, the author of "The American Commonwealth," whose work has already placed him in the rank of Gibbon, Motley, and de Tocqueville. Unlike Mr. Gladstone,—except that he is also a member of the British Parliament,—he is not a partisan, and has devoted years to the study of the United States and its people, visiting every State of the Union for the sole purpose of impartiality and historic veracity. That Mr. Bryce is competent authority on questions of the morals and selfishness of Americans, none will dispute. Setting forth American characteristics, he says:

"They are a moral and well-conducted people."

"The average of temperance, chastity, truthfulness, and general probity is somewhat higher than in any of the great nations of Europe."

"Nowhere are so many philanthropic and reformatory agencies at work." (Volume II., pages 247 and 248.)

"In works of active beneficence no country has surpassed, perhaps none has equalled, the United States." (Page 579.)

Mr. Bryce concludes his great work in the following pregnant words:

"America has still a long vista of years stretching before her in which she will enjoy conditions more auspicious than England can count upon. And that America marks the highest level, not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained, will be the judgment of those who look not at the favored few for whose benefit the world seems hitherto to have framed its institutions, but at the whole body of the people."

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

THE QUESTION CLUBS AND THE TARIFF.

BY SAMUEL W. MENDUM.

AMONG the changes proposed in the Senate Tariff Bill, which passed the Senate on January 22, 1889, was an increase in the duty on tin plates from one cent, the present rate, to two cents per pound. While the bill was yet pending, the Massachusetts consumers and workers of tin plate, to the number of over three hundred, signed and forwarded to the Hon. Henry L. Dawes and the Hon. George F. Hoar, the Senators from Massachusetts, a communication in which the following specific questions were asked :

1. Why double the tax on tin plates ?
2. Why not let them enter free of duty ?
3. Who are to be benefited by taxing us upon the tin plates we consume ?
4. To whom do you expect the proposed increase of tax will be paid—to the United States Treasury, or to private persons to induce them to undertake the manufacture of tin plates ?
5. If to the latter, what chance do you think any workmen now idle in this country would stand in getting such private persons to employ them, in preference to the especially well-fitted Welshmen who would at once seek such employment here ?

It will readily be admitted that these consumers and workers of tin plate had as good ground for consideration as the representative of the Iron and Steel Association, Mr. James M. Swank, who at the same time directed a letter to Senator Allison, as chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Tariff Revision, in which he advocated strongly the increase of the duty on tin plate, and even admitted that the price of tin plates would be increased to consumers as a result of raising the duty. Nevertheless, so far as we are informed, our two Senators paid no attention whatever to these questions, and the attempt of the Massachusetts tin-plate workers and consumers to obtain the justification for a change so vitally concerning their interests was ineffectual.

The idea, however, of asking specific questions with regard to the effects of our present tariff upon special branches of industry

appeared to find favor with some of our young men who have become interested in economic questions. Since the tariff had come to be the most important issue in our national politics, it was assumed that there must be a large number of people who would like to have more definite knowledge upon the subject. The time was especially opportune for educational work. A presidential contest had just been decided and politics were quiet. Honest arguments would not be restrained by anxiety for party welfare. By the method of question and answer, or question and refusal to answer, or question and neglect to answer, it was thought that the whole subject of taxation might be overhauled. Questions should be sent to those representing both sides, and answers from Protectionists or Tariff-reformers should be equally welcome.

As these young men had no special interests at stake and, therefore, could not afford to invest large sums of money with the hope of a return, a cheap method of spreading their information was desired. "Why not make the people the questioners?" The idea developed, and soon clubs, consisting of five or more members each, were organized in various towns and cities of the State. In order to facilitate the circulation of the questions and the publication of the answers in the press, a general secretary was elected, and the consolidated organizations became known as the United Question Clubs of Massachusetts, with a post-office box as their expensive headquarters.

The first set of questions received treated of the duties upon fish, potatoes, coal, iron ore, and iron. There were seven separate questions, but, for the sake of brevity, I will make a "composite" question of the whole: "Do you think salt fish, smoked herring, frozen fish, potatoes, coal, iron ore, limestone, and iron ought to be taxed?" These questions, addressed to Senators Dawes and Hoar, and Representatives Andrew and Candler, of the Third and Ninth Districts respectively, were forwarded to the various clubs for the signatures of the members. Twenty-three clubs responded, and the questions, duly signed, were forwarded by the general secretary to the congressmen to whom they were addressed.

Representative Andrew alone made specific replies to these questions. He expressed himself as opposed to the imposition of duties upon the articles named, and stated his reasons at length.

A part of his answer to the questions on coal and iron is herewith given :

"In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are to be found deposits of iron ore of high quality, of cokeing coal in great abundance of the best kind, and of chemically-pure limestone, all lying within a range of six miles from the sea, to the shore of which they might be brought and converted into iron for our use; or they could be floated on barges into the harbors of Bath, Portland, Portsmouth, and Boston. We could then be supplied with pig-iron at from $9 to $11 a ton, coal at $3 a ton, and coke at $3.50 a ton. . . . If we send to Pennsylvania, we must pay from $16 to $18 a ton for pig-iron, $4 a ton for coal, and from $5 to $6.50 a ton for coke. . . . Our iron-works in New England, which gave employment to thousands of our people, are being closed, winding up, selling out, or going to ruin, on account of both the lack of the crude materials and of the old scrap iron and steel and other waste materials, which we could derive in vast quantities from Cuba and South America and other points, in exchange for finished products, but from which privilege we are prohibited by taxation."

The publication of Mr. Andrew's replies in the name of the United Question Clubs brought forth a storm of ridicule from protectionist papers, which devoted so much of their valuable space to denouncing us and our methods as to cause us to feel that we were, after all, of some importance, and that our shots were taking effect. The Boston *Journal* thought it necessary to warn Republicans to ignore the Question Clubs, and declared that the shortest way to extinguish them was "not to notice them." The *Journal* itself could not practise its precepts. The Boston *Advertiser* aristocratically insinuated that the questions, signed as they were largely by workingmen, would not warrant replies of value from public men. Several columns would not exhaust the ridicule which was hurled at the Question Clubs. This ridicule only served to help us by arousing the curiosity of the people, and the advertising cost us nothing.

Representative Candler did not answer our questions. The fact that he was a Republican Congressman probably deterred him from an honest expression of his views. He did not even inform us that he had changed his faith from that to which he adhered in 1869, when he said, at a great meeting held in Chickering Hall to promote the reduction of taxation and the reform of the tariff :

"All of them [food, coal, lumber, and iron] are in a measure cut off from us by the greatest humbug of modern times, the tariff of the United States."

The Boston *Advertiser* declared that it was "insulting to our Congressmen to ask them questions about the tariff." What follows shows how Senator Dawes was insulted by our questions.

While he did not favor us with categorical replies, still we were very glad to receive from him a letter conveying such evidence of the kindly spirit in which he received our questions that we felt sure, on what we considered very good grounds, that our movement was not so contemptible as the protectionist papers would have the public believe. Referring to the repetition of the questions on the different signed blanks representing the various clubs, he says:

"There was no occasion for this formidable method of approach, for any one of my constituents, as well as the gentlemen who have signed these papers, is entitled to my opinion on all subjects of public concern. . . . These gentlemen inform me that they shall put questions to me from time to time. This is commendable, and they are entitled to a respectful answer, which they shall have at all times from me."

In order that the replies of Mr. Andrew might be tested, they were forwarded to the prominent iron-manufacturers of New England, with a request for an expression of opinion. The result was eminently satisfactory. Replies were received from the Hon. Peleg McFarlin, treasurer of the Ellis Foundry, South Carver, Mass., who has so persistently endeavored to show the Republicans of New England that the high tariff on iron, crude, scrap, and pig, is ruining our iron industries; Mr. A. N. Parlin, treasurer of the Magee Furnace Company, Boston; Mr. James C. Warr, of the Franconia Iron and Steel Works, Wareham, Mass.; Mr. Z. Talbot, manufacturer of shoe-nails and tacks, Holliston, Mass.; Mr. W. B. Dart, treasurer of the Rhode Island Tool Company, Providence; Mr. Lewis S. Judd, proprietor of the Fairhaven (Mass.) Iron-Works, and General John H. Reed, treasurer of the Bay State Iron-Works.

All of these gentlemen indorsed the views of Mr. Andrew wholly or in part, and the publication of their replies in the leading papers of New England attracted wide attention and occasioned much discussion. It ought to be noticed that the above-named gentlemen are not "visionary doctrinaires," nor receivers of British gold, nor, as far as we are informed, members of the Cobden Club; but that they are practical business men. I herewith quote from the various letters. The Hon. Peleg McFarlin says:

"It is sometimes but a step from the condition which threatens disaster to that which insures success. Restore the former reasonable tariff rate of 24 per cent. *ad valorem* on iron, and, while Pennsylvania will not suffer, New England will feel a

stimulus in all her avenues of traffic. Scores of mills within her borders, now deserted and silent, will throng with workmen and renew the hum of thrifty industry."

Mr. James C. Warr speaks in no unmeaning terms when he says :

"As one who has been an unchanging member of the Republican party from the time of its organization, I enter my protest against the doctrine advocated by some stump speakers, more zealous than wise, during the late campaign, that New England, having within the reach of her hands iron as cheap as any that can be produced in the United States, and coal as cheap as any that can be laid down in any city east of the Alleghanies, shall sacrifice her rolling-mills, foundries, machine-shops, nail, tack and shovel factories, boiler, engine, and locomotive works, and her other iron-working establishments of a hundred kinds, in order to satisfy the whims and fancies of some few extremists in New England, who, influenced by cunning Pennsylvania sophistries, are endeavoring to commit the Republican party to the advocacy of the suicidal theory that protection to American manufactures should be carried so far as to work the prohibition of raw materials to those States which are so unfortunate as not to produce any. If the mission of the Republican party is to pull down one by one the great industries of New England, then I have thoroughly misunderstood it, and have all these years been voting with the wrong party."

As a result of the discussion of the iron question, the Boston *Journal* felt obliged to break its rule to "quietly ignore" the Question Clubs, and some refutation of Mr. McFarlin's views was attempted. This paper held that

"the migrations of the iron industry have been occasioned primarily by considerations of convenience and transportation, and proximity to the desired kinds of ore and coal. These are matters with which the duty on pig-iron has little or nothing to do." *

In other words, the Boston *Journal* says in effect to our iron-manufacturers : "You can't do it, and we won't let you try." It must be a blind adherence to the party whip which causes this organ to oppose the efforts of our iron men to revive their industries by a reduction of the exorbitant duties upon iron. If the duty on pig-iron "has little or nothing to do" with the state of our iron industry, why not remove it, or even reduce it ? If that were done, and then iron-manufacturing should prove a failure, our iron men would have to accept the result, just as the New England wheat-growers did when the wheat centre moved west. Again, the *Journal* takes a still weaker position when it says that, after all,

"competition, not merely among mine-owners, but to even a greater extent between freight routes, has brought prices down to a point at which Canadian coal, of a quality suited to the purpose for which iron-manufacturers desire it, cannot successfully compete."†

* August 1, 1889. † September 18, 1889.

If the duty on coal is inoperative, why not remove it? If Canadian coal cannot compete, what need is there of keeping a useless duty upon the tariff-books? Let us try free coal, and if Pennsylvania can do better for New England than Canada, well and good.

And even weaker is the position of Mr. James M. Swank, secretary of the Iron and Steel Association, who is particularly excited over the efforts of the New England iron men to obtain free iron ore and coal. In a recent *Bulletin* article he made the following statement:

"The government does not attempt to force the cultivation of cotton in Ohio or sugar-cane in Michigan. Why should it be asked to attempt equally impossible results in connection with the iron industry of New England?"

Overlooking the mistake in Mr. Swank's premises,—for the government does, by high duties, force the production of sugar in Louisiana, an industry which, on the testimony of the sugar-planters themselves, could not exist but for the protective duty,—it is easy to prove him wilfully inconsistent. He fails to understand that the New England iron men ask for no government *intervention* in their behalf; but, rather, for a removal of the government *prevention*, consisting of exorbitant duties upon their raw materials. They want a fair chance, and Mr. Swank is not willing that they should have it, despite the statements of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, as quoted by Mr. McFarlin in the *Journal* of August 10, 1889:

"So far as foreign competiton in pig-iron is concerned, if we have no tax upon that article, it would be confined to the seaboard districts of this country, where cheap transportation by water could be obtained from the centres of production in Europe. In the interior of this country iron is already manufactured at so low a price that foreign producers could not afford to send their product across the Atlantic and pay, in addition, large rates of freight for transportation by rail in order to compete in the interior with American producers."

We also have the testimony of another prominent Pennsylvanian to the effect that a vigorous reform of our iron tariffs will not hurt Pennsylvania, for which State the Boston *Journal* is so solicitous. The Philadelphia *Record*, of November 26, 1889, quotes the following from Major L. S. Bent, president of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, of Steelton, Pa., the greatest industrial plant in the State:

"Give me free ore and I'll sell pig-iron in Liverpool and send steel rails to London. What American industries most want is free opportunity and not legislative protection nor restriction."

Again, Mr. Swank is a zealous advocate of doubling the tax on tin plates in order that the tin-plate industry may be "forced" in Pennsylvania. And in his letter to Senator Allison's committee he emphasizes the point that block tin is free of duty, so that American-to-be tin-plate-manufacturers could get their raw material (block tin) on as advantageous terms as England. Here is the spectacle of a Pennsylvania magnate, willing that by a heavy duty the price of tin plates should be somewhat higher to our consumers, accepting joyfully the fact that block tin is free of duty, and selfishly denying the right to an equal enjoyment of free raw material to his fellow-citizens in New England!

Space does not permit me to treat in detail the questions and answers upon other commodities. The "wool questions" were answered in detail by the Hon. John E. Russell and the Hon. William E. Russell, but were ignored by the Hon. John D. Long and Representative Rodney Wallace, of the Eleventh District. The Messrs. Russell argued strongly in favor of free wool, and expressed themselves as firmly convinced that the present duties were a burden rather than a benefit to the farmer and the wool-grower. In response to a request for his opinion on these answers, Mr. Robert Bleakie, the well-known woollen-manufacturer of Hyde Park, replied, fully concurring in the views of these gentlemen. As a further indorsement of the opinions of the Messrs. Russell, we refer to the petition for free wool prepared by the *American Wool Reporter* and presented to Congress, which, up to December 12, had received the signatures of 517 wool-manufacturers and merchants.

The Question Clubs now numbered fifty, and that number was increased early in August by the twenty-five new clubs whose members signed the lumber questions. Again, the Republican congressmen neglected to reply. Mr. Arthur T. Lyman, treasurer of the Lowell Manufacturing Company, made in reply a strong appeal for the removal of the duties on lumber. Acting on the advice of General William F. Draper, of Hopedale, Mass., to send our questions to "producers of lumber," we received some very able replies. Mr. George F. Talbot, of Portland, Maine, for thirty years a timber-land-owner, bore excellent testimony to the prosperous condition of the lumber business under the reciprocity treaty with Canada. He concluded as follows:

"The duty on lumber aggravates the relative cost of lumber to the consumer; it is utterly useless as a protection; it deposits a mischievous surplus in the Treasury, and it ought to be abolished."

The questions on shipping received the signatures of 221 of Boston's prominent merchants. The publication of the questions together with the names of the signers occasioned much discussion. The chief effect of these questions was to revive the question of subsidies. Through the influence of protectionist journals, which have persistently maintained that England applies the doctrine of protection in a very high degree to her shipping, and have wilfully neglected to state that England does not pay out money to her ships except in return for service rendered, many of our people still believe that England pays direct bounties. The number of people holding that belief is, thanks to the agitation of the subject, constantly growing less. The reply of the Hon. David A. Wells is exhaustive and effective. In concluding his treatment of the subsidy question, he says :

"England subsidizes ships in the same sense as the citizen subsidizes the butcher, the baker, the grocer, and the dry-goods merchant; that is, she avails herself of the services of a very small proportion of her ships and ship-owners for carrying her mails, and pays them for it in exactly the same way as the United States pays railroad-, steamboat-, and stage-owners for performing similar service. And in all her history Great Britain has never appropriated a dollar for the purpose of aiding in the construction and employment of a British merchant ship, and no person can point to a single act of Parliament that ever gave a bounty or subsidy for such purpose."

There can be no doubt of the interest that has been awakened and the instruction that has been imparted with reference to the tariff by the United Question Clubs. The Republicans, realizing the growth of the tariff-reform sentiment in the State, deemed it expedient to so far modify the uncompromisingly protective attitude of the Chicago platform of 1888 as to insert in their declaration of principles for the State campaign the following clause :

"To our Senators and Representatives in Congress we would say that the Republicans of Massachusetts look to them to urge and support a thorough and equitable revision of the tariff, so as to adapt the protection which it affords to changed business conditions affecting New England industries in common with those of the rest of the country"; [and then by way of hedging] " to maintain the American system of protection to American industry and American labor with which the party marched to victory at the last election."

The Democrats, on the other hand, boldly announced themselves in favor of a vigorous reform of the tariff, and made the question the leading issue in the campaign, while the Republicans avoided the discussion as too dangerous to enter upon. In the Democratic platform appear the following statements:

"We give our hearty support to the petition of the present Republican Governor of the State [Ames], and other leading iron- and steel-manufacturers of both polit-

ical parties, asking for free coal and iron ore and lower duties upon pig-iron. . . . We demand that all materials for ship-building, whether of metal or wood, be relieved from the heavy taxation now imposed upon them, and made free of duty."

A challenge was issued by the Democrats to the Republicans for a debate upon the tariff with the candidates for Governer, the Hon. W. E. Russell and the Hon. J. Q. A. Brackett, as the disputants. The Republicans refused to accept the challenge, which, it must be confessed, was the wisest course for them to adopt. The result of the election was a surprise to even the most sanguine of the Democrats, for Mr. Brackett was elected by the small plurality of about 6,000 votes.

The work of the Question Clubs is really but begun. We have been collecting a library of facts and opinions, and we purpose, when sufficient matter is collected, to republish our questions and answers in pamphlet form for distribution.

In order that I might emphasize our gratitude, I have deferred until this place mention of the indebtedness of the Question Clubs to the invaluable assistance of the press of Boston and New England, and also of New York. The daily papers have been the *sine quâ non* of our success, and I thank them heartily for their willingness to publish our numerous replies. With the slight expense of a little printing and postage and the gratuitous publication of our matter in the columns of the press, it is doubtful if a cheaper and more effectual method of economic education has ever been devised.

SAMUEL W. MENDUM.

COMING MEN IN ENGLAND.

BY JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P.

"WHO are the coming men in England just now?" is a question often asked me of late. I think where the question has been put to me it generally bore reference to the coming men in politics, art, and letters; for I do not suppose any one would care much for my opinion as to the coming men in science. Only the other day some friends were discussing the question as to our next poet-laureate. Browning is dead and Tennyson is very old. The place must soon be vacant. Who is to fill it? We have absolutely no poet left of the order of Tennyson and Browning. Swinburne has shot his arrow higher than any other living rival, but although Swinburne has lately in his works been putting on loyalty like a garment, and adulating royalty as if he were already a court poet, yet the memory of some of his lyrical blasphemings is too strong, I should think, to allow him any chance of invitation to become the successor of Tennyson. William Morris is a sweet singer, and in his order a true poet; but he is too open and avowed a Social Democrat to have such a place offered to him; and he certainly would not accept it even if it were possible that it could be offered. We have then a little cluster of poets and poetesses; some very gifted and charming, but not one of them very strong or original. Besides, it has to be remembered that among the men I have mentioned, and among the men and women I am thinking of, there is none "coming." All have come; have given their measure; have gone as far as they are likely to go. They are past middle life. If there be any young strong singer with originality and genius, I do not know of him; his song or his name has not reached my ears. The condition of things is much the same with the department of literature in which I am myself most directly concerned—I mean the novelist's craft. Our really successful novelists, men and women, have come long ago; have been recognized by us for many years.

There is not one among them whose capacities and whose limitations are not perfectly well known to us all. It seems marvellous to me that so many really good novels should be produced in England every year ; and yet we have for years ceased to hear the sound of anything new.

But the world of politics is curiously different from the world of letters and art. In the political world of England a man can hardly ever be said to have given his measure. If Lord Palmerston had died at the age of sixty-five, the world would never have known that it had lost in him a really great Parliamentary orator. If Robert Lowe, now Lord Sherbrooke, had died at the age of fifty-five, just when his great battle against democratic reform was over, he would have been remembered as one of the most brilliant Parliamentary debaters that ever lived. From that time he dwindled away—or, as Carlyle says of somebody, he "dwindled upwards." He faded into the House of Lords and was gone. Time sets hardly any limits to possibilities of late distinction or sudden decay in our political life. When we talk of coming men, therefore, we have to speak with caution and reserve. We have to speak of men who at this hour seem to be coming to the front. One dare not be confident; there are so many changes. A few, a very few, years ago, every one in and out of Parliament would have said that the coming man was Sir Charles Dilke. About the same time was there a single observer, however keen, who would have ventured to say that there was anything in Mr. Balfour? Yet again, about the same time, the almost universal judgment of the House of Commons—I for myself did not accept it—declared Mr. John Morley to be a hopeless Parliamentary failure,—a mere student and man-of-letters out of place. At the present moment the most powerful public man in England after Mr. Gladstone himself is unquestionably Mr. Parnell. But if Home Rule were carried, it is not at all unlikely that Mr. Parnell would withdraw from public life and be never more heard in politics. Some one who left England yesterday with his mind fully made up to the belief that Mr. Parnell is the coming man, and who lived away from civilization and newspapers for a few years, might come back to find Mr. Parnell's political career already but a great memory.

Still, under all those reserves, we may tell of the politicians who seem to be the coming men. Every really influential poli-

tician in England is either in Parliament or intends to be there. In my younger days there were still influential public men who led their people from the platform and not from the House of Commons, and who never thought of going to Parliament. But it is not so now. A man of political capacity now has to go into the House of Commons. There has been for some years back a complete cessation of that long series of Parliamentary duels which had been going on uninterruptedly since the days of Bolingbroke. I am speaking of the succession of duels between the leader of the government and the leader of the opposition in which each leader was the greatest orator on his side of the house, and in which each rival was well worthy of the other. Bolingbroke and Walpole; Walpole and Pulteney; Henry Fox and the elder Pitt; a later and a far greater Fox and a later and not less great Pitt; Canning and Peel; and so on to Gladstone and Disraeli. Now for the time, though the fight is as fierce as ever, the duel of the leaders has ceased. There is no one on the Conservative side of the House whom any man would think of setting up as an oratorical rival to Mr. Gladstone. Lord Salisbury is the most powerful debater in the party, but he stands on an entirely lower level than that occupied so superbly by Disraeli; and in any case he is away in the House of Lords and cannot even cross swords with Gladstone. Coming men in that sense there are none—at least none that I can see. I do not see a coming Gladstone on the one side of the field or a coming Disraeli on the other.

But let us take our men as we have them; and men of very remarkable power and promise some of them undoubtedly are. Let us begin with the Conservatives, as they are the men in office. There can be little hesitation as to the name of the most rising man on the Conservative side of the House—his name is Arthur James Balfour. Mr. Balfour's rise in the House of Commons has been sudden and strange. He has been in Parliament for many years, and had to all appearance given the House of Commons full opportunities of finding out what manner of man he was. Everybody set him down as clever in a sort of priggish and feeble way; full of self-conceit and affectation; the sort of aristocratic and languid young politician to be much fondled and encouraged by some elderly duchess. Some observers thought there must be something in him, because, as they argued, a man could not have

all that appearance of self-conceit if there was not something or other to be self-conceited about. He made many speeches, all neatly and prettily turned, and wrought out in the most thoroughly approved academical fashion. Possibly it was in one sense rather against him than for him that Lord Salisbury was his uncle; it set off too much his personal insignificance.

In 1880 the Conservative government suddenly appealed to the country and were defeated, and Mr. Gladstone came into office. Then Lord Randolph Churchill formed his famous Fourth Party. The Fourth Party consisted of four men—Lord Randolph himself, his close friend Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Sir John Gorst, a clever lawyer and keen debater, and Arthur Balfour. The chief end and aim of that party was to worry the leaders on both sides, but more especially the leaders of the side to which the four Free Companions themselves belonged. It must have been a delightful task to Lord Randolph; and, indeed, the whole four seemed to enjoy it. Balfour was most constant in his attendance and paid his due contribution of speeches. These were the days before any rules had been passed preventing or restricting obstruction, and we all made as many speeches as we liked. Mr. Balfour did his fair share of the obstructive work of his party, but he did not count for much in the opinion either of the party or of the House. I remember once likening the Fourth Party—it was in a speech I made in those days in the House of Commons—to the immortal Three Guardsmen and their suddenly-found companion, who afterwards became their leader, our dear old friend, D'Artagnan. The latter, of course, I identified with Lord Randolph Churchill; Sir Henry Wolff with Athos; Gorst I likened to Porthos, and Balfour to the sleek and self-complacent Aramis. The comparison told very well at the time. I noticed with some interest that it was afterwards reproduced in several newspaper articles without quotation marks or any reference to original authorship. Through all these years of the Fourth Party, and through all the limitless opportunities they gave for a man to show great political ability if he had it, Mr. Balfour never made any mark.

In 1886 the Tories came back to office, and, of course, they found it necessary to buy up the Fourth Party. So Sir Henry Wolff was dispatched on a misson to Cairo, and the other three free-lances were made members of the government. I do not

know if there is in Parliamentary history any other instance of a whole Parliamentary party being swallowed up and put out of existence in a single day. Mr. Balfour was made president of the Local-Government Board, and did not in the least advance his Parliamentary reputation. The Tory government were not strong in numbers; their fate depended altogether on the vote of the Irish members: the Irish members combined with the Liberals on an important motion and the Tories were turned out. Then came in Mr. Gladstone, and then came the Home-Rule motion and its defeat in the House of Commons, and the general elections and the return of Lord Salisbury to office,—and soon began the real career of Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour was made Secretary for Scotland in the first instance, and in that office he had nothing particular to do. And I well remember a snowy night in the winter—it was about the Christmas time of 1886—when I was visited in a New York hotel by a reporter for one of the daily papers to bring me the news that Mr. Balfour had been made Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant,—in other words, Secretary for Ireland,—and to ask me what I thought about the appointment.

I confess that I thought it seemed like some stroke of droll humor in one of Mr. Gilbert's most topsy-turvy pieces. Mr. Balfour now was to stand up in the House of Commons and face Gladstone, Harcourt, Morley, Parnell, Sexton, William O'Brien, Healy! It looked ridiculous. All the same, the appointment made Mr. Balfour. It turned him into a Parlimentary debater from having been a college-debating-society prig. He has become one of the best debaters in the House. It is needless to say that in describing him as a success I am not describing his Irish policy as successful. I am speaking of the debater, and not of the statesman. I do not yet know—nobody knows—whether Mr. Balfour is a statesman or not. He has not had an opportunity given him of showing any claims to statesmanship. He has undertaken an impossible task—to govern Ireland at the present day by coercion. For such a task as that statesmanship is of no use; brains are of no use: Jack would be as good as his master; an idiot as good as a sage. Statesmanship will not enable a man to walk up a wall, or to jump over his own shadow. But what Mr. Balfour had an opportunity of proving was his capacity for debate, and he has proved it. He is by far the best debater on the Treasury benches. It is all but impossible that he should not come before

long to be leader of the House of Commons, if the Tories continue in power. He surely is, to all appearance, a coming man. I should think that for the work of really great statesmanship he would be found wanting in sympathy, just as, so far as we can make out, he is disqualified for genuine eloquence by want of imagination. But he is a man with a future. To be nothing in the House of Commons for a dozen years, and then suddenly to get up and become the leader of the House is an achievement to be noted in political history. It is to Mr. Balfour's advantage, too, that he is for the present relieved from any dread of rivalry on the part of his old colleague and leader, Lord Randolph Churchill. That amusing politican jumped off the coach in the hope of upsetting it and hurting somebody, and the coach went on just as well, or better, without him. He had his tumble for his pains. I do not believe he is extinguished by any means. I am sure he is inextinguishable. But his light is dim for the moment.

It seems strange to speak of Sir William Harcourt as a coming man. He is more than sixty-two years of age ; he has been more than twenty years in the House of Commons ; he has held various high administrative offices ; has been Home Secretary ; has been Chancellor of the Exchequer. And yet I do not know how any one could now describe him as other than one of the coming men. For he has never been leader of the House of Commons ; he has never been Prime Minister ; and his chances of becoming one or both have suddenly grown greater than ever they were before. He has changed his opinions with such astounding rapidity that no one can be surprised if there is in many political circles a certain doubt of his sincerity. But the one great question on which he changed his opinions is a question on which other men whose sincerity nobody has ever doubted have changed their opinions, too, and as quickly as he. If he had gone over to the anti-Gladstone side,—for that is what it is,—he would have been hailed with delight. If he had consented to take office under the Tories,—as his old colleague, Mr. Goschen, did,—he might have had almost any position he coveted. But he chose to remain with Mr. Gladstone, and has therefore had to sit in the cold shade of opposition for three years already. He is, above all things, a splendid fighter. He can always show the House sport—and Bolingbroke declared that the House of Com-

mons always likes the man who can show it sport. During the last two or three sessions he has done nearly all the real fighting of the party; at least, almost all that Mr. Gladstone could not find time and strength to do. He has had the good sense to be assiduous in his attendance in the House, and, as Mr. Gladstone is no longer allowed to keep late hours there, all the rough battle of the latter part of the sitting is led by Sir William Harcourt.

We are constantly asking who is to be the next leader of the Liberal party, or, rather, who is to be intrusted with the duty of leading the party when Mr. Gladstone cannot attend. A Radical member said to me last session: "I don't see any good in arguing the question. The man who is leading is the leader; and can any one doubt that Harcourt leads us?" That is one of the reasons why I speak of Sir William Harcourt as still a coming man. Had I been writing on this same subject three years ago, I should not even have mentioned his name.

There can be no doubt of the great intellectual power of Mr. John Morley. Mr. Morley is, after Mr. Gladstone, the man of most powerful intellect in the English Liberal party. Every one believes in his sincerity. He is becoming immensely popular in the country and on great provincial platforms. I am assured that he stands next to Mr. Gladstone in popularity. He has not as yet had very long experience of Parliamentary life, and, according to all the regular good old maxims of Parliamentary wisdom, he entered it too late for success. The one only comment which has to be made on the application of that maxim to him is that he *is* a success. There cannot be any possible doubt on the subject. He is the only man on the front opposition bench who could dispute the leadership with Sir William Harcourt. He has greatly improved of late in debating skill and power; and, indeed, I think every speech he makes is an improvement on the speech he made just before. An orator, perhaps, he could never be; but there is an eloquence of exalted thought put into noble language which sometimes carries the sympathetic listener away, as if he were under the spell of the born orator's enchantment. There is a sort of charm, I think, about that look of the student, of the recluse even, which Mr. Morley still retains, and always, perhaps, is destined to retain. He seems like some gowned scholar in a camp. If he fails to become a successful statesman of the higher order, I think it will be because he wants hopefulness; because

he is inclined to a certain pessimism in politics; because his tendency is rather to believe that things will go wrong than to feel assured that they must come right. He lacks animal spirits; and it would be hard indeed to overrate the importance of animal spirits in the big struggles, the rough-and-tumble fights, of English Parliamentary life. I have heard it said that he cannot be a successful leader because he dislikes speech-making; because he makes speeches as a matter of duty; because his first impulse is to sit still, while the first impulse of a different sort of man would be to rise to his feet. But I do not think there is much in that. The most successful party leader the House of Commons has known in late years hates speech-making quite as much as Mr. Morley does, and only gets on his feet when he feels that it would not be right to remain silent: I mean, of course, Mr. Parnell, who has managed to make a little handful of men do the work of a great army.

And Mr. Labouchère—what of him? Is he not a coming man? "Alas! I know not," as *Hamlet* says. Mr. Labouchère is a coming man if he really wants to come. He has many advantages. He is, in the first place, a man of great talent; he is, in the next place, a man of great courage; and he is, in the third place,—and this counts for a good deal in English political life,—a rich man. He can take a high place if he will. But he must first get the average Englishman to take him seriously; and will he care to do that? Even if he begins to try it, will he not get tired of the effort and give it up? Will he ever be able to resist the temptation of startling the ordinary British Philistine and making him "sit up"? I believe Mr. Labouchère to be a perfectly sincere man in politics, as in other things. I believe he has a profound conviction of his democratic code. I cannot fancy his being afraid of anything. I believe he has that generous weakness which makes a man instinctively inclined to champion a cause when it is weak, to help a man who is down. But Mr. Labouchère has so long amused himself and the world by playing the part of a cynic and a political *farceur* that I am not certain whether he would be able to get rid of the stage attire and consent to be himself. The working democracy certainly believe in him. He is tremendously cheered on all democratic platforms. Perhaps the consciousness which must grow on him more and more—the consciousness of that serious power behind him—may

bring him at last to play openly and avowedly his own serious part. I say to play it "openly and avowedly"; for I believe he has always been playing it seriously to himself. Let him play it openly, avowedly, to the House of Commons and to the country, and I do not see what is to prevent him from being one of the first and foremost of the coming men.

Mr. Labouchère's political colleague, Mr. Bradlaugh, is, to all appearances, a coming man. Mr. Bradlaugh has carefully cultivated the House of Commons. He came in with the reputation of being, among other things, a great platform orator—a very Boanerges of the East-End meeting and the provincial meeting. He has a powerful form and a most tremendous voice. When, after a long struggle, he was at last allowed to take his seat in peace, the House assumed that it was in for frequent and ponderous rhetorical exercitations. Mr. Bradlaugh gave the House nothing of the kind. He never, so far as I know, made a long speech. He always goes straight to the point, and when he has said what he wants to say he always sits down. He is really a very eloquent and powerful speaker, with a remarkably impressive voice, and it must be a temptation to such a man to let himself fully out now and then. But Mr. Bradlaugh is always concise, and the House now knows perfectly well that he, at least, will never bore his audience, Then he has devoted himself very closely to what we call the "business of the House"—to committees, and private bills, and all that sort of work which your popular orator generally disdains with a lofty disdain—and the House likes a man who looks after its work. Moreover, he is a man of the most winning courtesy of manner. He has disarmed the dislike of all his former political and religious opponents—and he had a good many of them—by his anxiety to oblige, by his willingness to make graceful concessions, by his genial toleration of difference of opinion. He is, I should think, destined before long to be a member of a Liberal administration, and even of a Liberal cabinet.

Any American who really knows England's political and social life, and who has known both for the last ten or a dozen years, will agree with me that such a probability—such a possibility even—is a marvellous phenomenon in English political history. It is not so many years since Mr. Bradlaugh, struggling like a man fighting for dear life, was dragged out of the lobby of the House of Commons, dragged down the stairs of the members' private

entrance, and thrust into Palace Yard by a whole cluster of policemen. No such scene had ever before taken place in our generation. The one which nearest preceded it was when the gallant seaman, Lord Cochrane, afterwards Earl of Dundonald,—one of the very last of the old brood of sea-kings,—escaped from the prison where he was lodged on an unjust charge, and boldly assumed his place in the House of Commons; was ordered to be removed, resisted with all his gigantic strength, and was dragged away at last by sheer force of numbers, carrying with him a large portion of the woodwork of the bench to which he was clinging in a desperate spirit of resistance. Cochrane afterwards passed into the House of Lords. I venture to predict that Mr. Bradlaugh will pass into a Liberal cabinet. And, as Mistress Meg Dods says in Scott's romance, "What for no?"

What of Sir Charles Russell, the great advocate—the greatest advocate the English bar has known since the beginning of the century? Is he a coming man? Has he any higher point to reach? He may, of course, in time become Lord Chancellor. Up to the present the office of Lord Chancellor cannot be held in England by a Roman Catholic, and Sir Charles Russell is a Roman Catholic. But no one doubts that, if the Liberals came into office, they would abolish this absurd and anomalous restriction—abolish it, perhaps, even for the mere sake of enabling the office to be tendered to Sir Charles Russell. But would that greatly enhance his position? A Lord Chancellor goes out of office with his party, and then he becomes a mere peer and can never go back to the bar—can never again play the part which made him great. "Gout and a peerage at fifty" Disraeli describes as the success of the bar. Was there ever in recent times a man who retained any real power in politics after he had become Lord Chancellor? At one time a dethroned Lord Chancellor did in some instances retain his influence over the House of Lords and even the political world; but in our time the acceptance of the office means something like "evaporation"—to use the phrase applied in the reign of the second George to a public man put out of sight by a moment of high place. If I do not call Sir Charles Russell a coming man, it is only because I do not see anything he has yet to come to which can put him any higher than the position which by universal consent he already occupies in England.

I should feel inclined to reckon Mr. Henry Fowler among the

coming men of the House of Commons. The name of Mr. Fowler is not, I fancy, much known in the United States. But he is a very rising public man. He is a lawyer and a banker; he naturally understands affairs well, and he is an admirable debater,—if not even an orator,—with an impressive manner and a strong and musical voice. He held office under Mr. Gladstone's leadership, but he had no great chance of distinguishing himself. Lately he has been coming more to the front. Of course there are several men in the House of whom much might be expected. Take a man like Professor Bryce, for example—who is to say how far such a man may not go? But such men are not at the present time coming men, according to my reading of the words and their significance; they are not to the front just now; they are not doing anything in particular; nobody is talking about them. I have purposely refrained from saying anything about my own countrymen and colleagues—except for the few words I have said about Mr. Parnell. I have said nothing about men like Lord Rosebery and Lord Spencer, because I am convinced that the time has gone by when England could really be governed by a member of the House of Lords. Even if Lord Spencer or Lord Rosebery should ever become nominally Prime Minister,—quite a likely thing in both cases,—yet the man would not really have advanced one step beyond his present position. The ruling spirit in the House of Commons must rule the country.

JUSTIN McCARTHY.

SIR WM. THOMSON AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

BY GEORGE WESTINGHOUSE, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC COMPANY.

THE article on "Electric Lighting and Public Safety" by Sir William Thomson in the February number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW possesses unusual interest by reason of its clear and forcible presentation of the precautions which have been adopted by the authorities in Great Britain to secure to the public the utmost possible degree of safety from electric currents conveyed by overhead conductors, and especially because it furnishes an adequate explanation of the unusual number of difficulties and fatalities which have occurred in connection with such conductors in the city of New York and in certain other localities, where the attempted municipal regulation of electric circuits has been of such a character as to aggravate tenfold the very evils it has been designed to remove. Of the points discussed in this article, the one which should receive the most careful attention at the present time, on account of its bearing upon the immediate future of the electric industries in the United States, is that which has reference to the recent action of the authorities in Great Britain concerning the granting of "provisional orders" to companies proposing to undertake the electric lighting of municipalities and municipal districts. It is only necessary for my purpose to quote his conclusion, which is as follows:

"It may be considered, indeed, as now definitely resolved that the distribution of electric energy for light and power in the towns of the United Kingdom shall be by underground conductors, and plans for carrying this into effect safely and economically are engaging the anxious consideration of electrical engineers."

An examination of the Board of Trade regulations appended to Sir William's article discloses one fact of controlling importance, and that is that not only must electric light and power conductors, even when safely and securely erected and perfectly maintained, be surrounded with costly safeguards, but every telegraph, telephone, or other wire must be equally well protected,

of course at a corresponding expense. In localities having an extensive network of these wires, an attempt to secure safety by the rigid enforcement of the Board of Trade regulations may well cause Sir William to remark that "the fulfilment of these rules can, indeed, be made practically certain. *But at what cost?*"

In view of the experience already had in this country, it may be taken for granted that no sane person would now undertake to erect aërial electric light and power wires in any locality in which telegraph or telephone wires were numerous, if compelled to comply strictly with the regulations of the Board of Trade. In fact, the evident determination of the authorities in Great Britain to virtually prohibit the use of aërial electric light and power wires in cities may be construed as a final determination that the problem of safe electrical distribution can be solved only by resorting to the use of underground conductors. One might almost go so far as to say that these regulations are in themselves sufficient, by rendering aërial electrical distribution in a commercial sense impossible, to do away with the necessity for their existence.

The enormous pecuniary damages which, in obedience to public clamor, have been inflicted upon those electric-lighting companies in New York city having their conductors overhead, mainly because of ill-secured and abandoned telegraph and telephone wires which persisted in falling down upon them, have sufficiently emphasized the fact that it is not worth while for any electric company doing business in that city to give further consideration to the problem of distribution for light and power service other than by means of underground conductors. Hence it will appear that much remains to be done towards the solution of the real problem; the necessary regulations, and even in a great measure the considerations on which these are to be based, are yet to be formulated. Instead, therefore, of devoting further space to the discussion of the Board of Trade regulations, it would seem more desirable to consider how we may guard against some of the difficulties and dangers which are liable to occur in the distribution of electric light and power currents by means of underground mains; not unmindful of the fact that the constant march of improvement may render regulations which are ample and sufficient for to-day totally inadequate or even worse than useless for the conditions of to-morrow.

Before undertaking to frame specific regulations for guarding against the danger which is to be apprehended from electric currents traversing underground conductors, it is important to ascertain with as much accuracy as possible its character and extent. So far as concerns the consumers of electric energy in any form, or the general public, the danger may obviously be divided into two classes: first, the risk to persons from physical contact with a conductor charged with electricity at a high tension or pressure; and, second, the risk from fire originating from the heat-energy of the electric current under certain conditions. Concerning the first class Sir William Thomson says: "I may remark that 100 volts in the house is perfectly safe to the user, whether the current be alternating or continuous, as is proved by large and varied experience in England"; hence the only precaution necessary to guard against injury is to prevent the possibility of contact with a conductor charged with a high-tension current.

Before proceeding to discuss the danger from fire, it is, perhaps, desirable to give the reader some idea of the difference in this respect between the behavior of the alternating and the continuous current. It is now quite generally understood that in the generation of electricity for electric lighting and similar purposes a coil of wire with united ends is caused to approach a magnet, by which operation a pulsation of electricity flowing in a definite direction is produced in the wire; and when the coil is withdrawn from the magnet, another similar pulsation is produced, but this time in the opposite direction. The repetition of this operation produces a succession of pulsations, alternating in direction, which is termed an alternating current; and in what is known as the alternating system of distribution these natural currents are used in the distributing mains directly, as they are produced by the generator. The production of what is known as a continuous current involves the changing of every alternate pulsation by a complicated mechanical contrivance called the commutator, which, through two sets of brushes,—one set taking all of the positive currents, and the other all of the negative,—causes the successive pulsations all to flow in the same direction, constituting what is technically termed a direct current and usually spoken of as a continuous current. This current is similar in character to that generated by the well-known chemical batteries.

Although the alternating current is really the natural current,

and has been known as such for half a century, yet it is only within a very few years that the appliances for its utilization have been brought to sufficient perfection to be of practical utility, and it is only still more recently that its inherent advantages over the direct current for all purposes of electrical distribution are becoming recognized and appreciated. The fundamental and all-important advantage, in this respect, which the alternating current possesses over the direct current resides in the fact that an alternating current, when made to traverse a coil of wire, is capable of inducing or creating in an independent coil of wire in the neighborhood of the first coil a similar alternating current of equal energy, but capable of having its pressure or its quantity modified to any required extent—a result which the continuous current is utterly incapable of producing.

This important characteristic of the alternating current renders it possible to generate an electrical energy of any desired low pressure in a local system of conductors situated at any point, yet having no electrical connection, of any character whatever, with the main conductors. By means of an apparatus known as a converter or transformer, which consists of little else than a mass of iron and copper inclosed in an iron box, the electrical energy traversing the main conductors is converted into magnetism—a perfectly inert and harmless form of energy, capable of producing neither heat nor shock, nor of being appreciated by any of our senses—and this is reconverted into electrical energy for local distribution. The interposition of this absolutely harmless form of energy as one link in the chain of effects secures, under proper and well-understood conditions, an absolute safety from fire which it is impossible to obtain when the continuous current is used, for the reason that the latter necessarily involves an unbroken and direct electrical connection between the distributing and the consumption circuits. That the distribution of electricity by alternating currents of high tension, the transformation of the same by converters into low-tension currents, and the absolute disconnection of the two systems of conductors, are becoming generally recognized as features of controlling importance, is abundantly testified to by the almost universal adoption of these characteristics in the modern electric-lighting plants in Great Britain, continental Europe, and South America, while in the United States more than four-fifths of the central-station plants which have

been erected during the past year are of the alternating system.

The recent distressing calamity in Washington, which resulted in the death of the wife and daughter of Secretary Tracy, again enforces the lesson that of all the dangers which confront us none are so imminent and none so difficult to guard against as those which arise from fire ; and it is scarcely necessary to say that the continual apprehension that a fire may originate at any moment from wires connected to underground electric mains may become almost unbearable. We are but too frequently reminded of this danger by such occurrences as the recent destructive conflagration in Boston, which is believed to have resulted from an electric current, or other fires in New York city during the past few months due to the same cause, among which may be mentioned the sudden and complete destruction of the Pearl-Street electric-lighting station, which is understood to have been caused by an imperfection in the low-tension underground mains receiving their supply therefrom. These disasters, as well as the incident related in this REVIEW by Mr. Edison, who stated that a contact between the mains of his underground circuits, at the corner of William and Wall Streets, resulted in burning up the iron and copper of the conductors, and the reduction of the paving-stones for several feet around to a molten mass, show that it has become imperatively necessary to reconsider and revise the present rules and regulations, and to adopt such new ones as may be found necessary to remove this omnipresent danger from fire caused by electric currents.

In considering this source of danger it should be borne in mind that electrical fires are results which are due directly to the quantity or volume, and not to the tension or pressure, of the current. The welding together of massive iron bars is quickly and perfectly accomplished with an electrical pressure of only one volt, although the volume of current is, of course, enormous. In the case cited by Mr. Edison, had the same electrical energy been conveyed at a pressure of 2,000 volts, instead of 110, no such destructive development of heat could have been possible ; or had the mains of the system referred to by him been subdivided, instead of being interconnected into one enormous net-work similar to that of the gas-pipe system, the volume of current at any one point would have been wholly inadequate to produce effects like

those described. It scarcely need be demonstrated that so long as vast systems of electric mains continue to be interconnected underground, and all the electricity of low tension and great quantity that can be supplied by engines of 1,000 to 2,000 horse-power is poured into them, so long may we confidently expect from time to time these destructive conflagrations originating in underground conduits. No more effective plan to insure great destruction whenever a contact takes place between two wires could possibly be devised than the interconnection of all the mains, for the reason that it enables the aggregate energy of the whole station to be suddenly concentrated from every direction upon some one point; and this is equally true whether the contact occurs in the street or within the walls of a building.

A very important, but little-understood, source of danger from fire arises from the leakage of current from underground mains, which is taken up by water- or gas-pipes. Where the amount of wire interconnected is large, this leakage is sufficient to light a considerable number of lamps as effectively as if they were attached to the wires in the usual manner. If, therefore, any wire having a direct connection with an underground main is accidentally brought into contact with a gas- or water-pipe, a fire may be instantly started in a place wholly concealed from observation; or if the electric wires are laid underneath a floor, and their insulation is defective at any point, even the solution of soap and water used in scrubbing may establish a path for the electric current, which will be followed in a few minutes by a well-developed fire. As the wires in buildings become older, their insulation is likely to become more and more defective, and with the lapse of time wires once well insulated, especially in situations in which inspection is difficult, will, when in connection with an imperfect system of distribution, become sources of danger.

It is conceded by all familiar with these matters that contact with a conductor charged with an electrical pressure of one hundred volts or less is not in the least dangerous to persons, whether the current be direct or alternating; but so far as the fire-risk in buildings is concerned, it make a vast difference whether a pressure of one hundred or of fifty volts is used. In experiments which have been made expressly to determine this difference, it was found that a fire could be easily started between two wires with one hundred volts of direct current by the moisture from such water

as is commonly used for cleansing, while it was quite impossible to do so with a pressure of fifty volts of alternating current. It would, therefore, seem to follow from these considerations that the abandonment of the practice of connecting the street mains directly with the wires in buildings will remove at once and absolutely the most imminent fire-risk which otherwise is ever present; while by taking one step further, and reducing the pressure on the wires in buildings to, say, fifty volts, we shall so diminish the possibilities of the occurrence of a fire that there can no longer be any ground for the slightest apprehension on this score in the minds of those enjoying the benefits of the electric current supplied from underground mains.

The sufficiency of transformers or converters to absolutely prevent electrical connection between the street mains and the wires within buildings has sometimes been questioned. An investigation has shown that in the converters constructed by some manufacturers the coil connected to the high-tension mains is wound upon a form or bobbin, and the second coil connected to the house wires is then wound directly upon this first coil. It is not strange that with converters of this construction contacts have sometimes been formed between the high-tension and low-tension wires, from which, at least in some instances, serious results have followed. In a properly-constructed converter a wholly different course is pursued; the two coils are wound separately upon separate forms, each layer of each coil being effectually insulated from all others, and when completed each coil is carefully wrapped with insulating material, after which they are placed in position, but at such a distance apart that it is impossible for the current to pass from one coil to the other, even if the insulation were not perfect. Many thousands of such converters have been put in use by the company which first introduced the alternating system in this country, and there has never yet been a single instance recorded of an accidental connection between the high- and low-tension coil. All converters are, or should be, placed in fireproof situations at the point where the wires from the street main enter the building, and accessible only to authorized persons. Under these conditions it is evident that it will be impossible for any person within the building to come in contact with wires carrying a greater pressure than fifty or one hundred volts. It is scarcely necessary to point out that, so soon as the requirements

for safety are fully understood, the use of insufficient and dangerous forms of converters or transformers will be prohibited.

One point which should not be overlooked, while considering the question of electrical distribution, is that with reference to the space now available in our city streets for underground work. One of the ducts in the subways as now constructed in New York city will accommodate a pair of wires capable of carrying, say, 100 ampères of current. If the pressure were to be limited to 200 volts, as some have proposed, such a pair of wires would supply in ordinary practice only 400 incandescent lamps, and those must be within a limited distance from the station; but if the pressure were to be increased to 2,000 volts, these same wires would supply no less than 4,000 incandescent lamps; and, moreover, these might be at a distance from the station many times greater. Hence with the low-pressure current it will require at least ten ducts to provide for the same amount of lighting over a small area as could be effected with one duct at a pressure of 2,000 volts, and this is true even in an extensive distribution.

The immediate dangers from underground conductors are of two kinds; one arising from contacts which may occur between the electric wires, and the other from explosions of gas which may accumulate within the manholes. The frequency of the first will depend upon the number of wires, or, speaking more accurately, upon the quantity of current carried; while the latter are more liable to occur where there are many conduits and manholes. It seems clear, therefore, if by using high-tension currents the extent and area of the main conduits can be reduced to one-tenth of those required for low pressure, that there is every reason to expect that, when all the advantages are fully understood and appreciated, the use of a high-tension main current will be enforced purely from considerations of safety, without reference to economy.

Concerning the violent explosions of mixed air and gas in the subways and manholes, it has been observed in New York that they are quite as liable to occur in cases where the wires are used exclusively for the telegraph or telephone service, or for low-tension currents, as where they are used for high-tension currents. This is not surprising, as an explosive mixture will ignite quite as readily from a spark of half a volt as from 100 or 1,000 volts' pressure. Experience has shown, however, that no explosions have occurred when the manholes have been properly ventilated.

If electrical fires can be absolutely guarded against by a complete electrical separation between the street-main wires and those within buildings, with a limitation of the pressure in the last-named to fifty volts, and if such conditions can be readily complied with, may it not be advantageous to make those conditions compulsory? If conduits, subways, and even sections of street pavement can be destroyed by large-quantity currents, ought not the quantity carried by each conductor to be limited? If the practice of interconnecting all the mains in a district is fraught with danger, ought not the practice to be abated? To these questions my answer is: The system of alternating currents and converters admits of these measures of safety: namely, an absolute electrical separation of the street mains from the wires in all buildings; the reduction of the pressure of the current to fifty volts within all buildings; the limitation of the quantity of current carried by street mains; the running of each pair directly from the station without interconnection in the streets, thus securing the highest degree of safety, irrespective of the economical advantages, which are neither few nor unimportant. It is much to be desired, in the interest of the public, that a thorough investigation of this whole subject should be made at the present time by competent and disinterested authorities. It is my own belief that such an investigation would lead to the adoption, among others, of regulations substantially as follows:

1. No direct electrical connection shall be permitted between street mains and wires within buildings for either light or power.
2. The electrical pressure on the wires within buildings shall not be permitted to exceed one hundred volts.
3. Each pair of street mains shall be limited in load or volume to an amount not exceeding one hundred ampères, and every such wire shall be provided at the generating station with a device which will automatically disrupt the circuit in the event of a sudden increase above the authorized load.
4. Within buildings, the load for any one pair of wires shall not exceed that required to supply one hundred sixteen-candle-power lamps.

To these fundamental regulations it is, of course, apparent that many subsidiary ones must be added; but it is certain that such a system as that above outlined may be made to conform to such regulations as I have indicated, not only without additional expense, but with a great and positive gain in economy both in construction and operation.

GEO. WESTINGHOUSE, JR.

WHY AM I AN AGNOSTIC?

BY ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

PART II.

THE Christian religion rests on miracles. There are no miracles in the realm of science. The real philosopher does not seek to excite wonder, but to make that plain which was wonderful. He does not endeavor to astonish, but to enlighten. He is perfectly confident that there are no miracles in nature. He knows that the mathematical expression of the same relations, contents, areas, numbers, and proportions must forever remain the same. He knows that there are no miracles in chemistry; that the attractions and repulsions, the loves and hatreds, of atoms are constant. Under like conditions, he is certain that like will always happen; that the product ever has been and forever will be the same; that the atoms or particles unite in definite, unvarying proportions,—so many of one kind mix, mingle, and harmonize with just so many of another, and the surplus will be forever cast out. There are no exceptions. Substances are always true to their natures. They have no caprices, no prejudices, that can vary or control their action. They are "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."

In this fixedness, this constancy, this eternal integrity, the intelligent man has absolute confidence. It is useless to tell him that there was a time when fire would not consume the combustible, when water would not flow in obedience to the attraction of gravitation, or that there ever was a fragment of a moment during which substance had no weight.

Credulity should be the servant of intelligence. The ignorant have not credulity enough to believe the actual, because the actual appears to be contrary to the evidence of their senses. To them it is plain that the sun rises and sets, and they have not credulity enough to believe in the rotary motion of the earth—

that is to say, they have not intelligence enough to comprehend the absurdities involved in their belief, and the perfect harmony between the rotation of the earth and all known facts. They trust their eyes, not their reason. Ignorance has always been and always will be at the mercy of appearance. Credulity, as a rule, believes everything except the truth. The semi-civilized believe in astrology, but who could convince them of the vastness of astronomical spaces, the speed of light, or the magnitude and number of suns and constellations? If Hermann and Humboldt could have appeared before savages, which would have been regarded as a god?

When men knew nothing of mechanics, nothing of the correlation of force, and of its indestructibility, they were believers in perpetual motion. So when chemistry was a kind of sleight-of-hand, or necromancy, something accomplished by the aid of the supernatural, people talked about the transmutation of metals, the universal solvent, and the philosopher's stone. Perpetual motion would be a mechanical miracle; and the transmutation of metals would be a miracle in chemistry; and if we could make the result of multiplying two by two five, that would be a miracle in mathematics. No one expects to find a circle the diameter of which is just one-fourth of the circumference. If one could find such a circle, then there would be a miracle in geometry.

In other words, there are no miracles in any science. The moment we understand a question or subject, the miraculous necessarily disappears. If anything actually happens in the chemical world, it will, under like conditions, happen again. No one need take an account of this result from the mouths of others: all can try the experiment for themselves. There is no caprice, and no accident.

It is admitted, at least by the Protestant world, that the age of miracles has passed away, and, consequently, miracles cannot at present be established by miracles; they must be substantiated by the testimony of witnesses who are said by certain writers—or, rather, by uncertain writers—to have lived several centuries ago; and this testimony is given to us, not by the witnesses themselves, not by persons who say that they talked with those witnesses, but by unknown persons who did not give the sources of their information.

The question is: Can miracles be established except by miracles? We know that the writers may have been mistaken.

It is possible that they may have manufactured these accounts themselves. The witnesses may have told what they knew to be untrue, or they may have been honestly deceived, or the stories may have been true as at first told. Imagination may have added greatly to them, so that after several centuries of accretion a very simple truth was changed to a miracle.

We must admit that all probabilities must be against miracles, for the reason that that which is probable cannot by any possibility be a miracle. Neither the probable nor the possible, so far as man is concerned, can be miraculous. The probability therefore says that the writers and witnesses were either mistaken or dishonest.

We must admit that we have never seen a miracle ourselves, and we must admit that, according to our experience, there are no miracles. If we have mingled with the world, we are compelled to say that we have known a vast number of persons—including ourselves—to be mistaken, and many others who have failed to tell the exact truth. The probabilities are on the side of our experience, and, consequently, against the miraculous; and it is a necessity that the free mind moves along the path of least resistance.

The effect of testimony depends on the intelligence and honesty of the witness and the intelligence of him who weighs. A man living in a community where the supernatural is expected, where the miraculous is supposed to be of almost daily occurrence, will, as a rule, believe that all wonderful things are the result of supernatural agencies. He will expect providential interference, and, as a consequence, his mind will pursue the path of least resistance, and will account for all phenomena by what to him is the easiest method. Such people, with the best intentions, honestly bear false witness. They have been imposed upon by appearances, and are victims of delusion and illusion.

In an age when reading and writing were substantially unknown, and when history itself was but the vaguest hearsay handed down from dotage to infancy, nothing was rescued from oblivion except the wonderful, the miraculous. The more marvellous the story, the greater the interest excited. Narrators and hearers were alike ignorant and alike honest. At that time nothing was known, nothing suspected, of the orderly course of nature—of the unbroken and unbreakable chain of causes and effects. The world was governed by caprice. Everything was

at the mercy of a being, or beings, who were themselves controlled by the same passions that dominated man. Fragments of facts were taken for the whole, and the deductions drawn were honest and monstrous.

It is probably certain that all of the religions of the world have been believed, and that all the miracles have found credence in countless brains; otherwise they could not have been perpetuated. They were not all born of cunning. Those who told were as honest as those who heard. This being so, nothing has been too absurd for human credence.

All religions, so far as I know, claim to have been miraculously founded, miraculously preserved, and miraculously propagated. The priests of all claimed to have messages from God, and claimed to have a certain authority, and the miraculous has always been appealed to for the purpose of substantiating the message and the authority.

If men believe in the supernatural, they will account for all phenomena by an appeal to supernatural means or power. We know that formerly everything was accounted for in this way except some few simple things with which man thought he was perfectly acquainted. After a time men found that under like conditions like would happen, and as to those things the supposition of supernatural interference was abandoned; but that interference was still active as to all the unknown world. In other words, as the circle of man's knowledge grew, supernatural interference withdrew and was active only just beyond the horizon of the known.

Now, there are some believers in universal special providence—that is, men who believe in perpetual interference by a supernatural power, this interference being for the purpose of punishing or rewarding, of destroying or preserving, individuals and nations.

Others have abandoned the idea of providence in ordinary matters, but still believe that God interferes on great occasions and at critical moments, especially in the affairs of nations, and that his presence is manifest in great disasters. This is the compromise position. These people believe that an infinite being made the universe and impressed upon it what they are pleased to call "laws," and then left it to run in accordance with those laws and forces; that as a rule it works well, and that the divine

maker interferes only in cases of accident, or at moments when the machine fails to accomplish the original design.

There are others who take the ground that all is natural; that there never has been, never will be, never can be any interference from without, for the reason that nature embraces all, and that there can be no without or beyond.

The first class are Theists pure and simple; the second are Theists as to the unknown, Naturalists as to the known; and the third are Naturalists without a touch or taint of superstition.

What can the evidence of the first class be worth? This question is answered by reading the history of those nations that believed thoroughly and implicitly in the supernatural. There is no conceivable absurdity that was not established by their testimony. Every law or every fact in nature was violated. Children were born without parents; men lived for thousands of years; others subsisted without food, without sleep; thousands and thousands were possessed with evil spirits, controlled by ghosts and ghouls; thousands confessed themselves guilty of impossible offences, and in courts, with the most solemn forms, impossibilities were substantiated by the oaths, affirmations, and confessions of men, women, and children.

These delusions were not confined to ascetics and peasants, but they took possession of nobles and kings; of people who were at that time called intelligent; of the then educated. No one denied these wonders, for the reason that denial was a crime punishable generally with death. Societies, nations, became insane—victims of ignorance, of dreams, and, above all, of fears. Under these conditions human testimony is not and cannot be of the slightest value. We now know that nearly all of the history of the world is false, and we know this because we have arrived at that phase or point of intellectual development where and when we know that effects must have causes, that everything is naturally produced, and that, consequently, no nation could ever have been great, powerful, and rich unless it had the soil, the people, the intelligence, and the commerce. Weighed in these scales, nearly all histories are found to be fictions.

The same is true of religions. Every intelligent American is satisfied that the religions of India, of Egypt, of Greece and Rome, of the Aztecs, were and are false, and that all the miracles on which they rest are mistakes. Our religion alone is excepted.

Every intelligent Hindoo discards all religions and all miracles except his own. The question is : When will people see the defects in their own theology as clearly as they perceive the same defects in every other ?

All the so-called false religions were substantiated by miracles, by signs and wonders, by prophets and martyrs, precisely as our own. Our witnesses are no better than theirs, and our success is no greater. If their miracles were false, ours cannot be true. Nature was the same in India and in Palestine.

One of the corner-stones of Christianity is the miracle of inspiration, and this same miracle lies at the foundation of all religions. How can the fact of inspiration be established ? How could even the inspired man know that he was inspired ? If he was influenced to write, and did write, and did express thoughts and facts that to him were absolutely new, on subjects about which he had previously known nothing, how could he know that he had been influenced by an infinite being ? And if he could know, how could he convince others ?

What is meant by inspiration ? Did the one inspired set down only the thoughts of a supernatural being? Was he simply an instrument, or did his personality color the message received and given ? Did he mix his ignorance with the divine information, his prejudices and hatreds with the love and justice of the Deity ? If God told him not to eat the flesh of any beast that dieth of itself, did the same infinite being also tell him to sell this meat to the stranger within his gates ?

A man says that he is inspired—that God appeared to him in a dream, and told him certain things. Now, the things said to have been communicated may have been good and wise ; but will the fact that the communication is good or wise establish the inspiration ? If, on the other hand, the communication is absurd or wicked, will that conclusively show that the man was not inspired ? Must we judge from the communication ? In other words, is our reason to be the final standard ?

How could the inspired man know that the communication was received from God ? If God in reality should appear to a human being, how could this human being know who had appeared ? By what standard would he judge ? Upon this question man has no experience ; he is not familiar enough with the supernatural to know gods even if they exist. Although

thousands have pretended to receive messages, there has been no message in which there was, or is, anything above the invention of man. There are just as wonderful things in the uninspired as in the inspired books, and the prophecies of the heathen have been fulfilled equally with those of the Judean prophets. If, then, even the inspired man cannot certainly know that he is inspired, how is it possible for him to demonstrate his inspiration to others? The last solution of this question is that inspiration is a miracle about which only the inspired can have the least knowledge, or the least evidence, and this knowledge and this evidence not of a character to absolutely convince even the inspired.

There is certainly nothing in the Old or the New Testament that could not have been written by uninspired human beings. To me there is nothing of any particular value in the Pentateuch. I do not know of a solitary scientific truth contained in the five books commonly attributed to Moses. There is not, as far as I know, a line in the book of Genesis calculated to make a human being better. The laws contained in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are for the most part puerile and cruel. Surely there is nothing in any of these books that could not have been produced by uninspired men. Certainly there is nothing calculated to excite intellectual admiration in the book of Judges or in the wars of Joshua; and the same may be said of Samuel, Chronicles, and Kings. The history is extremely childish, full of repetitions of useless details, without the slightest philosophy, without a generalization born of a wide survey. Nothing is known of other nations; nothing imparted of the slightest value; nothing about education, discovery, or invention. And these idle and stupid annals are interspersed with myth and miracle, with flattery for kings who supported priests, and with curses and denunciations for those who would not hearken to the voice of the prophets. If all the historic books of the Bible were blotted from the memory of mankind, nothing of value would be lost.

Is it possible that the writer or writers of First and Second Kings were inspired, and that Gibbon wrote "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" without supernatural assistance? Is it possible that the author of Judges was simply the instrument of an infinite God, while John W. Draper wrote "The Intellectual Development of Europe" without one ray of light from the other world? Can we believe that the author of Genesis had to

be inspired, while Darwin experimented, ascertained, and reached conclusions for himself?

Ought not the work of a God to be vastly superior to that of a man? And if the writers of the Bible were in reality inspired, ought not that book to be the greatest of books? For instance, if it were contended that certain statues had been chiselled by inspired men, such statues should be superior to any that uninspired man has made. As long as it is admitted that the Venus de Milo is the work of man, no one will believe in inspired sculptors—at least until a superior statue has been found. So in the world of painting. We admit that Corot was uninspired. Nobody claims that Angelo had supernatural assistance. Now, if some one should claim that a certain painter was simply the instrumentality of God, certainly the pictures produced by that painter should be superior to all others.

I do not see how it is possible for an intelligent human being to conclude that the Song of Solomon is the work of God, and that the tragedy of "Lear" was the work of an uninspired man. We are all liable to be mistaken, but the Iliad seems to me a greater work than the Book of Esther, and I prefer it to the writings of Haggai and Hosea. Æschylus is superior to Jeremiah, and Shakespeare rises immeasurably above all the sacred books of the world.

It does not seem possible that any human being ever tried to establish a truth—anything that really happened—by what is called a miracle. It is easy to understand how that which was common became wonderful by accretion,—by things added, and by things forgotten,—and it is easy to conceive how that which was wonderful became by accretion what was called supernatural. But it does not seem possible that any intelligent, honest man ever endeavored to prove anything by a miracle.

As a matter of fact, miracles could only satisfy people who demanded no evidence; else how could they have believed the miracle? It also appears to be certain that, even if miracles had been performed, it would be impossible to establish that fact by human testimony. In other words, miracles can only be established by miracles, and in no event could miracles be evidence except to those who were actually present; and in order for miracles to be of any value, they would have to be perpetual. It must also be remembered that a miracle actually performed could

by no possibility shed any light on any moral truth, or add to any human obligation.

If any man has ever been inspired, this is a secret miracle, known to no person, and suspected only by the man claiming to be inspired. It would not be in the power of the inspired to give satisfactory evidence of that fact to anybody else.

The testimony of man is insufficient to establish the supernatural. Neither the evidence of one man nor of twelve can stand when contradicted by the experience of the intelligent world. If a book sought to be proved by miracles is true, then it makes no difference whether it was inspired or not; and if it is not true, inspiration cannot add to its value.

The truth is that the church has always—unconsciously, perhaps—offered rewards for falsehood. It was founded upon the supernatural, the miraculous, and it welcomed all statements calculated to support the foundation. It rewarded the traveller who found evidences of the miraculous, who had seen the pillar of salt into which the wife of Lot had been changed, and the tracks of Pharaoh's chariots on the sands of the Red Sea. It heaped honors on the historian who filled his pages with the absurd and impossible. It had geologists and astronomers of its own who constructed the earth and the constellations in accordance with the Bible. With sword and flame it destroyed the brave and thoughtful men who told the truth. It was the enemy of investigation and of reason. Faith and fiction were in partnership.

To-day the intelligence of the world denies the miraculous. Ignorance is the soil of the supernatural. The foundation of Christianity has crumbled, has disappeared, and the entire fabric must fall. The natural is true. The miraculous is false.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

FAMILY LIFE AMONG THE MORMONS.

BY A DAUGHTER OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

THE common statement that plural marriage debases husbands, degrades wives, and brutalizes offspring, is false. It was not the case in ancient Israel; it is far less so in this enlightened age. If any one wishes to prove this, here in Utah are men, women, and, above all, children to speak for themselves.

My father, Brigham Young, had fifty-six living children, all born healthy, bright, and without "spot or blemish" in body or mind. Thirty-one of the number were girls; twenty-five were boys. Seven died in infancy, three in childhood, seven more since reaching maturity. What bright memories we cherish of the happy times we spent beneath our father's tender watch-care, supplemented by the very sweetest mother-love ever given to mortals! Ever thinking of us and our welfare, father was particularly anxious about our education. Deprived of all advantages in his youth but the often-mentioned "thirteen-days' schooling," he determined we should have the opportunities he had missed.

Such schools as our first ones were! Across the road from the Lion House stood the big, high-ceilinged, long-windowed, one-roomed schoolhouse. At one end was a small entry-way, far above which swung the brazen-voiced bell in its lofty spire, while on one side was a tiny wing for the use of the teacher. What a merry, noisy stamping of feet in the entry just before nine o'clock, summer and winter! The room must be thirty feet high, with long, deep windows on one side. Here we all are, a restless, giggling, merry little crowd, looking upon the unlucky school ma'am or master as a sort of moral necessity. What lazy intellectual happiness in the cool, breezy, spring mornings to sit down after the lengthy fervent prayer and hear the teacher call out: "First Readers, come to your class!" There we gathered,

dozens of little legs unable to reach the floor, kicking back and forth, while little restless tongues whispered, faces alternately raised in questioning glances to "teacher," or hid with quick giggle behind the book.

In the year 1868 the University of Deseret was organized. Those of us who were sufficiently advanced at once entered upon the year's course. The old council-house, where the school was first opened, saw a happy crowd of young people that first year, who accepted such innovations as departments, class-rooms, offices, and a faculty with cheerful adaptation. The young idea shot bravely toward the newly-risen sun of Progress, tipping the arrows with intelligence and perseverance, even when the feathers were quilled into such points as the rapid diagramming of sentences in place of the old "Mary's a noun because it's a name"; as concert reading, which sorely taxed unused tongues; as weekly compositions, which were a sad necessity; and as the order and regularity which marked the every tap of the bell.

In my papers is a relic of the second university year in the shape of a modest printed paper, called the *College Lantern*, on whose editorial staff appear the names of two of Brigham Young's children, a son and daughter, among the weighty list of editors; six there were in all.

Let any one who wishes to know the mental calibre of polygamous children ask the genial and learned Dr. Park, who has stood at the head of this university for twenty years, who have been his brightest and keenest pupils. His unhesitating answer will be a convincing argument for my position.

About that time—1868—the best stenographer in the territory was engaged by my father to come twice a day, one hour before school, two after, to teach all his children the useful art of phonography. No need to dwell on the seventy or eighty eager pupils who crowded the schoolroom for the first week or two, or on the slim company of seven who faithfully clung to those troublesome lines and curves through the whole two-years' course. A black silk dress had been promised by father to the girl who should first report his sermon in full. It was won—it would not become me to say a little unjustly—by a dear recently-dead sister. Our crusty, lame, harsh, red-haired but good teacher told us all in his rusty, crusty way, the very first week, just how we would act; and thereafter, as one and another would fail to appear, he would

say, triumphantly: "I told you so. You are a lazy set; can't half appreciate the advantages your father lavishes upon you," pulling his fiery red whiskers resentfully as he talked.

Music was, from before my remembrance, the constant companion, bore, and comfort of father's family. Himself a natural musician and a fine bass singer, he early bought musical instruments—piano, organs, and a beautiful harp—and procured as competent musical teachers for the children as the country afforded. We inherited, almost universally, his taste in this direction, and the old piano in the long parlor was rarely allowed to rest its weary keys, but was ever laughing under Phebe's or Nettie's hands, sighing under Fannie's or Ellie's skilful touch, or groaning or rattling beneath the infliction of more juvenile learners.

How pleasant were the seasons of evening prayer when ten or twelve mothers with their broods of children, together with the various old ladies and orphans who dwelt under the sheltering care of this roof, came from every nook and corner of the quaint, old-fashioned, roomy house at the sound of the prayer-bell. Even the bell has a memory all its own, for no matter how faintly the sound came to our distant ears, we always knew whether father rang it or some of the others. He had a peculiar, measured, deliberate ting-tang that could not be successfully imitated. Once when in St. George (a town in Southern Utah) I said to him at his prayer-time:

"Father, we can't quite get the same ring of the bell that you do." We were generally pretty good mimics and prided ourselves on the accomplishment.

"Can't you, my daughter? Well, I believe you are right about that; but listen,—ting-tang, ting-tang, ting-tang, ting-tang,—four times you see."

I tried, but somehow the bell refused to sound exactly as it did in his hands. He smiled, and again ringing it slowly, remarked: "Were it possible for me to suddenly step into my home in Salt Lake City to-night and ring the prayer-bell, every one in the Lion House would know I was at home without any announcement of my arrival."

To the clang of the familiar bell we crowded from upstairs and downstairs, each one taking his accustomed place, mothers surrounded by their children, while near father sat Aunt Eliza Snow,

the honored plural wife of Joseph Smith, the prophet. A little merry or grave chat; questions asked and answered; then the quiet paternal request, "Come now, let us have prayers," succeeded by a subdued rustle as every knee bowed and every tongue was stilled while the dear voice prayed for "the poor, the needy, the sick and the afflicted, the widow and the fatherless, that He might be a stay and a staff to the aged and a guide to the youth." The prayer was always a short, simple, earnest one, never too wearisome for the tiniest restless listener, while the sweetly solemn hush of the room held a calm over even the baby's laughing voice.

With the general amen, all resumed their seats and were at liberty to return to their rooms or to stay and hear the chat that usually followed. Sometimes, especially on Sunday evenings, the girls would be requested to sing and play, or we would all join in a hymn. Afterward father would kiss the children, dandle a baby on his knee with his own particular accompaniment of "link-e-toodle-ladle-iddle-oodle," surprising baby into round-eyed wonder by the odd noise; then a general good-night and we would all separate, father returning to his duties in the office. What a blessed time that regular, never-neglected prayer-time was! For every one complied with one of the few unwritten laws of the household that nothing but sickness was an excuse for absence.

In summer we were happy with our school, the frequent May walks, picnics, swimming in the "font," and all sorts of summer games and amusements. In winter, school for the days, varied by skating and sliding down hill; the evenings were ever short to us, for they were filled with private theatricals, corn-parching and popping, munching apples and walnuts, or making molasses candy, for which a large hook was hung in one of the lower rooms to "pull" the candy into a creamy whiteness.

We had our troubles. We thought them very real in those days; but their chief cause lay in the violation of some necessary rule of discipline. Our meals were served promptly, and the unlucky wight who was an hour behind time was apt to go hungry till the next meal-time. This seemed severe, but it made us prompt and punctual. Sometimes, too, we were apt to imagine that some were more favored than others, and that their supply of a dainty exceeded the strict measure of justice.

We were so numerous that we seldom went beyond our own home for amusement except to an occasional dancing party or

theatre. Instead, we got up theatres and concerts, pantomimes and minstrel shows, with unwearied vigor and fun. Father was seldom so busy that he would not spend an hour or so witnessing the theatrical performance or aiding in the final rites of pulling candy and braiding it into creamy sticks of delicious sweetness.

One of my sisters, Dora, a bright, beautiful girl, when twelve years of age wrote a play which she called "Love and Pride," at the performance of which she was principal character, stage-manager, costumer, and musician. For this little play, which contained the lover, distracted maiden, and villain, with quite the orthodox *dénouement*, we were allowed to borrow costumes from the regular theatre; and we were surprised in the opening of the piece to see father step in, accompanied by the manager of the theatre, H. B. Clawson. They, to be sure, were "complimentary" witnesses, but the rest of the audience paid for admission in good straight pins or proper candles.

After the girls began to "grow up," beaus naturally appeared on the scene. One trait of father's which surprised strangers not a little was his excellent memory for names, faces, and incidents. When he met John Smith, say, for the first time, his inquiries were oftentimes so searching, so minute, as to every member of Smith's family, as well as his history and progenitors, that ever after, no matter if years elapsed, he could readily recall every one of the numerous Smiths and ask kindly after each one. This information was sometimes obtained from outside friends, but it was always obtained.

Especially was he particular about those who came to associate with his children. Young men were closely questioned and scrutinized. On one occasion, just as he was stepping into his carriage, he saw a strange young man about to enter the house gate. Instantly the flood of usual questions was poured out upon the embarrassed youth. Apparently not quite satisfied with the answers given, father asked, abruptly:

"Are you a Mormon?"

"Well," floundered the lad (whose parents had taken him away from Utah and the church when a child, but whose longing for the loved scenes of childhood had brought him back when a man), "slightly." Father burst into his quiet, mellow laugh, and often afterwards, in speaking of the young man, whose name was Scipio Kenner, would jocosely call him Skippio Sinner.

The long "parlor," which was prayer-room, reception-room, music-room and best room, was usually filled on Sunday evenings with a quietly gay crowd of young women and their "beaus." Music and laughter, jest and repartee, filled in the evening till the clock struck ten. Luckless was the youth—or, at least, so he felt himself to be—who came upon the scene before "prayer-time"—a not regular hour, owing to the press of father's business; the young man would be kindly invited to occupy a prominent seat, and perhaps asked to be "mouth in prayer."

Ah, well! the lads lived through such ordeals, and after mothers and father had gone, the long, narrow parlor would glow and scintillate with the charms of bright eyes and witty tongues. Promptly at ten o'clock, if the adieus had not already been said, the young people were apt to be startled by the sudden appearance of the President, loaded down with hats of all shapes and sizes; each young man would be asked kindly and pleasantly to select his own, and the good-nights were exchanged in the ensuing hurry and embarrassment.

One night there happened to be about eight or ten couples, most of whom were already engaged lovers. Now, as walking in the street was out of the question, and as the parlor was the only resort, it was found to be a very unsatisfactory place for a lover who would, if he could, whisper sweet nothings, or even venture to steal an arm about his sweetheart. Put it to yourself: could you be unreservedly happy if, every time you cast a loving look or offered a slight caress, there were eighteen pairs of disinterested eyes observing the performance minutely, eighteen voices to twit you in a graduated scale of ridicule? I never knew who made the proposition on that particular Sunday night, but certain it was that in the course of the evening the one large lamp on the centre-table was discreetly lowered a trifle, while around it in a close barricade stood a small army of books, shocked, no doubt, to find themselves so ignominiously stood upon end and compelled to stand witnesses to the love-scenes enacted in ten convenient corners and window recesses of the darkened room.

Very charming, no doubt! But some stray wind carried a whiff of what was going on in the parlor to the President's ear. Less than a quarter of an hour of the happy gloom had been enjoyed before the parlor door quietly opened, and on the threshold, lighted candle in hand, stood father. Without saying a word, he

walked slowly and deliberately up to the first couple, holding his candle down in their very faces, looked keenly at them, then to the next couple, repeating his former scrutiny, and so on, clear around the room. Not a word said he, but, pulling down the scandalized books and putting them gravely in their places, he turned on the full blaze of the lamp and walked quietly out of the room.

As a physiological fact, of the fifty-six children born to Brigham Young, not one was halt, lame, or blind, all being perfect in body and of sound mind and intellect; no defects of mind or body save those general ones shared by humanity. The boys are a sound, healthy, industrious, and intelligent group of men, noted everywhere for their integrity and for the excellent care and attention bestowed upon their families. In short, the name Young is a synonyme of a good, kind, faithful husband. Among them are lawyers, merchants, a railroad king, a banker, an architect, a civil engineer, and a manufacturer. One of them is a colonel in the United States army, while several have graduated from the Annapolis naval school and from the Ann Arbor law school.

The girls are finely developed physically, quick and bright in intellect, high-spirited, and often talented, especially in a musical way. A few of them were beautiful girls, and are still handsome women. All are nice girls, kind in disposition, generous and social in their natures. In short, outside of one or two of either sex, they are a family that any man might well be proud to call his own. This is given by way of argument, not boasting.

In describing the family of Brigham Young, I have in the main described the large polygamous families of Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, Orson Pratt, and others, who are or have been our leading men, with the various differences of character and mind naturally inherited by the various children.

The women, or "wives," as they were affectionately termed, of these various families, undoubtedly saw heartaches and sad hours. Do they not suffer, let me ask, in monogamy? Our mothers were the pioneers in this new order of things, and they had no experiences of elders to guide them, no friendly voice to say, "Here did I stumble; take heed lest ye too fall." Yet they were sustained by the knowledge that their sorrows were such as broadened and deepened the channels of their beings, and their tears watered into existence the lovely flowers of unselfishness and charity.

In saying this I would not imply that the "wives" were at all the meek, humble slaves one might infer. Any one who thinks so is at liberty, even at this day, to examine the curves of Aunt T——'s mouth, observe the glitter of Aunt E——'s eyes, listen to the two-edged sharpness of Aunt H——'s tongue, to mark the proud poise of Aunt A——'s head, the firm lines of my mother's, Aunt Z——'s, L——'s, and H. B——'s faces. Nay, many were the thrusts given, sometimes maliciously, anon recklessly, often thoughtlessly, while misunderstandings were of frequent occurrence. But the one retreat of silence and prayer, the general rule of "forget and forgive," added to the wise conduct of the husband, who sympathized with none or with all alike, made it possible for the brave hearts to overcome their own weaknesses and selfishness.

The polygamous women of Utah know the value of the experience they have gained, and, to a woman, would refuse to exchange places with any other, be she queen upon her throne or supposed sole queen of her husband's heart.

One of my well-loved friends had a happy, contented family in which were three wives and many children,—this in the "good old days of yore,"—and he laid "justice to the line and righteousness to the plummet" in the management of his domestic affairs. So equally and well were his attentions and time divided that few except intimate friends knew which was first and which was last wife. I have travelled with him and his first wife, and have noted with pleasure his constant attention to all her wishes and wants; refined, reserved, yet courteous to all, he was to his wife tenderness itself. Nothing could exceed the sweet gentleness with which this father of twenty babies watched and guarded every separate "bit" of humanity that came near him. I have been with this man, too, when he first enjoyed the companionship of a young, beautiful bride. Not a whit more devoted or tender was he to her than he had been and was to the cherished wife of several years; indeed, that would have been impossible, for he was to each and every one all that a true, affectionate husband could be. This same friend has many bright, beautiful children; on one occasion a stranger casually asked a little girl playing in the door-yard:

"Where does your father's first wife live?"

"I don't know," truthfully answered the child. She had never heard a word said about first or last wife in her whole life.

Some people who are violently opposed to polygamy are fond

of relating stories about the cruelty men are guilty of to their wives. An incident I recall in this man's family will serve to show the "black-crow" foundation upon which most of these stories are built. He and his three wives are all great romps. A candy-pulling could never take place without liberal quantities of the soft stuff going down some one's neck, while everybody's hair hung in great coils of candied sweetness before the fracas was over. Practical jokes were of frequent occurrence, and one drop of water was the signal for pailfuls to follow. On one occasion a dipperful of water began the romp, and at last all three wives united in one grand assault "to get even" with their "liege lord,"—he was a man of large stature, with sinews of steel,—whereupon he clasped his strong arms around all three, and by sheer force of muscle dragged the whole struggling, laughing group to the pump outside the door, and ducked and soused them till all cried for quarter.

"Ah!" said a chance passer-by, who had watched the whole performance, "that's the shameful way in which these poor polygamous women are forced into submission." Indeed, he told the story everywhere, with sundry ingenious embellishments of how he had seen these poor women dragged by the hair of the head to the pump, and there nearly drowned before they would give up and promise obedience.

It may not be out of place here to speak of the many tourists who come to Utah with preconceived notions, put themselves at once in the hands of our political and moral enemies, hear the stock-in-trade of the few apostates who are constantly engaged in retailing the same blood-curdling stories that have been told for the last half century, and after two or three days go away with an unalterable conviction that polygamy is answerable for every heartache in Mormondom. I could add an entreaty that strangers should make their inquiries of those who have lived the new order of marriage, and should base their conclusions on the evidences of their eyes and reasoning faculties, rather than on the hearing of second-hand, fabulous stories.

Statistics will bear me out in saying that there are fewer paupers, fewer criminals, fewer insane among polygamous than among monogamous families. It is a well-known fact here in Utah that there are fewer physical defects and greater intelligence in plural homes than in the same grade or class in monogamy.

The statement that polygamy will make a god of a man argues nothing to me. My frank opinion is that men will necessarily be godlike who enter heaven, where will dwell WOMAN, the purer, the better part of humanity. The care of a large family naturally increases a man's anxieties and capabilities; and it is these very forces which unite to ennoble and elevate any man who accepts them cheerfully and fulfils them faithfully.

What woman's respect would not deepen for the man she saw guarding her own feelings tenderly while still gentle and kind to the young wife recently taken beneath his roof; who would measure every act, weigh every word, that no heart given into his keeping might unnecessarily suffer? Would she not reverence the man who sought to soothe every heartache and bind up every wound made by this new order of things? She might, she certainly would, suffer in giving up a share of that time and attention that had been all her own, but her love and esteem would deepen for him who had asked and obtained her willing consent, and who then helped her to gradually rise from under Mother Eve's curse, and find that life had also problems, aims, and paths for her in which to awaken and develop the gifts and talents given her by a wise Father. He, also—would he not find his loving devotion deepened every hour for the noble woman who had consented to this thing that they might be spiritually blessed thereby; seeing her kindness, her forbearance, her growing affection for the young wife, who in her turn was sinking selfishness in this struggle for the highest and best—would he not feel that God had blessed him above his expectations?

Nowhere on the face of this wide earth is the love of husbands for their wives and wives for their husbands so intense, so thrilling, and so divine as it is here in Utah. Men go by hundreds into prisons, by thousands into willing exile, rather than sacrifice the hearts of their beloved companions. Women cheer them in this determination, separating for this life in the glad hope of an eternal reunion, which no law, no court of public opinion, can ever deny to them. To be true in this life through trial and separation is preferred by these faithful people to the breaking of solemn covenants.

In connection with this idea of the undue exaltation of the husband, and consequent undue debasement of the wives, let me offer an illustration. When a body of American people unite as a

State and elect a Governor, they choose a man because of his honor, integrity, and superior intelligence. In the same way Mormon women select a husband. The affections of the people twine around their chosen head, if he is worthy, and his presence is welcomed and courted everywhere. It is so with Mormon husbands.

The Mormon women are working grandly at the sex problem of the nineteenth century. They are beginning to move out on independent lines of business, of art, and of the professions. Their marital relations make this an easy matter. The woman will always be the head and genius of the home, but whether it is a corollary that she shall forever wash dishes and scrub floors has become a grave question. The rapid progress of the age finds ready disciples in Mormon wives, who feel the natural craving for home life and children satisfied, yet withal have ample time for the development and cultivation of every faculty within them.

Content in knowing herself beloved, and wedded to a man whose purity of body and mind is equal to her own, while his intelligence is one degree higher, his wisdom a rock upon which to lean in every emergency, the plural wife may, from her own threshold, look out into the broad world and choose such enterprise as she feels herself adapted to, the twenty years of her middle life spent in the care and rearing of her children the while she is quietly studying and preparing herself for that further mission. At the end of her child-bearing period she may, while aiding her own and her husband's family with her wisdom and experience, launch out into her chosen vocation, ready to add the mite of her experience to the great problem of humanity. That problem is the development of each individuality to its highest possibility, the wise care and rearing of dependent childhood, and the peace, happiness, and well-being of all God's children. That polygamy, wisely and faithfully practised, will be a grand factor in the bringing to pass this millennium of usefulness and happiness, I sincerely believe.

In the foregoing pages I have spoken chiefly of the temporal or worldly side of this matter. It has, however, a spiritual aspect; it is a question, in fact, that, like the soul of man, is composed of two indivisible parts, the spirit and the body, the spiritual and the temporal, neither being complete without the other, the two uniting to form a beautiful, complete whole or entity.

The judiciary of our country, backed by the prejudiced voice of the American public, have forced polygamy from our beautiful territory. We are a broken, crushed, and oppressed people. We are honestly seeking to continue, as we began over fifty years ago to be, a law-abiding, law-fearing people. Here, as a fitting close to my earnest effort to give a clearer view of this vexed question, I wish to say to that mistaken, prejudiced, American public, You have struck from Mormon hands the power to solve the great question of pure, holy marriage; but you will yet meet the issue,—I know not how, I know not when,—but come it will, for it is written that "Truth shall look down from heaven, and Righteousness shall spring up from the earth." The progress of to-day will carry you out on the rocks and reefs of the marriage relation, and with you will it rest whether your barks shall sink into misery and disgrace, or ride on the outgoing tide of advancement to the deep sea of truth and divine virtue.

SUSA YOUNG GATES.

"LOOKING BACKWARD" AGAIN.

BY EDWARD BELLAMY.

I DON'T mind admitting that I have greatly enjoyed the pleasant things which have been said about "Looking Backward," and am much obliged to those who have found it consistent with their consciences to say them. At the same time, I have read such serious criticisms of the book and its plan of industrial reform as have come to my notice with greater interest, if not greater pleasure, than the congratulatory notices. While holding it absolutely beyond question that the next phase of industry and society as based upon it, will be a plan of national coöperation, and that this plan cannot be permanently based upon any other principle than universal industrial service with equality of material condition, I recognize that the details of such a coöperative organization may be greatly varied consistently with these principles.

Though I advance in "Looking Backward" a series of details of such an organization, which seem to me not unreasonable, I have been far from considering them as necessarily the best devices possible, and have accordingly been on the lookout for valuable criticisms and suggestions. Perhaps this statement may be taken as a sufficient response to the large class of criticisms of "Looking Backward," which have addressed themselves to minor details of the manner of life depicted in the book. These, and even many more important points, may be safely left to the future to settle. The thing for us to settle—the only question which "Looking Backward" has raised which it is worth the time of serious men to discuss—is whether or not there has come to be, between the intellect and the conscience of men and the actual conditions of society and industry, such a degree of incongruity and opposition as to threaten the permanence of the existing order, and whether there is enough ground for faith

in God and man to justify a hope that the present order may be replaced by one distinctly nobler and more humane.

The main objection which I make to the article by General Walker in the February *Atlantic*, entitled "Mr. Bellamy and the New Nationalist Party," is that it totally fails to take into consideration this larger and only really important aspect of the subject. One is tempted to ask where General Walker has lived, that he is able to discuss "Looking Backward" and Nationalism wholly without reference to the present unprecedented ferment in the minds of men, which alone has given the book its circulation and the movement its impetus. Does he not know that thirty years ago "Looking Backward" would have fallen flat, and that the reason it has not done so to-day is that within this period a great revolution has taken place in the minds of reading men and women as to the necessity and possibility of radical social reform?

A criticism of "Looking Backward" in the January number of the *Contemporary Review*, by the eminent French economist, Émile de Laveleye, deals with the subject in a manner so strongly contrasting with General Walker's superficial and often flippant tone that perhaps I cannot better indicate my meaning than by a quotation from the closing paragraph. M. Laveleye says:

"The rapid and extraordinary success in the Anglo-Saxon world of Mr. Bellamy's book is a symptom well worthy of attention. It proves that the optimism of the old-fashioned economists has entirely lost the authority that it formerly possessed It is now no longer believed that in virtue of the *laissez-faire* principle everything will arrange itself for the best, in the best of all possible worlds. People feel that there is in very truth a *social question;* that is to say, that the division of the good things of this world is not in accordance with the laws of justice, and that something ought to be done to increase the share of the principal agents of production, the workmen."

M. Laveleye then quotes Dupont White:

"It was hoped that the [great modern] increase in the production of riches would secure satisfaction to all, but nothing of the sort has taken place. Discontent is greater and more deeply rooted than ever. From this deceived hope has been formed a new science. It may be called a social science, or it may even be said that it is not a science at all, but it is quite certain that charity in laws is a notion which in our day should be a fundamental doctrine, for beyond the pale of all sects of socialists it has sown in all hearts a feeling of uneasiness, of anxiety and care, an unknown emotion respecting the suffering classes, which has become a matter of public conscience."

While I must claim that the apparent lack on General Walker's part of any such "feeling of uneasiness, of anxiety and care," or any emotion whatever respecting the suffering classes, or any

large view of the subject he discusses, distinctly disables him as a serious critic of Nationalism, I shall endeavor, to the best of my ability, to answer such specific criticisms as he has made.

The objection to the industrial organization outlined in "Looking Backward" to which General Walker devotes most space is its alleged excessively military character. From the stress he lays upon this point, it is evident that he has been seriously misled by the use of the term "army of industry," and by the analogy with the principal of universal military service which was used to illustrate the basis of industrial duty. He apparently labors under the impression that the rigid forms of military discipline are to be applied to the industrial force. It is evident that he has visions of the drill-ground, of the barracks, of the guard-house, and, for all I know, of drum-head courts-martial and firing squads. He protests against the nightmare which he himself has conjured up, in the following terms :

"Doubtless the industrial forces require to be organized and administered both firmly and judiciously, but it is not necessary that discipline shall be carried so far as to deprive the individual of his initiative, to take from him all freedom of choice, and to subject him to an authority which shall have over him the power of life and death, of honor and disgrace."

Now, these words precisely express my own convictions on the subject. I firmly believe, with General Walker, that while "industrial forces require to be organized and administered both firmly and judiciously," a harsh or oppressive discipline is not necessary. What, then, is General Walker talking about, and whom is he talking at ? If he thinks he is talking about the national army of industry, and its mode of organization and administration as contemplated by the author of "Looking Backward," or by the Nationalists, he is totally mistaken. While men who can work and will not work will doubtless be made to work, it is not believed that any more arduous discipline (or different conditions of life in any respect) will need to be imposed upon industrious men than the workers in any large and thoroughly systematized business at present undergo.

An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory. There are several thousand clerks employed in the government departments at Washington on terms very similar to those which will obtain in the coming industrial army. The next time General Walker is in Washington it would be a good idea for him to step into one of the departments, and have a little chat with the clerks as

to the amount of military discipline they are subjected to. There are some one or two hundred thousand post-office employees in the country. Has General Walker heard any rumors of a proposed wholesale desertion on their part by reason of the severity of their discipline? Does he understand—to use one of his own expressions as to the industrial army—that "they are obliged to surrender will, power of choice, freedom of movement, almost individuality"? If not, will he tell us why they should have to do so when their number shall be multiplied a hundred-fold?

Just here let me say in passing that the slight precaution of looking about them, before going into convulsions over the plans of the Nationalists, would generally reveal to our critics the working principles of the National plan already in partial operation in contemporary industry, politics, and society. There is, indeed, nothing in the National plan which does not already exist as a germ or vigorous shoot in the present order, and this is so simply because Nationalism is evolution.

But perhaps it may be objected that the present government employee may resign when he pleases, that his work is voluntary. The reply in the first place is that his work must, in fact, be regarded as compulsory, inasmuch as he, like all of us, must work or starve. He cannot leave his place unless he can find other work to do, and he would have this liberty under the National plan, with the additional advantage that a national labor exchange would provide all possible facilities for men who desired to change work or location. The National plan is even so elastic that it will permit a man to loaf the rest of his life, after a very brief service, if he shall consent to accept a quarter or half the rate of support of other citizens.

In view of the misapprehensions into which General Walker has fallen, it may be well to state explicitly that the most important analogy between the military system and Nationalism is the fact that the latter places the industrial duty of citizens on the ground on which their military duty already rests. All able-bodied citizens are held bound to fight for the nation, and, on the other hand, the nation is bound to protect all citizens, whether able to fight or not. Nationalism extends this accepted principle to industry, and holds every able-bodied citizen bound to work for the nation, whether with mind or muscle; and, on the other hand, holds the nation bound to guarantee livelihood to every

citizen, whether able to work or not. As in military matters the duty to fight is conditioned upon the physical ability, while the right to protection is conditioned only upon citizenship, so we would condition the obligation to work upon the strength to work, but the right to support upon citizenship only.

It would, indeed, appear that in using the military analogy I had unwittingly set a snare in divers ways for General Walker, for he says in another place:

"In Mr. Bellamy's army all are to be paid alike, and are to enjoy equivalent physical conditions. The officers and privates are to fare in all respects the same, the highest having no preference whatever over the meanest, absolutely no material consideration being awarded to the greatest powers in production or in administration. Now, the rule is very different from this in the real armies of the civilized world, and Mr. Bellamy would do well to be careful, lest, in leaving out the principle of graded rewards corresponding to gradations of rank, he should omit a feature which may cause his industrial army to fall to pieces."

A considerable experience of criticisms of "Looking Backward" by gentlemen who had been prevented by press of more important business from reading the book had prepared me for some curious statements of what I had put in and what I had left out; but I was distinctly startled to learn that the principle of graded rewards corresponding to ranks had been left out of the constitution of what General Walker calls "Mr. Bellamy's army." Upon consulting the book again, I was pleased to find that my recollection of it was correct, and that, in fact, a special and characteristic feature of the industrial army is such a system of "rewards corresponding to gradations of rank" as makes diligence and achievement in the public service the sole and sure avenue to all social distinction, posts of authority, and honors of office.

It is quite true that the provision for the physical needs of all is the same, because those needs are the same, and because it is a vital principle of Nationalism that all forms of necessary work, from the scavenger's to the statesman's, are equally worthy. The question which arises on this misunderstanding as to the use of terms is whether General Walker fairly represents public sentiment in ruling out any kind of reward or incentive, except money, as effectual. I submit that he is not a fair representative in this respect of the sentiment of men in general, nor even probably of his own serious second thought. Does he think that it is the difference between the salary of the lieutenant and the captain, or the honor and authority of the

superior rank, which constitute the chief element in the ambitious dreams of the subaltern? Will he assert, that if the difference in the pay of different ranks from lieutenant to major-general were greatly reduced, there would be a corresponding diminution in the military spirit of the army? Does he argue that the Prussian soldier would prize his iron cross the more if it were made of gold? or can he imagine that the Englishman would be stimulated by offering a lump sum for valor, instead of the Victoria cross?

So long as the nations of which armies are parts are made up of ranks divided by the money line, the pay of officers naturally increases with rank, but the principle, so far from being essential to the spirit of the military career, is, so far as it is influential, injurious to it.

Evidently bred of the same spirit that moves General Walker to suggest that the motive of the soldier is, after all, at bottom a sordid one, is the following:

"Mr. Bellamy's assumption that, were selfish pecuniary interests altogether removed as a motive to action, the sense of duty and the desire of applause would inspire all the members of the community to the due exertion of all their powers and faculties for the general good, is purely gratuitous."

In the first place, this is a misstatement of the case. I nowhere say or imply that the sense of duty and the desire of applause alone will influence all men sufficiently. As has just been explained, the rewards of authority, of social rank and public prominence, are held out to workers as the prizes of diligence, in a manner in which they never have been brought to bear upon human nature under any industrial or social system before, since the world began. The only incentives which are eliminated under the National plan are the desire of inordinate wealth and the fear of poverty.

But it is in vain that we pile up other motives in place of the lust of gold and the fear of want. General Walker refuses to allow that any other motives than these are capable of moving men to any adequate degree. "From the origin of mankind, to the present time," he says, "the main spur to exertion has been want."

Did General Walker ever employ a tramp who was working on an empty stomach for something to fill it? Did he find that such work, where the spur was purely and solely want, was a profit

able sort of labor? Has he not found, on the contrary, that the work of a man who has a home, money in the bank, and an insurance on his life, a man with whom want is out of any immediate consideration, is worth five times as much per hour as that of the tramp whom he would apparently have us accept as the ideal laborer? Want, indeed, so far from being the main spur to work, is the motive of only the worst work, while good work is done in the proportion in which fear of want is absent, and the instinct of self-development, of ambition and honor, reputation and power, takes its place. In no way is the impotence of want as a spur to exertion more strikingly illustrated than in its failure to stimulate precisely those classes of society which feel it most.

There are thousands of wretched beings in this and every other country, life-long idlers, paupers, vagabonds, who will starve, freeze, and endure every pang sooner than accept work, even when it is offered to them. Is it asked what Nationalism will do with this class? The answer is straight and swift. It will do with them what the present order cannot do; it will make them work. Equality of rights means equality of duty, and in undertaking to guarantee the one the nation will undertake to enforce the other.

General Walker accuses me of militarism. I confess an admiration of the soldier's business as the only one in which, from the start, men throw away the purse and reject every sordid standard of merit and achievement. The very conditions which Nationalism promises—that is to say, security as to livelihood, with duty and the love of honor as motives—are the actual conditions of military life. Is it a wonder that war has a glamour? That glamour we would give to the peaceful pursuits of industry by making them, like the duty of the soldier, public service. Some have said that Nationalism requires a change in human nature; but men on turning soldiers do not become better men, do not experience a change of heart. They are merely placed under the influence of different incentives. Make industry a public service, as war now is, and you will win for work the inspiration of war.

For the portion of General Walker's argument next to be taken up, I bespeak particular attention. He observes:

"Were the phantasy of a state in which every one should have enough and to spare, in which the conditions of life should cease to be arduous and stern, from which care and solicitude for the future should be banished, and the necessaries, comforts, and wholesome luxuries of life should come easily to all,—were this wild,

weak dream shown to be capable of realization, well may philanthropists exclaim: 'Alas, for humankind!' There have been races that have lived without care, without struggle, without pains, but they have not become noble races. Except for care and struggle and pains, men would never have risen above the intellectual and physical stature of Polynesians."

I would ask General Walker whether this "wild, weak dream" of a state in which we should have enough and to spare of necessaries and reasonable luxuries, with agreeable conditions of labor and no anxiety about the future, is not precisely the ideal which all of us spend our days and nights in trying to realize for the benefit of ourselves, our families, our children, and our relatives. Would General Walker teach us that in seeking this ideal for ourselves and those dear to us we run the risk of becoming Polynesians? Probably not. Well, now, the whole Nationalist proposition is merely that, instead of seeking this ideal every man for himself and the devil for us all, and thereby for the most part missing it quite, we unite our efforts, and by combined and concerted action command success for all. General Walker's point, then, appears to be that while the effort to better our condition is commendable, and even a matter of duty, so long as it is pursued individually, by the method of mutual hindrance, it becomes Polynesian the moment the method of mutual assistance and coöperation is adopted. I think the reader will admit that I do not exaggerate in claiming this passage of General Walker's argument as the most extraordinary and purely original contribution to social science which has recently been made.

"There are cares that cark and kill," pursues General Walker, with a feeling that makes me suspect he is, after all, a Nationalist at heart; "there are struggles that are unavailing; there are pains that depress and blight and dwarf. Well may we look forward"—(surely the man is a Nationalist)—"to a better state, in which much of the harshness of the human condition shall, by man's own efforts, have been removed. But it was no Bellamy who said that in the sweat of their brows should men eat bread." Quite right, General. All Bellamy said was that they should not eat their bread in the sweat of other people's brows.

In discussing the feasibility of a central national control of the entire working force of the country, General Walker says: "The greatest practical difficulty in the application of this principle would be in equalizing the advantages of country and city life." His fear is that under Nationalism nobody would be

willing to live in the country, and consequently there would be a general rush to the cities. It seems very evident to me that General Walker would never have raised this point had he not become temporarily mixed up as to which side he held a brief for. Surely no one can know better than General Walker that it is precisely in this matter of equalizing the advantages of country with city life that the present industrial system has scored one of its most complete and signal failures. The abandonment of the farm for the town is conceded to be one of the most alarming features of the present social situation. What on earth was General Walker thinking of to call attention to the fact that, at the present rate of the rush cityward, the abandonment of the country bids fair to be completed long before the Nationalists have a chance to try their hands? Could there be a more striking illustration, if for the purpose of the figure we may identify General Walker with the system he defends, of a man with an actual and colossal beam in his own eye animadverting upon a theoretical mote in somebody's else ?

Meanwhile it serves our purpose that General Walker should have raised this point, for it gives me an opportunity to remark that a direct tendency of Nationalism will be to check the excessive growth of the cities at the expense of the country. A central control of production and distribution will, to a great degree, destroy the advantages which, under the competitive system, great cities have over villages as localities for manufacturing, and the result will be industrial, and as a consequence social, decentralization. The coöperative features of the National plan will, indeed, greatly increase the pleasures and conveniences of city life, but not relatively more than they will enhance the attractions of life in the village.

I shall now take up the severest charge which General Walker makes against Nationalism. He says that what he justly calls "the fundamental proposition of Nationalism," namely, that all workers shall share alike in the national product, is "dishonest." That there may be no doubt as to his position, he adds that "to say that one who produces twice as much as another shall yet have no more is palpable robbery. It is to make that man for half his time a slave working for others without reward."

Here we have a very explicit statement that the producer should have what he produces, and, as a necessary consequence,

that the non-producer should have nothing, for evidently, if the producer has all he produces, there will be nothing left for the non-producer. Moreover, if it be "dishonest" for the weak worker to share equally with the strong, it would obviously be still more so for the idler to get anything at all. Now, under the present industrial system it is tolerably notorious that the hardest workers and chiefest producers are the poorest paid and worst treated, while not only do idlers share their product with them, but get the lion's share of it. Is General Walker willing that the present industrial system shall be remodelled on the plan he lays down as the only honest one—of giving the whole product to the producer? If so, the Anarchists are to be congratulated upon the ardor of their new disciple. If not, he certainly owes an explanation to the friends of the present industrial system for giving away their case so completely.

Let me suggest that his explanation may be very simple. Instead of the word "produces," he should have used the phrase "can get hold of." This simple change makes all the difference in the world. To say a man is entitled to what he "produces" is to invite instant revolution; but to say that a man is entitled to what he "can get hold of" is to state the fundamental principle of the present order.

Meanwhile I will briefly mention the grounds on which Nationalism insists that the weak worker shall share equally with the stronger, or, to put it more broadly, that all men and women, while required to render such service as they may be capable of, shall share alike this total product. This law results from the fact that Nationalism contemplates society, both economically and morally, not as an accidental conglomeration of mutually independent and unconnected molecules, but as an organism, not complete in its molecules, but in its totality only. It refuses to recognize the individual as standing alone, or as living or working to or for himself alone, but insists upon regarding him as an inseparable member of humanity, with an allegiance and a duty to his fellows which he could not, if he would, cast off, and with claims upon his fellows which are equally obligatory upon them. In a word, Nationalism holds that every one is born into the world a debtor to society for all he can do, a creditor to society for all he needs. It proposes a plan by which this great exchange of duties, this discharge of reciprocal responsibilities, may be effected.

Perhaps General Walker will be able to see that with this plan, which counts all human beings equal partners in a business carried on from generation to generation, from the beginning of humanity to the end of the world, and indefinitely further, the practice of Saturday-night settlements between the members of the firm, with mutual handwashings as to further responsibilities for one another, would scarcely be consistent.

A defect of General Walker's method as a social philosopher is that he overworks his savages and Polynesians as illustrations, when he could easily find much more pertinent analogies in the community about him, if he would only look around a little. For example, in going on to argue that a uniform rate of compensation is ruinous, he says, "Such a levelling downwards would end all progress," and adds that there are plenty of tribes and races in which it is in full operation. Unfortunately for Nationalism, he remarks, "They are all miserable embruted savages." Now, the trade-unions of America and England are, to a very large extent, based upon the principle of a uniform scale of wages, and on this basis have been doing the world's work for a long time. It will, doubtless, be a painful surprise to them, and, indeed, to the communities whose work they do, to learn that they are "all miserable embruted savages." Is not General Walker a trifle harsh?

The limits of this article compel me to pass on to that portion of General Walker's paper in which he discusses the aims and ends of the Nationalist party. He complains that he finds no statement of the means by which Nationalists propose to accomplish their end of having all industries operated in the interest of and by the nation. Now, I may be permitted to say that it is entirely General Walker's own fault if he does not know just the steps by which Nationalists propose to make a beginning in carrying out their programme. In public addresses, in articles published in recognized organs of the movement, and in hearings before legislative committees, there has been no lack of explicit statements on this subject from the beginning of the movement. In this respect, indeed, its history from the start has been a practical refutation of the charge of being impractical, brought against it by sundry critics who have not cared to know the truth.

In the next place, I must correct a serious misstatement made by General Walker. He says in a foot-note to his article:

"While the hero of the book goes to sleep in 1887 and wakes in 2,000, the new state

has been in perfect operation for a long time. The great change is spoken of as having taken place instantaneously, through the simple formation of the industrial army."

This statement is wholly without foundation. In the sermon of Dr. Barton the change is described as having been effected "in the time of one generation," and elsewhere is spoken of as having been completed "early in the twentieth century." There is nowhere in the book the slightest foundation for General Walker's declaration that "the great change is spoken of as having taken place instantaneously through the simple formation of the industrial army." It has always been my own belief, and I think that of Nationalists in general, that, always subject to the leading of events, the process of the nationalization of industry will be gradual, first embracing certain semi-public businesses and extending to others as indicated by their special conditions; the controlling idea being always to avoid derangement of business and undue hardship to individuals. Confiscation is not a method of Nationalism.

For the benefit of those who may share the self-inflicted ignorance of General Walker, I will briefly state what, to begin with, Nationalists propose. First and foremost, they favor an immediate and radical improvement in the school system of the country, which shall give the children of the poor equal advantages with those of the rich, so far as regards the public-school system. In the school-room they would begin to build the new nation. To this end they propose raising the limit of compulsory education year by year, as rapidly as public sentiment will permit. They propose making the compulsory period for all children cover the entire period during which the schools are open, instead of a part of it, as, for example, in Massachusetts a beggarly twenty weeks in the year, the schools being open nearly twice that time. They propose to make the employment of children during term time or school hours a misdemeanor. In cases of great poverty they propose such provision for the partial support of children as may be necessary to enable them to attend school.

The Nationalists propose the immediate assumption by the municipalities of the heating, lighting, and surface and elevated car lines of towns, with all other services now performed by corporations. They oppose and protest against the granting of any

more public franchises to individuals or corporations under any circumstances. Let the people attend to their own business. They propose the nationalization of telephones and telegraphs, and the assumption of the express business by the post-office. They propose national control of the railroads of the country. They propose that all mineral deposits hereafter discovered or opened shall belong to the nation. They propose national control of all coal mines now in operation.

A body of 1,500,000 workingmen would by these measures be taken into the public service. It is proposed that this force should be organized on a thoroughly humane basis of steady employment, reasonable hours, pensions for sickness, accident, and age, with liability to discharge only for fault or incompetence after a fair hearing.

A specific plan is proposed by which political executives would be deprived of influence through patronage over the industrial service, and its abuse for partisan ends rendered impossible.

It is claimed that the public control of these branches of business would result not only in the great betterment of the condition of the employees, but also in far greater cheapness and efficiency of service. Take the single instance of the coal business. Instead of shutting down the mines whenever the demand temporarily slackens, and putting up prices as soon as it starts up again, the government would work the mines continuously to their full capacity. Instead of piling up the product at tidewater to clog transportation at any increase of demand, and thus excuse extortionate prices, the coal would be forwarded as fast as mined to distributing centres all over the country, from which consumers could be promptly and conveniently served. The price of coal under these conditions would never exceed the figures represented by the cost of mining and the actual freight under favorable transportation conditions, nor, with suitable accumulations at the distributing points, need it vary between winter and summer, or between mild and severe seasons.

Lack of space forbids me to dwell upon the effect to purge our legislative and congressional lobbies, to put an end to stock-gambling in its chief form, and to terminate the wholesale swindling of the investing public by railroad promoters, speculators, grabbers, and wreckers, which would result from nationalizing the railroads.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

LIVELY JOURNALISM.

BY MAX O'RELL.

SPEAK of electric light, of phonographs and graphophones, if you like ; speak of those thousand and one inventions which have come out of the American brain ; but if you wish to mention the greatest and most wonderful achievement of American activity, do not hesitate for a moment to give the palm to American journalism : it is simply the *nec plus ultra*.

You will find some people, I admit, who condemn its loud tone ; others who object to its meddling with private life ; others, again, who have something to say of its contempt for statements which are in perfect accordance with strict truth. I even believe that a French writer, whom I do not wish to name, once said that very few statements to be found in an American paper were to be relied upon—beyond the date. People may say this and may say that about American journalism ; I confess that I like it, simply because it will supply you with twelve—on Sundays with thirty—pages that are readable from the first line to the last. Yes, from the first line to the last, including the advertisements.

The American journalist may be a man of letters, but, above all, he must possess a bright and graphic pen, and his services are not required if he cannot write a racy article or paragraph out of the most trifling incident. He must relate facts if he can, but if he cannot, so much the worse for the facts ; he must be entertaining and turn out something that is readable.

Suppose, for example, a reporter has to send to his paper the account of a police-court proceeding. There is nothing more important to bring to the office than the case of a servant girl who has robbed her mistress of a pair of diamond earrings. The English reporter will bring his editor something in the following style :

" Mary Jane Smith was yesterday charged before Mr. So-and-So with stealing a pair of diamond earrings from her mistress. It

appears that, last Monday, as Mrs. N. went to her room to dress for dinner, she missed a pair of diamond earrings, which she usually kept in a little drawer in her bedroom. On questioning her maid on the subject, she received incoherent answers ; suspicion that the maid was the thief arose in her mind, and . . .," and half a column in this dry style will be published in the *Times*, the *Standard*, the *Daily News*, or any other London morning paper.

Now, the American reporter will be required to bring something a little more entertaining if he hopes to be worth his salt on the staff of his paper, and he will probably get up an account like this :

"Mary Jane Smith is a pretty little brunette of some twenty summers. On looking in the glass at her dainty little ears, she fancied how lovely a pair of diamond earrings would look in them. So one day she thought she would try on those of her mistress. How lovely she looked ! said the looking-glass, and the Mephistopheles that is hidden in the corner of every man's or woman's breast soon suggested that she should keep them, . . .," etc., etc., and the whole will read like a little story, probably entitled something like, "Another Gretchen gone wrong through the love of jewels."

The heading has to be thought of no less than the paragraph. Not a line is to be dull in a paper sparkling all over with eye-ticklers of all sorts. Oh ! those delicious headings that would resuscitate the most dead of the dead and make them sit up in their graves !

A short time ago a man named Smith was bitten by a rattlesnake and treated with whiskey at a New York hospital. An English paper would have just mentioned the fact, and have the paragraph headed, "A man cured of a rattlesnake bite by whiskey" ; but a kind correspondent sends me the headings of this bit of intelligence in five New York papers. They are as follows :

1. Smith is all right !
2. Whiskey does it !
3. The snake routed at all points !
4. The reptile is nowhere !
5. Drunk for three days ! !

Let a batch of officials be dismissed ; do not suppose that an American editor will accept the news with such a heading as

. . .

"Dismissal of officials." The reporter will have to bring some labels that will fetch the attention. "Massacre at the Custom-House" or "So many heads in the baskets!" will do. Now, I maintain that it requires a wonderful imagination, something little short of genius, to be able, every day, to hit on a hundred of such headings. But the American journalist does it.

An American paper is a huge collection of short stories. The Sunday edition of the New York *World*, the New York *Herald*, the Chicago *Herald*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Boston *Herald*, the Boston *Globe*, and many others, is something like ten volumes of miscellaneous literature, and I do not know of any achievement to be compared to it.

The steamer that brought me to America a few weeks ago, when some hundred miles from Sandy Hook, was boarded by the pilot, who brought the New York papers with him. After being dead to the world for nearly a fortnight, we passengers pounced upon them. The first item that caught my eye was headed, "Mrs. Nash takes her time over it." It appears that a fortnight before Mrs. Nash had had a baby, that a week later she had presented her husband with a second, and that the day before a third had come into the world. Now, I am ready to admit that in France and in England, where things are done in the old-fashion ways, Mrs. Nash would have taken only one day to present Mr. Nash with this numerous family; but what is the use of coming to America if it is to see things done as they are in the Old World? "Mrs. Nash takes her time over it!" How candid! how lovely! how good-humored! High time for Mr. Nash to put a stop to it, I should say.

I cannot do better than to compare an American paper to a store where the goods, the articles, are labelled so as to immediately strike the customer. A few weeks ago I heard my friend, Colonel Charles H. Taylor, editor of that very successful paper the Boston *Globe*, give an interesting address on journalism before the members of the New England Club, of Boston. He maintained that the proprietor of a newspaper had as much right to make his shop-window attractive to the public as any tradesman. If the Colonel is of opinion that journalism is a trade and the journalist a mere tradesman, I agree with him. If journalism is not to rank among the highest and noblest of professions, and is to be nothing but a commercial enterprise, I agree with him.

Now, is journalism a commercial enterprise? Well, I cannot help thinking that it is, especially in a democracy. The people of a democracy like America are educated in politics. They think for themselves, and care but little for the opinions of such and such a journalist on any question of public interest. They want news, not literary essays on news. When I hear some Americans say that they object to their journalism, I answer that journalists are like other people who supply the public: they keep the article that is wanted.

A free country possesses the government it deserves, and the journalism that it wants. And a people active and busy as the Americans are want a journalism that will keep their interest awake and amuse them—and they get it. The average American, for example, cares not a pin for what his representatives say or do in Washington, but he likes to be acquainted with what is going on in Europe, and that is why the American journalist will give him a far more detailed account of what is going on in the Palace of Westminster than of what is being said in the Capitol.

In France journalism is personal. On any great question of the day, domestic or foreign, the Frenchman will want to read the opinion of John Lemoinne in the *Journal des Débats,* or the opinion of Edward Lockroy, or may be that of Henry Rochefort. Every Frenchmen is led by the editor of the newspaper he patronizes. But the Frenchman is only a democrat in name, and France has made the mistake of establishing a republic before she made republicans of her sons. A French journalist signs his articles and is a leader of public opinion. Every successful journalist has a chance to be elected a representative of the people.

In America, or in England, the journalist has no personality outside the literary classes. A leading article in an English or American paper will attract no public notice. It will only be quoted on the European continent. It is the monthly and the weekly papers or magazines that now play the part of the dailies of bygone days. An article in the London *Spectator* or *Saturday Review,* or in one of the great American monthly magazines, will be quoted all over the land, and I believe that this relatively new journalism has now forever taken the place of the old one. In a country where everybody reads, men as well as women; in a country where nobody takes any interest in politics outside of the State in

which he lives, the journalist has to turn out every day all the news he can gather in the most readable form. Formerly journalism was a branch of literature ; now it is a news store ; and is so not only in America. The English press shows signs of the same tendency, and so do the Parisian papers. Take the London *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Star*, and the Paris *Figaro*, as illustrations of what I advance. And as democracy makes progress in England, journalism will become more and more American, although the English reporter will have some trouble in trying to compete with his American *confrère* in humor and liveliness. Under the guidance of political leaders, the newspapers of continental Europe direct public opinion ; in a democracy the newspapers follow public opinion and cater to the public taste : they are the servants of the people. The American says to his journalists: "I don't care a pin for your opinion on such a question. Give me the news and I will comment on it myself. Only don't forget that I have to do fourteen hours' work to-day and that I want to be amused."

So, as I have said elsewhere, the American journalist must be spicy, lively, and bright. He must know how not merely to report, but to relate in a racy, catching style, an accident, a trial, a conflagration, and be able to make up an article of one or two columns upon the most insignificant incident. He must be interesting, readable. His eyes and ears must be always open every one of his five senses on the alert, for he must keep ahead in this wild race for news. He must be a good conversationalist on most subjects, so as to bring back from his interviews with different people a good store of materials. He must be a man of courage, to brave rebuffs. He must be a philosopher, to pocket abuse. He must be a man of honor, and I have always found him so. Whenever I have begged an American reporter to kindly abstain from mentioning this or that which might have been said in conversation with him, I have invariably found that he kept his word. But if the matter is of public interest, he is, before all and above all, the servant of the public. So, never challenge his spirit of enterprise, or he will leave no stone unturned until he has found your secret and exhibited it in public.

I do not think that American journalism needs an apology. It is the natural outcome of circumstances and the democratic

times we live in. The Théâtre-Français is not now, under a republic, and probably never again will be, what it was when it was placed under the patronage and supervision of the French Court. Democracy is not calculated to foster literature and the fine arts like monarchy, with its court and its fashionable society. Journalism cannot be now what it was when papers were read by people of culture only. In a democracy, the stage and journalism have to please the masses of the people. As the people become better and better educated, the stage and journalism will rise with them.

What the people want is news, and they have it, and journals are properly called "newspapers."

Speaking of American journalism, no man need use apologetic language.

Not when the proprietor of an American paper will not hesitate to spend thousands of dollars to provide his readers with the minutest details about some great European event.

Not when an American paper will, at its own expense, send Mr. Henry M. Stanley to Africa in search of Livingstone.

Not so long as the American press is vigilant, and keeps its thousand eyes open on the interests of the American public.

MAX O'RELL.

OUR UNWATERED EMPIRE.

BY NELSON A. MILES, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, U. S. ARMY.

THOSE pioneers of American civilization who had the fortitude and enterprise to cross the Atlantic and plant their colonies upon the inhospitable shores of this continent, in order that they might be free from the tyranny of monarchical governments and better exercise the rights and privileges of independent life; who for generations contended against a savage foe, felling the forest, clearing and cultivating the fields to obtain sustenance for themselves and their families, and who early established institutions of learning for the benefit of all classes, and eventually inaugurated and established a most perfect system of government, must of necessity have had within themselves the heroic elements of character which have made people great and preëminent in all ages of the world.

Possibly if there is one moral influence that has contributed more to the success of that people during the past three hundred years than any other, or which will warrant their prosperity and perpetuity in the future, it is the home life of the settlers of this country. Nothing could be more beautiful and sacred than the traditions, memories, and influences that are embraced in that one word *home;* and immeasurably is this the fact when it is blessed with the assurance of independence and competence which characterize the homes of our country. Loyalty to American institutions is assured by bonds of citizenship and the actual ownership of that blessed portion of earth, however humble it may be, that can be called an American home. The simplicity and purity of such a life is one of the glories of our country. The free air of heaven inspires pure thoughts and noble actions, industry without avarice, luxury without intemperance, economy blended with charity and generosity; and it is these associations and surroundings that have contributed to our physical and moral worth as a people and a nation.

In contradistinction is that unfortunate class of people who have sought this country either for a place of refuge or an asylum, crowding our cities and towns, inhabiting the alleys, breathing foul air, and living upon limited and unwholesome food, their idea of life contaminated even beneath its natural sphere by the associations and influences constantly before them and surrounding them. Hence, any measure that our government can adopt, that will, in the main, promote the general good of the people, by which the true American character and spirit can be sustained and encouraged, is, indeed, worthy of careful consideration.

As we review the acts of our government for the public good, prominent among which appear the improvements to our great natural water-courses and harbors for the welfare and benefit of commerce, and the interchange of products of our country for those of others, although there may have been unwise discrimination used in such appropriations, yet, in the main, they have undoubtedly been of national benefit. The Homestead Act, by which the vast public domain has been surveyed and subdivided into small tracts and placed within the reach of an industrious people, is, perhaps, the most judicious single act of which our government can boast. Next in importance may be mentioned the Preëmption Act, similar in effect and with results as far-reaching and beneficial. The Timber-Culture Act is another, and one of more benefit than most people realize, for the rapid destruction of our forests must in a few years produce a timber famine if it is not counteracted by the cultivation of forests; and as these are developed the disastrous effects of drought, tornadoes, and cyclones will be diminished. Another commendable act of the government has been the appropriation of vast tracts of our public domain to the establishment in each State and territory of agricultural colleges, by which most useful knowledge has been disseminated to every portion of the United States. Last, but not least, has been the aid given by the government in the way of land subsidies for the construction of the great transcontinental railways, by which the nation's loyalty and unity are bound by iron bands, and the people of one section are enabled to communicate readily with those of another, not to mention the benefits that have been assured to the commercial interests of the country; and while these methods have been

criticised, and in some respects condemned as injudicious, it must be remembered that the country at large has been greatly benefited. The price of every alternate section of land held by the government was immediately doubled, and the government realized two dollars and fifty cents per acre instead of one dollar and twenty-five cents for every acre sold; and the value of such lands was increased fully 100 per cent. over what it would have been had they remained remote from any means of communication.

In view of the fact that there are vast areas of the public domain still remaining unoccupied, which seem to require an intelligent and judicious system of improvement by the government in order that the best results may be obtained in their settlement, and in order to prevent a small percentage of the people from taking possession of the water-courses and holding them exclusively for their own benefit, thereby shutting ont all others from the occupation of a much larger portion, and practically controlling the use of hundreds of acres of public land where they are entitled to one, it might be well for the government to inaugurate some system by which these lands may be utilized and colonized for the benefit of the home-builders who constitute our best population.

There is another view of this matter which should not fail to be duly considered. Within the last few years we have witnessed the terrible results occasioned by drought, and half-crops have been reported throughout many of the States and territories. We have also noticed that this has resulted in a very large percentage of land, in several of the States and territories referred to, being placed under very heavy mortgages; and should this impending evil continue for a series of years, no one can anticipate what may follow. That good results can be produced by a scientific and judicious control of the water-courses of the western country is a fact so well established that it does not require argument. We may have reached that period in which attention should be drawn to this important subject; and it is not surprising that the question of water-storage and irrigating works in the arid regions of our western country has been engrossing the attention of the people of the United States, especially the citizens residing west of the one-hundredth meridian, more in the past few years than ever before.

While the people of nearly every State and territory west of that meridian have carefully considered the question, and

their legislators have enacted laws bearing upon it, the Federal Government but recently took up the matter by act of Congress authorizing the investigation of this subject to ascertain to what extent the arid regions of the United States can be benefited by irrigation. It stipulated that $100,000 be appropriated for topographical surveys for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, or any part thereof, to be used by the very able Director of the Geological Survey, Major Powell, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for the purpose of ascertaining the feasibility of providing reservoirs of water with a view to establish a system of irrigation of the lands in question, and Major Powell was directed to make his report to Congress at as early a date as was practicable. Upon his report and the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior, the $100,000 was supplemented by an additional appropriation of $250,000 during the last session of Congress, by the passage of an act for the further investigation of the arid region. A committee of Senators was appointed to visit the arid regions of the different western States and territories the past summer. It completed its work of investigation; was on the road some fifty days, travelling in that time about 12,000 miles, and taking the testimony of hundred of witnesses.

These were the first Federal steps toward the utilization of what is commonly called desert land. The bill reserves all lands that may hereafter be designated for reservoirs and ditches, and the lands to be reclaimed by irrigation for such reservoirs, from the date of the passage of the act; and provides that the President may from time to time remove any of the reservations made by the bill, and in his discretion, by proclamation, open any portion or all of the lands reserved by the provision to settlement under the homestead laws. This, however, should be modified so as to fix the price of such lands, improved by the general government, as will compensate it for the expense of such improvement. The sums appropriated, it is hoped, are but the commencement of necessary appropriations for irrigating purposes, as they will scarcely cover the amount requisite for preliminary investigations, without in the least considering the vastness and extent of the work to follow. The engineers employed in the work are required to measure the various streams and sources of water supply, select sites for reservoirs and other hydraulic works neces-

sary for storage and utilization of water, make maps of arable lands surveyed, and furnish full information for the use of Congress in considering further legislation on the subject. They are at present engaged in their investigations and surveys.

The Japanese have practised this improved system of agriculture for thousands of years, although their country is blessed with as much rain-fall as the fertile valleys on the eastern slope of our continent. They viewed the matter in its most practical light, using reservoirs and catchment basins for the storage of water when it was at flood, thus preventing destruction to growing crops, and diffusing the water so stored to the low lands by a regular flow in periods of drought. Even the Chinese have been able, by careful, intelligent, and patient husbandry, to retain the fertility of their soil for thousands of years.

The natives of India, by their system of wells, tanks, and reservoirs, have contended against the calamities of nature for ages. They store the water brought by the monsoon and husband it for use throughout the whole year. In some of the districts they have formed large artificial lakes by obstructing the rivers in the valleys at the most available points. The English government has spent millions of pounds sterling in furthering the interests of the cultivators of the soil in India by making permanent channels, which carry off the water, secured by means of dams, at all seasons of the year; and by obstructing the bases of the valleys so as to form immense reservoirs, conducting the water from them over the fields by means of canals, from which the government derives a valuable revenue, and by which the droughts, formerly so frequent and fatal, causing famine and disease, have to a great extent been obviated. Not only have these judicious measures benefited the 250,000,000 of people of that country, but their prosperity has seriously affected the market of the American farmer. Although irrigation in India has been maintained for generations, the English government saw the necessity of improved works, and right liberally has it appropriated funds for the various improvements. The outcome of it has been that the increased number of square miles now under cultivation, in excess of what was cultivated before the improvements were projected, results mainly from the utilization of land formerly devastated by drought and flood. In a great portion of India the population depend entirely upon irrigation.

The Spaniards and Mexicans in the southwestern territories and in southern California, many years before that part of the country came into the possession of the United States, brought the much-needed source of life to their lands generally from small streams by their system of acequais and zanjas. There are to this day in the Salt River valley of Arizona what appear to be the remains of an immense system of canals, which no doubt existed a thousand years before Columbus discovered America, and aided in the production of enough vegetation to sustain a population many times the number at present in that territory. The engineers of to-day are running the lines of their channels along the water-routes of that prehistoric race.

This has been a prominent question in the history of all the western States and territories, and, by being brought to the attention of the general public, the necessities and usefulness of irrigation may in time be extended to all needed parts of the country. In some parts of the country the system would prevent the desolating effects of drought, and in others, by the use of reservoirs and dams for storing the waters, the disastrous floods that almost periodically destroy growing crops and injure routes of travel and commerce would be rendered less frequent and destructive. The small amount of work necessary for making lands bordering on a live stream proof against any drought occurring in any part of this country is remarkable; and it is even more remarkable to witness with what passiveness the agriculturist sees his crops withering, blasted for want of water, almost every summer, in the different parts of our country, when the remedy is so near at hand. There is not a piece of land sold in the West in regard to which the judicious purchaser does not look well into the question of how many inches of irrigable water goes with the land, as it is the most important factor to be considered. The water-right, the number of miner's inches that can be used, and the cost price per foot per acre, are all matters to be considered.

History teaches us that irrigation is the oldest and surest method of intelligent agriculture. It was understood in the earliest days of the semi-civilized races and practised in Egypt, Persia, and Assyria ages before the Christian era. The richest and most productive regions of the earth have been cultivated for thousands of years in this manner. The valley of the Nile, various parts of

Europe, and a great portion of India have always depended upon it for the products of their soil. Some portions of Egypt, which the Nile did not irrigate, were watered by canals filled by taking to them the waters of that great river, and the people were impressed with the necessity of keeping these canals free and unobstructed and always filled with living water.

The following resolution was presented in the platform of one of the political parties in a western State some time ago as an important measure :

"*Resolved*, That the waters of the State belong to the land they irrigate, and we favor and will aid in maintaining a broad and comprehensive system of irrigation that looks to the benefit of the irrigator as primary to the assumed rights of the riparian and appropriator ; a system controlled by the government, free to all, under the control of no class of persons, and established and maintained by a revenue derived from those whom the system will benefit. We believe the water is the property of the people, and that it should be so used as to secure the greatest good to the greatest number of people."

The government of our country has an important mission to perform, now that it has once taken charge of the work, and it is presumed that it will continue until a time when the whole irrigation system will be under its control, with one simple law governing it alike in all the States and territories. Otherwise, there is danger of confusion and clashing of interests. As to whether it will be taken charge of by the Federal Government remains to be seen. The enormous amount of money required to place the desert lands in a productive state would have to be furnished by the government, as it would be impossible for the States and territories to complete such a system as is in contemplation ; and the funds expended should, by a well-matured and comprehensive plan, revert again to the treasury of the general government from the sale of its lands thus improved.

The people of California interested in irrigation, at the State Irrigation Convention in 1887, presented the following propositions in the form of amendments to the State constitution :

"*First*—The declaration that every natural stream and water source is public property.

"*Second*—That the appropriation for beneficial uses of any such stream must be made under legislative enactment.

"*Third*—That all water so appropriated in the State is declared to be a public use.

"*Fourth*—Rates and rents for use are to be fixed by public authority, but must not exceed 7 per cent. on capital actually expended in constructing irrigating works."

The Legislature of Wyoming territory has adopted the water legislation of the State of Colorado, which is considered the best in use by any of the States and territories. The subject has been discussed at length in the various reports of the governors of different western States and territories, and all the western States have fostered and cared for irrigating enterprises; and their citizens have invested millions of dollars, the revenue from which makes it a very profitable investment and benefits the people and the country adjacent to the plant.

Now let us consider the area of the region wherein the surveys are to be made. The area of our country consists, according to the records of the Agricultural Department and other sources, of 1,500,000 square miles of arable land, and an equal amount equally divided in pasture land and in mountain and timber,—Alaska not being included in the estimate. Of the arable land it requires a little over 300,000 square miles to produce all our grain, hay, cotton, sugar, rice, and vegetables. The extent of the territory west of the one-hundredth meridian is estimated at 1,300,000 square miles, of which over one-fifth will not admit of cultivation owing to its rugged, mountainous character, while the remaining area requires only water to make it serviceable either for agriculture or pasturage. Of the million square miles that can be made productive, it is estimated that 150,000 square miles can be redeemed, being equal in area to one-half of the land cultivated in the United States. It will be seen at a glance what a vast population the land in question will be able to support, and the immense benefit that will in time accrue to the government and the people.

The precipitation of water in the mountainous portions of the arid belt averages about twenty inches yearly, although in parts, in some years, as much as seventy-five inches has fallen, causing floods in the streams, frequently creating destruction in the arable low land, and the most of it disappearing in the sandy wastes, where the average rainfall is scarcely five inches. The lesser amount falling on low desert lands and the greater in the mountains, the plan for obstructing the mountain valleys or cañons, wherever it can be done to advantage and at small cost, should in all cases be pursued to completion. Where natural catchment basins exist,—and there are any number of them in the mountains,—the government should reserve them for future irrigation purposes.

Private enterprises, mindful of the advantages and large returns for money invested and the indifference shown by the Federal Government, have taken up many important sites for reservoirs which drain areas many square miles in extent, and control the water for vast districts. On the surface of the arid regions it is estimated that about fifteen inches of water falls annually, most of which can be utilized for the one million acres estimated to be productive for pasturage and cultivation, by the use of reservoirs, canals, and artesian wells. As over four-fifths of the one million square miles can only be used for pasturage for the immense herds that now roam the valleys and mesas, this will require very little water when compared with the land to be cultivated. Nearly all of the arid region embraces arable lands favorable for agriculture in all its phases, from the cultivation of the products of the north temperate zone to those of the tropics. Where irrigation is used in the north, the season for watering is generally not longer than three months, but in the south it embraces at least eight or nine months of the year. As much water is used at a time as would result from a day's severe rain. A practical knowledge is requisite, as too much water is liable to produce more injury than benefit. While the irrigated farms are larger generally in Colorado and Utah, in Southern California twenty acres is as much as one family can well care for when devoted to the cultivation of vines, fruits, or alfalfa.

That eminent journalist, statesman, and scholar, Sir Edwin Arnold, recently passing across the continent, made this observation :

"Nothing has struck me more in my visit to America than the slope of your Sierras. Your orchards and vineyards were a revelation to me. You will be the wine-growers of the world. Then, in your sagebrush plateaus you only need irrigation to make them fruitful. The land I saw in Nevada is almost exactly like what I saw in India and Arabia, which has been made so productive."

Dividing the area to be reported upon by the Geological Survey into three divisions, the first would embrace the land whose eastern limit would be near the one-hundredth meridian, and its western bordering the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains, near the one-hundred-and-fifth meridian, while its extent would reach from the Rio Grande River in Texas to the Canadian boundary. The second division would have its eastern limit near the one-hundred-and-fifth meridian, and its western boundary the Sierra Nevada and Cascade ranges of mountains. Much of this division

is a mountainous country. The streams of the west find their sources near the summits of the mountain peaks covered with eternal snow, and derive their main supply from the rains and snow that fall within the great basin through which they course to the sea; and it is on this vast mountain region that the low lands and foot-hills will have to depend for the water to make them beautiful in the garb of nature. Its cañons can be formed into great catch-basins for retaining the rains in their season, while natural lakes are numerous throughout its length.

The State of California, blessed with prosperity derived from its irrigating works, comprises most of the last division, and it is fast being populated with an intelligent class of agriculturists, brought thither mainly through the richness of the soil, the public enterprise and success of irrigating works, and the assured prosperity of the country. The changes wrought in places in California which not long ago were considered valueless have been indeed wonderful. Where once it was thought nothing but sage-brush and cactus could grow, the land has been cleared, ditches have been formed, trees planted, crops cultivated, and the land placed in a higher state of cultivation than many favored localities of the eastern and southern States. In ten years villages and cities have sprung up where before coyotes starved. In fact, it is impossible for one to conceive how much a country supposed to be utterly worthless can be benefited by the use of water, unless he has seen such effects. To pass from the hot, arid regions into the fertile valleys of California is as gladdening to the eyes of the beholder as the sight of an oasis is to the traveller in the desert. To see the countless acres of trees with their ripening fruit (for some kind of fruit is always in season in that region), the unlimited acres of grapes, fields of wheat, barley, and alfalfa, and everything breathing life and health, is to see the blessed use of water, husbanded and cared for and appreciated in all its worth. From land valued at less than $1 per acre it has increased through the medium of improvements of land adjoining, and the benefit of a sure supply of water, until one acre is worth as much as one hundred would have been had not the systems of irrigation been established. No part of this country has attained such success in irrigation as this. The practice of it has spread from this part of the country to all parts of California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and other States and

territories. Without irrigation, except in certain moist lands these beautiful valleys and low lands would once more revert to desert wastes.

It is a well-known fact that after land has become thoroughly cultivated by irrigation less water is required; and it is safe to assert that thousands of acres of so-called desert land may become adapted for agricultural purposes without the continued help of irrigation. Immediately following the establishment of an irrigation district, after the canals with their lateral ditches have been completed and the cultivation of crops has commenced, the planting of trees should be encouraged. The eucalyptus variety is mostly planted in California, and the cottonwood in Arizona and New Mexico. The former has a very rapid growth, and as a windbreak and a protection to crops it is used extensively, although it is very exhausting to the soil. Coincident with irrigation should be tree-planting, which would in a short time not only change the appearance of the country, but supply the wood which is necessary for fuel. It would hardly be possible to estimate the value of trees in their usefulness toward reclaiming arid lands, and too much cannot be said in urging the profuse planting of them. In fact, it would be well for the government, in selling land reclaimed by it through the irrigation works to be established, to make it compulsory on the purchaser to plant a portion of his acreage in forest trees. They would only require thorough irrigation during the first year, less of it the second, very little the third, and none at all thereafter. Tree-culture, especially the planting of trees indigenous to the country, should by all means be encouraged.

As we review the past, we notice the action of the unscrupulous and the insatiable following in the wake or hanging upon the flanks, and very often seen in a position far in advance, of any humane, progressive measure which may be adopted for the benefit of mankind or to promote the welfare of a worthy people. It is wonderful how difficult it has been to ward off the schemes of these avaricious creatures; and in a measure of this kind, which has in view the welfare of the entire people, safeguards cannot be too strongly applied to protect it from such contaminating influences. It is a fact to be regretted that many of our most commendable measures, whether municipal, State, or national, which have given us avenues of commerce, works of art, and many im-

provements for the public good, whether patriotic, humane, or beneficent, have been embarrassed and contaminated by the touch of these creatures, and the purpose of the designer has often been marred and debased by the contact of those who see nothing in any public or progressive measure other than the opportunity to gratify their craven and selfish desires.

Moreover, it should be distinctly understood that there are hundreds of square miles of our public domain where it would be utter folly to spend more money than the amount necessary to ascertain the fact of their worthlessness. Dangers of this kind should be avoided, and the government should systematically improve what property it possesses worthy of such expenditure, and divide it up in such a manner that it can be cultivated by an industrious, enterprising, and intelligent people, who will build for themselves and their posterity homes that will adorn and beautify any State or territory, thus encouraging and sustaining the true spirit and character of American citizens, and promoting the general welfare of our entire country. As we can point to the past with just feelings of pride, it is hoped that our future may be as bright, prosperous, and progressive.

NELSON A. MILES.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SPEAKERSHIP.

BY THE HON. THOMAS B. REED, THE SPEAKER, AND THE HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE, EX-SPEAKER, OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MR. REED:

WHEN the passions of the hour have subsided, when filibustering has been forgotten, and men have returned to the notion that public office implies public duties, the scene described but faintly in the *Congressional Record* of January 30 will be read with amazement, even by some of those who participated as actors. The very fact that a great constitutional question was met on a great occasion by mere explosions of turgid rhetoric and rank disorder will seem almost incomprehensible on any basis, and quite so on the part of men so eminent as to be chosen among thirty thousand of their fellows for high political office.

The House of Representatives is a body of men 330 in number, representing a vast extent of country, with interests and wants so varied that no catalogue could fully enumerate them. If any one supposes that each question receives the deliberate judgment of each and all the members, he is indulging in a dream of duty performed which has no corresponding reality. The great majority of the bills which pass Congress pass on the authority of committees, or of members whose reputation carries them through. Of course, this is not true of public bills of general concern or of national importance. Such bills have full consideration, due debate, and proper attention. But bills of local interest, affecting distinct regions, and concerning small numbers only, are daily passed without a standing vote. Indeed, there have been many bills passed without the utterance of an audible sound, because even the promoter, amid the general certainty, would forget to vote for his bill.

This was precisely what was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. If the majority of the members were on the spot, within sound of the transaction, if they heard the bill read at the desk and the voice of the Speaker putting the question, there could be no human probability that any measure would pass detrimental to the Republic. In pursuance of this view, every day for a hundred years the House has passed bills, in the total innumerable, without even a count, by mere determination of volume of voice. Even when a more certain method of decision was demanded, and members stood in their places and were counted, thousands of bills have gone through on a vote confessedly less than a quorum. When the writer of this article recently declared that he had heard Mr. Carlisle announce such bills as duly passed a hundred times, he was altogether too guarded. He ought to have said a thousand times.

It is well to comprehend just what this means. Every such bill had to be signed by Mr. Carlisle personally for the very purpose of certifying that it had passed properly and constitutionally. Every such bill passed by less than a quorum present and voting, and signed by Mr. Carlisle, was, therefore, an asseveration on his part that a quorum need not vote. If it was not, how could he justify his action? If it be needful to have a quorum in active participation by voting, how could he dare to sign a bill which he himself had declared to the House and the world had not the absolute requisite? The only reply to this home question yet attempted is that, inasmuch as the journal does not record the vote, nobody can question it, which is the same as saying that the Constitution can be constitutionally violated every day in the week, provided the House journal falsifies by omission.

In this connection, also, it must be noted that many bills on which he himself declared in open House that less than a quorum had voted have been signed by the late Speaker on the very day of passage, and therefore before the journal was even written, much less approved. How could this have been done except in happy constitutional reliance on the well-founded hope that the journal, when born, would not state the fact?

The sober truth, however, is that all these proceedings are strictly constitutional, and would be if the facts were journalized. The presumption always is that the body is legally constituted; that a majority is there—a quorum—ready to do business. If

anybody doubts it, he can say so and have the legal inference verified. This could be properly done by the Speaker's count. And here it is well to remark that, after all that has been said of the dreadful tyranny of the ascertainment of a quorum by the Speaker, and after all the hysterics of the newspaper head-lines, it is somewhat improving to remember that the "actual count by the Speaker that a quorum" is or "is not present" was expressly recognized for one particular exigency by clause 3 of No. XVII. of the old rules. While, therefore, the friends of easy obstruction who wish to lie in ambuscade, visible to the eye, but invisible to the law, are obliged to admit that, outside the roll-call of yeas and nays, a quorum need not participate, yet they claim that the precedents of a hundred years have been violated in recognizing the fact that a quorum of the House was actually present when the roll-call, owing to the voluntary misconduct of members, did not show a majority actually voting.

The phrase, "precedents of a hundred years" is simply rhetoric. Our fathers knew nothing of this modern system of metaphysics whereby a man could be present and absent at the same moment; could be visible to demand his yeas and nays, and invisible when they were called. It did not occur to their simple minds to glorify themselves for being silent, while they felt it an insult to have that silence pointed out. They thought that opposition meant voting against a bill. Hence filibustering is of modern origin. It had its beginning as a business in the House of Representatives at Washington. Thence it spread all over the country, until from one end of the United States to the other mere inertia had got to be a match for both ballots and brains. When filibustering began, it took a whole political party to block business. In the last Congress it had ripened to such a degree of impossible perfection that one man held the country at bay. The doctrine of the "rights of the minority" seemed to have culminated at that moment.

But the trying time for all ill-doing is the summit of prosperity. When Mr. Tweed wanted to know "what you were going to do about it," he had challenged both the ingenuity and the courage of mankind; and from that time it was Tweed against the world, and the result not doubtful. Had filibustering confined itself to the House of Representatives or held itself within bounds of reason, it might have flourished long and had many de-

fenders. It was a convenient method of demanding debate, of calling the attention of the country to violent political measures, and deserved many of the commendations it then received. But when in 1882 it commenced to be the common method of preventing a decision of election cases, and finally in 1889 reëstablished the Liberum Veto of the old Polish Diet, whereby a single member became the arbiter of destiny, every man of sense recognized the fact that the practice was doomed.

Moreover, filibustering went on growing in the direction of another disaster. It reached the State legislatures, where the people could see it face to face. It came down to municipalities and school boards. It invaded even the assemblies of the churches, and Rule XXV. among the Rules for Judicatories adopted by the Presbyterian General Assembly of Pennsylvania bears witness alike to the evil and its suppression, when it declares that "silent members" "must be considered as acquiescing with the majority."

It is no wonder that the scheme of opposition by not voting spread so rapidly. It is so much easier to sit still than to argue, so much more restful to use the attraction of gravitation than to exhaust nervous energy, that it was not in human nature to refrain from the use of this power, which had the high sanction of Congress and "the precedents of a hundred years." But men never remain reasonably bad; they almost always carry badness to excess, and therefore to correction. And thus this scheme of silence, which worked so well in the distant atmosphere of the national capital, soon met its death when it got down to the regions of business. Washington is far away and only little understood; but a man whose contract may be adjudged void and his business career ruined by this doctrine of corporeal presence and parliamentary absence soon begins to understand one place where the rights of minorities ought to leave off. Hence when municipal bodies began to imitate their superiors, and tried to break contracts as well as quorums, the gladsome light of jurisprudence was soon shed upon them, and the parliamentary fiction that a man present could truthfully declare himself absent disappeared from every place except the Capitol at Washington.

In fact, there does not seem to be a single case where any court has dealt with this question except in one way. In Maine, in 1880, in the State-Steal Case, the court declared that

where a board of aldermen, seven in number, had sent to the Governor and council an election return which the board was bound to make, and there appeared on the paper three names only, it was to be presumed that these men had acted legally, and that the three were a majority of the quorum present, and sufficient for both action and authentication. In Illinois, years ago, in a case where eight aldermen were present and five was a quorum, four voting and four remaining silent while the mayor gave the casting vote, the court declared the action legal, and added a sentence which is rich with that saving common-sense which is the basis of all law: "There is no propriety in giving to a refusal to vote more potency than to a vote cast."

Just here it might be well to make application. On one question in the House during the late disturbances 163 members voted in the affirmative, and 130 of the Democrats remained silent. Every one of those Democratic votes and thirty-two more could not have defeated the motion, and yet it is claimed that their mere silence did what their votes, reënforced by two-and-thirty more, could not. Moreover, according to that same ingenious theory, any two of the 130 silent men, by voting against the motion, would have constitutionally carried it! If this be so, it has the disadvantage of not appealing to the common-sense of mankind.

The Supreme Court of New Hampshire, by the mouth of Chief-Justice Doe, has declared that where there were seven aldermen in all and six were present, of whom three voted, the vote was a valid one, even if but two voted in the affirmative. The Chief Justice also adds words which must seem almost rude to some of those gentlemen, lawyers in their own country, who voiced their feelings on the 29th of January. "The exercise of the law-making power," says the Chief Justice, "is not to be stopped by the mere silence and inaction of some of the law-makers who are present." If these legal gentlemen cared to make a dialogue of it, they could assure the Chief Justice that, owing to the sound sense and steadfastness of the House of Representatives, not only "mere silence and inaction" could not "stop the law-making power," but even multitudinous vociferousness and quite violent action failed to do it.

On the 10th of last December, just after the opening of this session, the Supreme Court of Indiana, in Gas Company *vs.* Rushville, passed upon this question with abundance of learning,

showing an unbroken line of precedents—"precedents," let us say in language now become immortal, "—precedents of a hundred years"—in favor of the doctrine that a man who is present and can act is part of a quorum, and cannot by mere silence escape all the responsibilities of his office except those of pay-day. In language which recalls the terse sentence of the Illinois court already quoted, the Indiana judges declare, as if they had in mind the very House of Representatives that now is :

"It is inconceivable that their silence should be allotted greater force than their active opposition. . . . Certainly the utmost that can with the faintest tinge of plausibility be claimed is that their votes must be counted against the resolution."

"If members present desire to defeat a measure, they must vote against it, for inaction will not accomplish their purpose. Their silence is acquiescence rather than opposition."

"The rule we have asserted is a very old one."

It really seems needless to cite any more legal authorities, and yet the courts could furnish us with many more decisions as sound and pertinent as those already given.

In view of the head-lines which have ornamented the daily journals of one of the parties of this country for a number of weeks, is it not strange to note that not one single court sustains their view of a great constitutional question ? It really looks as if it was not a constitutional question at all, but a constitutional certainty. For not only are the judges against them, but the statesmen are, and the politicians also.

Governor Hill's decision has already been spread before the people, and need not be more than alluded to. It is, however, proper to say that his views have been acquiesced in in the great State of New York, and while I do not pretend to have any knowledge of what events surrounded the then Lieutenant-Governor's action, it would not be at all surprising, in view of the powerful reasoning there displayed, to learn that his action had the prior approval of great lawyers and possibly even of great judges.

Tennessee has twice furnished examples of the record of those present and refusing to vote and the passage of bills on a yea-and-nay vote which did not disclose a quorum. If those acts were ever called in question, nobody has yet cited the decision overthrowing them.

An amendment to the State-Bank Act was passed in Ohio in Vallandigham's day in the same way, the Speaker announcing

that "no quorum had voted, but a quorum was present." This act was in force for twenty years. In the Michigan Senate and in Ohio, in Massachusetts in both houses, and even in Kentucky, the same thing has been done. If any one desires to see a model statement of the case, let him look at President Pillsbury's decision in the Massachusetts Senate in 1885.

While the Kentucky Democratic members did not with quite the same adorable frankness with which they expressed their opinions state the action of their State Senate, yet it was disclosed during the debate that Kentucky had followed the other States, and the fact excited the same kind of surprise which was aroused when the rules of the Virginia House of Delegates were exhibited. Some of the Virginia members had remonstrated with vigor when their names were called as present and refusing to vote. And yet under a constitution the phraseology of which on this subject of a quorum is identical with the Constitution of the United States, the rules of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia record those who are present and not voting for the very purpose of making a quorum when it is not disclosed by actual votes on a roll-call.

In the Pennsylvania Senate, in 1880, occurred an incident which adorns with an illumination quite picturesque the doctrine of constructive absence. There had been much filibustering of the congressional sort during the session, the Democrats refusing to vote. Senator Rayburn, in the chair, decided that those Democrats who demanded the yeas and nays were present. There was much disatisfaction, and one day when a Democrat was in the chair the same question arose, and he promptly decided that those who demanded the yeas and nays were not there. Thereupon the friends of tyranny of that period, in the person of Mr. Cooper, made the point that the Chair was present, and the Chair decided that he was not! It was felt, however, that the great principle had somehow or other then and there received a great strain, and the Senate thereafter behaved and obstruction ceased. A sense of the ridiculous sometimes rises to the dignity of effectual saving grace.

It is useless to cite in addition the debates of the Constitutional Convention. It is true that they would remove any shade of doubt, if we had any, but the language of the Constitution leaves no room for question. If by any chance there is not a

quorum, the Constitution provides a way to get one. It is not by recording those present as voting either yea or nay, but by making the absent present. It provides for the supply of what is lacking. That which was lacking was a quorum. It supplies that lack by "attendance." Attendance alone was and is necessary. Is it inconceivable that our ancestors should have tried to supply by "attendance" a lack of a quorum if they knew that "attendance" would not supply the lack? Why send for men if that was not the remedy?

Along with this doctrine of the invisibility of the visible have come some specious arguments which, by dint of frequent repetition, have taken on the importance of formulas or accepted facts. Among these is the alleged duty of the majority to furnish a quorum. Why should good Democrats, washing their hands, like Pontius Pilate, of this matter, and desiring only the quiet and convenient seclusion of their own seats, be compelled to submit to the outrage of being noticed in order to enable legislation to march? Let the majority have their men here. Let every Republican be in his seat, where he belongs, and there would be no trouble.

This sounds well. What could be more simple? One hundred and sixty-eight Republicans present and voting is all we ask. Unfortunately, this is a world which even Congress does not utterly absorb. Sickness and death and business crises do not spare even Congressmen. In the struggles over the election case of Jackson and Smith, two men were absent on account of causes utterly impossible to be overcome; two more came at risk of further sickness and perhaps of their lives. At the next crisis, when on the adoption of the new rules it seemed desirable to have all the Republicans there, Mr. McKinley, who was in good health on the prior occasion, dared not leave his room. Mr. Morrow had taken the place of Mr. Rockwell on the sick-list, and a death in his family had sent Mr. Van Schaick home in place of Mr. Caswell, who could not be with us on the decision of the election case. Many Representatives in Congress, moreover, are men of affairs, business men who cannot throw away their enterprises and close up their shops entirely. If the country wants their services,—and no men are more useful by reason of the very ability and judgment which put them in the fore front of the business world,

—they must have time once in a while to attend to important affairs. And in practical life it will always happen that from five to ten men will be called off just at the moment when the great doctrine of furnishing a quorum is to be put in practice. Whenever this matter is examined, it will seem very clear to intelligent men that it is much more sensible to count those you have than to send for those you have not.

Another specious form which this argument sometimes takes is the declaration that there are great and solemn occasions when the minority should have the right to demand a majority vote of all those elected to membership. Who is to judge of these solemn occasions? Why, the very gentlemen whom our government by majorities conclusively presumes to be wrong—the minority! Why, said Mr. Mills, of Texas, this is in the constitution of this State, that State, and the other State, and therefore is right. It would seem to an ordinary constitutional lawyer as if the fact that it had to be put into other constitutions, and had not been put into ours, was conclusive that it was not there either by implication or design. It is to be hoped that the time is far distant when anybody will even propose to put into the Constitution of the United States the crude expressions of distrust in the representatives of the people which disfigure many of our State constitutions.

When men learn that the truest foundation on which to build, perpetuate, and maintain a republic is confidence in the wisdom of the plain people, they will cease to deprive them of power in order to lodge it in the hands of the few whose only claim to wisdom and virtue is their paucity of numbers. When the world reaches a real belief in government by the people, we shall find it the surest safeguard of liberty and property; we shall find States better ruled and cities better governed than by any of those devices which are based on the false idea that for the government of all the wisdom of the few is better than the wisdom of the many.

THOMAS B. REED

MR. CARLISLE:

"The rules of Parliament are designed to afford every legitimate opportunity of discussion, to insure reasonable delays in the passing of important measures, and to guard the rights of minorities."—SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MAY.

THE Constitution of the United States provides that the House of Representatives "shall choose their Speaker and other officers," and that "each house may determine the rules of its

proceedings." The powers and duties of the Speaker are not defined in the Constitution or in any statute, but are to be ascertained from the general practice of parliamentary bodies and from such rules as the House of Representatives may, from time to time, see proper to adopt. The framers of the Constitution were familiar with the law and practice of the British House of Commons, the great legislative assembly of their mother-country, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that when they provided for the election of a Speaker, they had in contemplation a presiding officer with substantially the same powers, duties, and responsibilities as had belonged for many centuries to the presiding officer in that body.

While the right to enlarge or restrict these powers, duties, and responsibilities by its own rules was expressly conferred upon the House of Representatives, it cannot be supposed that the authors of the Constitution intended, by this clause, to authorize the exercise of a power which would destroy or impair the free representative character of the body itself. Like all other powers delegated by the Constitution, the authority to make rules must be construed and exercised in harmony with the general spirit and plan of our republican institutions ; and therefore any rule which confers upon the Speaker arbitrary power and allows him, at his own will and pleasure, to deprive members of the right to make ordinary parliamentary motions and have them voted on by the House is an inexcusable surrender of the privileges of a free constituency, and a gross perversion of a power which was conferred for the very purpose of promoting and preserving the independence of the representative. Members of the House do not act for themselves, either in making rules or passing laws ; they act for the people whom they represent, and whenever they put fetters upon their own limbs or stifle their own voices, they inflict a grievous injury upon their constituents.

Arbitrary power can exist nowhere in a free government, and if it be true, as now claimed, that the popular branch of the legislative department has been authorized to confer such power upon any one man, no matter what his official title may be, it is clear that there is a defect in our system not heretofore detected by the most careful and intelligent observers. The Constitution begins with the declaration that "all legislative power herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which

shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." The power to legislate necessarily includes the right to hear and determine all such motions and propositions as are incidental to the consideration of bills and resolutions and the transaction of other legislative business; and this power, given expressly to the Senate and House of Representatives, cannot be delegated by either of them. It must be exercised by the members chosen by the people and the States to speak and act for them. If they can rightfully delegate to their presiding officers the power to decide finally and conclusively upon all motions made in the course of legislative proceedings, it is difficult to see why they cannot also confer upon those officers the power to decide in the same way upon the merits of all bills proposed. There is certainly nothing in the mere name or title of the presiding officer to qualify him for the constitutional exercise of such a power, and it could as well be conferred upon the clerk, or the sergeant-at-arms, or the doorkeeper.

From time immemorial the Speaker of the House of Commons has been, in theory and in fact, simply the servant of the body over which he presides, and the freemen of England would no more consent to see him control its proceedings by arbitrarily refusing to entertain motions or put questions than they would consent to see the Crown itself usurp the functions of the legislature. A standard American writer on parliamentary law says:

"The presiding officer, though entitled on all occasions to be treated with the greatest attention and respect by the individual members, because the power, and dignity, and honor of the assembly are officially embodied in his person, is yet but the servant of the House, to declare its will and to obey implicitly all its commands."

It is the duty of the Speaker to obey the commands of the House, but the House can give no commands if he refuses to put the question on motions made by members. The only way in which the House can express its will is by a vote, and it cannot vote unless its presiding officer entertains motions and gives it an opportunity to consider and act upon them.

The only justification that has been offered for the revolution that has been made in the practice of the House of Representatives, and for the extraordinary powers conferred upon the Speaker, is that certain motions and proceedings heretofore allowed have been misused for the purpose of obstructing or delaying legislation. This is true to a certain extent, and if a proper remedy for

this evil had been proposed,—a remedy consistent with the Constitution and the freedom of parliamentary proceedings,—there would have been little, if any, opposition from the minority. But there was no necessity for such radical changes as have been made, and nothing but the most imperative necessity could furnish an excuse for them.

It appears to be popularly supposed that the old rules afforded greater opportunities for obstructive proceedings than were afforded by the rules of legislative bodies generally ; but, in fact, such was not the case. In the British House of Commons the opportunities are now, and always have been, much greater than they ever were in our House of Representatives, and while much inconvenience has frequently resulted on account of dilatory proceedings in the Commons, no English statesman has ever ventured to propose such radical and oppressive regulations as have just been adopted here. In our House, in addition to the usual parliamentary motions which are allowed in the Commons, we have always had the previous question (which cuts off debate), and for a long time there has been a rule limiting speeches to one hour each. In the House of Commons there is no previous question, and no order limiting the length of speeches. Prior to November 27, 1882, the only limitation upon debate was an order made in 1604 that, "if any man speak impertinently, or beside the question in hand, it stands with the orders of the House for Mr. Speaker to interrupt him ; and to have the pleasure of the House whether they will further hear him." But this was found insufficient to restrain members and prevent them from consuming the time of the House uselessly in discussing irrelevant questions and repeating the same arguments over and over ; and, consequently, on the 27th of November, 1882, the following order was made :

"The Speaker, or the chairman of Ways and Means, may call the attention of the House, or of the committee, to continued irrelevance or tedious repetition on the part of a member ; and may direct the member to discontinue his speech."

This does not stop debate, but only compels the offending member to cease speaking out of order, and it is less restrictive than the rule which has for a long time prevailed in the House of Representatives. Our rule requires every member, when speaking, to confine himself to the question under debate, and it is not necessary to wait until he has been guilty of "continued irrelevance," but he may be called to order by the Speaker or any

other member, and compelled to suspend, on the instant that he departs from the subject under consideration.

In England the Speaker cannot refuse to entertain any motion unless it is actually out of order when made, but by one of the rules adopted in November, 1882, it is provided that,

"if the Speaker, or the chairman of a committee of the whole House, shall be of the opinion that a motion for the adjournment of a debate, or of the House, during any debate, or that the chairman do report progress, or do leave the chair, is an abuse of the rules of the House, he may forthwith put the question thereupon from the chair."

It will be seen that under this rule the Speaker or chairman is bound to entertain the motion, although he may know it to be made for dilatory purposes, but he may prevent the consumption of time in debate upon it by putting the question at once; and this applies only to motions to adjourn or that the committee rise, which are debatable there, though not so in the House of Representatives. Here the Speaker or chairman always puts the question at once, and not even an amendment is allowed.

The nearest approach to the previous question in the House of Commons is the proceeding provided for in one of the standing orders made, after long debate, in 1882. Under that order, when it appears to the Speaker, or to the chairman of Ways and Means in a committee of the whole House, that the subject under consideration has been "adequately discussed," and that it "is the evident sense of the House, or the committee, that the question be now put," he may so inform the House or committee; and thereupon, if a motion be made and carried that "the question be now put," the vote is immediately taken upon the main proposition without further debate. But this motion cannot be agreed to unless it is supported by more than two hundred members, or unless it is opposed by less than forty members and supported by more than one hundred. In the House of Representatives the previous question may be ordered, not only before the subject under consideration has been "adequately discussed," but before it has been discussed at all, in which case forty minutes only are allowed for debate.

The order of the Commons authorizing the suspension, or partial suspension, of a member for the offence of "disregarding the authority of the chair, or of abusing the rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House, or otherwise," is not more severe than the old rule of the House

of Representatives, which has been readopted, and by no means as severe as our constitutional provision which authorizes the actual expulsion of a member.

The rules and orders of the Commons to which reference has been made were adopted to arrest a series of obstructive proceedings which had already produced the most alarming results, and which, if persisted in, threatened the peace of the empire; and they are mentioned here for two purposes: one is to show that, notwithstanding these rules and orders, which by many were considered harsh and unreasonable, the opportunities for obstruction and delay are still greater in the Commons than they ever were in our House of Representatives; and the other is to show that, even in the presence of so grave a crisis as then existed, it was not deemed consistent with the rights of individual members, or the freedom of the body collectively, to confer upon the Speaker such extraordinary authority as is now vested in the Speaker of the House of Representatives by the new rules just adopted here.

These new rules go far beyond all precedent here or elsewhere, and confer upon the Speaker the absolute power to refuse to entertain any motion whatever if he chooses to consider it dilatory, although the motion itself may be clearly in order and expressly authorized by the very rules under which he is acting. For instance, when a motion is under debate, the following motions are expressly provided for: to adjourn, to lay on the table, for the previous question, to postpone to a day certain, to refer, to amend, and to postpone indefinitely. These motions are always in order when any matter of legislation is under consideration, and yet by the new clause—inserted, it is understood, at the instance of the Speaker himself—he is authorized to refuse to entertain all or any one of them upon the ground that in his opinion it is made for the purpose of delay; and there is no appeal to the House from his decision unless he may see proper to permit it, because he can hold that the appeal itself is a dilatory proceeding. One of the rules which has existed ever since Congress was organized provides that the Speaker shall "decide all questions of order, subject to an appeal by any member"; but that officer is now clothed with the power to deny this ancient right of appeal, and make his own will the law of the House.

No such power was ever before conferred upon a presiding officer in a deliberative body, and it is safe to say that the House of

Representatives of the United States is the only legislative assembly in the civilized world that would consent to part, even temporarily, with the right to construe its own rules of proceeding and protect itself against improper decisions affecting the rights of its members. "The ultimate authority upon all points is the House itself," says Sir Thomas Erskine May, in his great work on the "Law, Privileges, Proceedings, and Usage of Parliament"; but this is no longer true of our House of Representatives. This power, which is inherent in every free representative body, has been deliberately surrendered. That the House distinctly understood what it was doing is clearly shown by the fact that, during the consideration of the new rules, it rejected a proposed amendment that "the Speaker shall not, in any case, refuse to entertain an appeal from his decision." This amendment was rejected by a strict party vote, every Democrat present voting for it and every Republican present voting against it.

The Constitution provides that a majority of each House "shall constitute a quorum to do business," and for more than a hundred years it has been uniformly held, whenever the question arose, that this required not merely that a majority should be present, but that such a majority must actually participate in the transaction of business, and that, when the yeas and nays are taken and entered upon the journal, that official record is the conclusive and exclusive evidence as to the number present and acting. During the present session of Congress, before rules had been adopted, and therefore before the House had conferred upon the Speaker any authority over the journal, he held that when the yeas and nays were taken, and less than a quorum voted, he had a right to count members present and not voting, cause their names to be entered upon the journal, and by this means show the existence of a quorum and "do business" in the House. Now the new rules contain a clause authorizing the Speaker to direct the clerk to note the names of members who are present and not voting, sufficient to make a quorum, and record them in the journal to be counted and announced in determining the result.

The right of the House to authorize the Speaker to direct the clerk to enter the names of members on the journal is not disputed; but the constitutional effect of such a proceeding is quite a different question. This is not the place to discuss the consti-

tutional question; but the practical effect of the rule, for the time being, will be that in a House consisting, when full, of 330 members, of whom 166 constitute a quorum, the Speaker may declare the most important bills passed when the record shows that they were voted for by one member only, if there are enough others present to make a quorum. Unless all previous presiding officers were wrong, this is a flagrant violation of the Constitution; but whether so or not, it is certainly a most dangerous innovation upon the settled practice of the House, and, instead of being a reform, it is a movement in the direction of loose, unjust, and improvident legislation. The tendency in recent times is to require, by express constitutional provision, the affirmative vote of a majority of all the members elected to legislative assemblies in order to pass bills, and to make it imperative in every case that the yeas and nays shall be taken and entered upon the journal. In some of the States this provision applies only to bills appropriating money, or creating public liabilities, or imposing taxes, while in others it applies to all matters of legislation; but to whatever extent it goes, it indicates clearly a growing disposition among the people to be more careful in the delegation of power to their representatives and to require the vote of actual majorities to enact laws.

It is true that the power now conferred upon the Speaker has been exercised in some of the State legislatures in times of high political excitement or bitter personal contests; but the dispassionate judgment of the thoughtful and conservative people of the country condemns it, and no constitutional convention has ventured to declare in terms that a minority could pass laws even though the majority were absent or silent.

Not only is the power of the Speaker increased by the changes in the rules already referred to, but in many other ways the control of business is taken from the House and placed in his hands. Heretofore all public bills have been introduced in open session, and referred to their appropriate committees, their titles having been first read in order that every member might know to what subjects they related. The Speaker usually directed the reference, but always in the presence of the House, and if any member doubted the propriety of an order of reference indicated by him, such member had the right to move to refer the bill to some other committee, and have it read in full, so that a vote

could be intelligently taken on his motion. All reports from committees were likewise made in open session and the titles of the bills read, and members had the same right to move to refer them to either of the calendars, and thus have the House decide where they should go for consideration. Under the old rules, also, it was the duty of the Speaker to lay before the House, for reference, all messages from the President, reports and communications from the heads of departments, and other communications addressed to the House, and such bills, resolutions, and other messages as had been received from the Senate. Now all this is changed. Under the new rules, bills must be handed to the Speaker to be by him referred to committees, and reports from committees are to be delivered to the clerk and referred to the calendars by him under the direction of the Speaker. All official communications from the heads of executive departments, except messages from the President, and all other communications addressed to the House, together with bills and resolutions, etc., from the Senate, may now be referred to committees by the Speaker in the same manner as he refers public bills, without being laid before the House, as heretofore.

Under these rules, public bills and official communications from the heads of departments may be delivered to the Speaker, and reports of committees may be delivered to the clerk, at their private rooms or on the street, whether the House is in session or not; but even if they are delivered in the hall while the House is sitting, no member can know what bills have been introduced, or what reports have been made, or how they have been referred, until he hears the journal read or sees the official *Record* on some future day. This, besides being a loose and unsatisfactory method of transacting public business in a great legislative body, confers upon the Speaker an important power which has always heretofore been exercised by the House itself—that is, the power to determine in the first instance to what committees bills and official communications shall be referred, and on what calendars reports shall be placed for consideration. For a long time it has been held that a motion to correct an erroneous reference of a bill was privileged and could be made by any member at any time; but under the new system, if the Speaker, by mistake or design, sends a bill to the wrong committee, the correction cannot be made except by unanimous consent, or on the motion of a com-

mittee claiming jurisdiction, or on the report of the committee to which it was erroneously referred. The privilege of the member is now taken away, and if he cannot secure unanimous consent to send his bill where it really ought to have gone in the first instance, under the rules he must appeal to a committee for relief from the erroneous action of the Speaker.

The adoption of the new rules is in many respects a long step in exactly the wrong direction. This is especially the case so far as they relate to the powers of the Speaker. Reform should have commenced by curtailing, instead of extending, the authority of that officer, and the control of the House itself over its own proceedings should have been enlarged upon some plan which would have prevented unreasonable and factious obstruction and delay, but at the same time given ample opportunity for deliberate consideration and action. Under any system of rules that can be devised, the presiding officer in a body so numerous as the House of Representatives will necessarily have more power than ought to be intrusted to any man in this country; and no matter how just and impartial he may be, there will be occasions when he cannot escape the imputation, at least, of unfair and arbitrary action. In the conflict of opposing interests and opinions, he is often compelled to decide important questions without proper time for consideration; and, even if he is guilty of no intentional abuse of his great authority, he may do an actual injustice which cannot afterwards be repaired. The simple power to decide what member shall be recognized to speak or make a motion when more than one rises, appears to be necessary in order to prevent constant struggles and confusion on the floor, and yet it is a power which often enables the Speaker to determine what measures shall be taken up, and is therefore inconsistent with the absolute freedom and equality of members. When such results may follow the exercise of a power so simple and necessary as this, it is not strange that the advocates of equal rights in the House should look with some degree of alarm upon every proposition to confer additional authority upon its presiding officer.

J. G. CARLISLE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

WHAT THE FAIR SHOULD BE.

I DO not consider myself especially competent to discuss the question of a world's fair, particularly in a technical way. I have only seen one great international exhibition, that at Philadelphia in 1876, and therefore I can say little in response to your questions as to the general plan of the fair, wherein it should differ from its predecessors, and what are the pitfalls its managers should guard against. To the first question I might respond generally, Make it bigger and better than any that have preceded it. Make it the Greatest Show on Earth,—greater than my own Great Moral Show—if you can. It should differ from its predecessors in having twice as many visitors, with a hundred times better accommodations for them. It might differ from the Paris exhibition in particular in being located in a city where living accommodations are not raised to extortionate prices merely because that city has its visitors in its power. Nothing is calculated to send the average traveller back to his native country in higher dudgeon than to find that the foreigners upon whose hospitality he has been thrown have fleeced him. I know, of my own knowledge, of hundreds of Americans who attended the Paris exhibition last summer and found the hotel rates higher than the Eiffel Tower, and to whom their expense accounts seemed bigger than the exposition grounds. The chances are that those people will remember the extortion they suffered longer than the great monuments of human industry and progress they witnessed.

Of the great moral and educational influence exerted by international exhibitions there can be no two opinions among intelligent men. The first world's fair, at the Crystal Palace in London, in 1850, was the greatest civilizer ever known. Many believed at that time, with the Prince Consort, who organized the fair, that, after all the great nations of the earth had been thus brought together in social and industrial convention, wars among men would cease. And so they would, perhaps, if all rulers had possessed the humane disposition and philosophical mind of Prince Albert. To him it seemed impossible, after all the countries had brought their products and manufactures together, and thus discovered how common were their interests, and how surely international harmony would foster trade and advance the conditions of their peoples, that they should again fall out and slaughter each other upon trivial issues and political technicalities.

But though there have been several great wars since the various nations removed their exhibits from the Crystal Palace, that first exposition exercised a great beneficial influence upon humanity, and particularly upon the masses of the people. Before that time, of course, the great men of the different countries, the rulers, nobles, and ambassadors, had met and realized that all men belonged to one great human family. The few men who at that time had travelled in other countries knew this as well. With other orders of society in all countries it was different. The average Englishman, Frenchman, or German, for instance, considered the Turk a wild beast rather than a human being, and believed that all Americans spat tobacco juice in drawing-rooms and carried bowie knives. The masses of the Europeans knew their nearest neighbors best as enemies upon the battlefields, and thought of them as the murderers of husbands, brothers, and sons.

When, however, the merchants and traders of all countries met on common ground in England, animated by a common purpose, there was a tremendous change

in popular feeling. The Englishman, for example, found the Turkish merchant polite and urbane, with his thoughts as far away from general murder as the Englishman's own. The polished Frenchman found the despised Chinaman as dignified and as courteous as himself. The German traders and farmers were surprised to learn that America and Russia possessed farming implements and had made inventions exceeding in many instances their own. The influence exerted by the dissemination of so much practical information when the visitors returned to their homes had a wonderfully broadening effect upon the popular mind. Each succeeding international exhibition has increased knowledge and pacific feeling, and these will be still further enhanced when the greatest country in the world opens her gates, on a great anniversary, to the industrial and commercial elements of the two hemispheres.

There is only one place in the United States to hold the world's fair, and that is New York city. No one appreciates or admires the enterprise and energy of our great Western cities more than I do, but I am sure their populations will consent to put aside selfish considerations in order to make the exhibition of '92 a credit to our republic in the highest degree. To expect every visitor to America to travel half way across the continent, after making the ocean journey, would have the same effect upon prospective visitors as the thought to an American of a journey to St. Petersburg instead of London. Aside from that, New York is our metropolis, and the foremost city of America in the best American sense. Again, in considering the financial success of the fair, we depend upon American visitors, upon the people who visit it, not once, but half a dozen or a score of times, and pay their admission each time. New York is virtually our centre of population. It is of easy access to the people of Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Bridgeport, and all the great cities of the East, whose combined population is probably twenty or one hundred times that in a similar radius around of any other city that has been mentioned for the exposition. The fair must not be off the island, however. The best site for it, in my judgment, is the one selected by the committee at the north end of Central Park.

What novel feature would I propose? Now, I will present the Fair Committee with one of my ideas—an idea that might bring me in a million of money. In the museum at Boolak, in Egypt, lies the mummyfied corpse of Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, with that of his daughter, the saviour of Moses, and other less distinguished of the royal Egyptian family of that era. I had authorized an agent to offer the Egyptian Government as much as $100,000 to allow me to exhibit those remains in Europe and the United States. I will relinquish my right of priority of claim in the idea to the Fair Committee. Let them obtain the loan of these mortuary relics from the Egyptian Government, and allow the Khedive to send his own soldiers to guard the coffins. Think of the stupendousness of the incongruity! To exhibit to the people of the nineteenth century, in a country not discovered until 2,000 or 3,000 years after his death, the corpse of the king of whom we have the earliest record! Consider, too, that that corpse is so perfectly preserved after thousands of years in the tomb that its features are almost perfect; so perfect that every man, woman, and child who looks upon the mummy may know the countenance of the despot who exerted so great an influence upon the history of the world. And it might be a useful thought to this generation, proud of its scientific and mechanical triumphs, to bear in mind that the art that embalmed the body of Rameses so perfectly is lost, with a great many others that were known to remote antiquity.

P. T. BARNUM.

II.

LIFE INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE business of insuring human lives is the natural outgrowth of a state of civilization and is an essential part of it. The whole system of public and private credits rests upon a foundation no more important to the well-being of the community than does the idea of life insurance. No class of financial institutions which gather the

small sums and render possible the great undertakings play a part more important than do those devoted to the business of life insurance.

By means of credit alone can a government anticipate its future growth and prosperity, and engage in enterprises beyond the immediate reach of its people, for their signal benefit and to the great advantage of its creditors. By the same means the individual is enabled to capitalize his talents and to use them, not only for his own profit, but for that of the commercial world. It is through life insurance alone that the majority of individuals can conscientiously foretaste the benefits and happiness which accompany the responsibilities of the family relation; and the value of future efforts can in no other way be used as a present capital. This idea was very clearly set forth in the petition to the English Parliament for the incorporation of the Equitable Company in 1761. This petition recites "that great numbers of H. M.'s subjects, whose subsistence principally depends on the salaries, stipends, and other incomes payable to them during their natural lives, or on the profits arising from their several trades, occupations, labor, and industry, are very desirous of entering into a society for assuring the lives of each other, in order to extend, after their decease, the benefit of their present incomes to their families and relations, who may otherwise be reduced to extreme poverty and distress by the premature death of their several husbands, fathers, and friends, which humane intention the petitioners humbly apprehend cannot be effectually carried into execution without H. M.'s Royal authority to incorporate them for that purpose."

This association, which was incorporated the following year, 1762, was probably the first in which anything resembling scientific principles obtained a foothold. It has prosecuted the business with safety and profit to its members from that time to the present day, a period of 128 years, and now stands unexcelled, if, indeed, it is equalled, in financial strength, by any other corporation of any description.

A contract which agrees that, in consideration of the present payment of a certain sum, a much larger one will be paid at the happening of some future, but uncertain, event, can only be entered into with safety by a knowledge of when that event will probably take place, and the execution of a number of similar contracts sufficiently large to eliminate the element of chance. The statistics of the mortality of the general population have been gathered with so much care and accuracy that the law which governs the death-rate is well understood. In any community large enough to do away with the effect of death from local causes, a series of contracts could safely be entered into for the payment of a specified sum at the death of each member in return for an immediate contribution, which would vary in accordance with the rate of interest at which it should be assumed that the fund would be improved. An association prosecuting such a scheme, if it were possible, would, on the whole, accomplish a good work, but as it would involve the old and the young, the strong and the feeble, most of the individuals would receive either more or less than exact justice. In practice, therefore, the young and strong would decline to cast their lots with those whose condition would render probable the earlier maturity of their contracts. There can be no way of compelling general contributions, and an institution which should open its doors to all comers would soon feel the fatal effects of a selection against it prompted by self-interest, which would speedly exhaust its resources upon any basis possible to be established.

Hence it has been found necessary to adopt a standard for admission to life-insurance corporations by which no great inequalities shall exist, and to admit only those who shall be found by physical examination and personal and family record to possess in the highest degree the elements of longevity. No departures worthy of mention from this principle have yet been ventured by the companies of the United States; but the practice of accepting inferior lives has been adopted with such success by some of the most skilfully- and intelligently-conducted companies of the world that it seems probable that at no distant day this plan will at least receive a fair trial in this country.

The system usually adopted in treating a person found not to be up to the standard of first class is to add such a number of years to the real age as will bring it, as to the expectation of life, up to that of his older associate who possesses none of the

factors likely to produce premature death. In proof of the possibility of safely adopting this method, and of so adjusting theoretical ages as to do substantial justice to all classes, it will be interesting to cite the experience of a company now more than forty years old, whose observations cover a number of lives of all varieties quite sufficient to demonstrate the feasibility of the scheme. A careful investigation of the actual mortality as compared with that to be expected by a standard table based upon strictly first-class risks showed the following results: Exposed to risk on lives accepted "select," 82,729; actual deaths, 579; ratio of actual to expected deaths, .666. Exposed to risk on lives accepted at an advance, according to the assumed age, 113,210; actual deaths, 993; ratio of actual to expected deaths, .687. "Seeing that the object intended to be attained by the rating-up of under-average lives is, if possible, to put the Society in respect of them on the same footing as if they had been select, it follows that the practical outcome of this table is that, in assessing lives, the Society has scarcely added a sufficient number of years to the ages of depreciated lives. The difference is so small, however, that it may be fairly claimed that the delicate task of assessment has been discharged with substantial justice to both classes of members."

But, however conducted, life insurance has appealed so strongly to the necessities of mankind, and has been so eagerly adopted as supplying a clearly-defined want, that numberless associations born of ignorance and fraud have appealed successfully to the best instincts of human nature. It is an unfortunate characteristic of this business that, while the principles that underlie its foundations are not at all difficult of comprehension to the person of ordinary intelligence, yet an understanding of them requires more time and attention than can customarily be given to the subject. Advantage has been taken of this quality not only to defraud by irresponsible societies, but to engraft upon the true and legitimate protection which should be the sole object of the business, many schemes which are calculated to divert more or less of the funds intended for the ultimate amelioration of the family to speculative ends.

To cause a comprehension of the magnitude already attained by this business, it may be said that in New York State during the year 1889 there were about thirty life-insurance companies in active operation, having outstanding at the close of the year obligations amounting to more than $3,500,000,000. These corporations held at that time property to the amount of over $700,000,000, the greater part of which was made up of what is technically known as the "reserve" fund. This may be briefly described as the sum which, calculated by principles approved by many years of experience, together with the premiums to be received, will suffice to discharge the liabilities as they mature. These same institutions have received, in the aggregate, premiums to the amount of $1,775,000,000, and have paid to members and their families in various ways $1,245,000,000. They have, therefore, paid out on account of matured and ceased contracts, and now hold for the ultimate satisfaction of outstanding agreements, a sum larger by $170,000,000 than that which has been paid in; the interest received on the invested funds having been sufficient to pay the expenses of conducting the business in addition to the last-mentioned amount.

A consideration of the operations of life insurance would scarcely be complete without the statement that coöperative or assessment societies operating in New York, not to speak of a vast number in other sections of the country, probably had outstanding at this date certificates to the number of over 850,000. Inasmuch as most of these agreements do not stipulate for definite payments, but make them contingent upon the receipt of collections levied at uncertain periods, frequently subsequent to the maturity of the claims, it is not practicable to state with even an approach to accuracy the aggregate of insurance covered by them. The sums liable to be paid in consequence of accidents, and represented by the policies of casualty companies, are not alluded to, but are of large amount.

When it is considered that the business has been developed to its present magnitude chiefly within a period of about thirty years, the total assets of all American companies doing business in New York State in 1860 having been but $22,000,000, the conclusion cannot be avoided that the system answers a demand which is not and

cannot be supplied by any other agency. The future of this interest, which every year is augmenting in all its branches, can only be conjectured; but if the people shall observe its operations closely, and demand only true and equitable methods, there is little danger that it will fail to extend still further its powerful forces, not only to the relief of pressing needs, but to the assistance of individuals, corporations, and municipalities by its accumulation of funds seeking investment.

JOHN M. HOLCOMBE.

III.

THE PAPISTICAL POWER IN CANADA.

"DURING late years," said the government through Lord Stanley, at Quebec, answering petitioners against the Jesuit-Estates bill, "—during late years we have hoped that animosities which unfortunately prevailed in former years had disappeared, and that the Dominion as a united country was on the path of prosperity and peace." The official wish was father to the thought. Peace, it is feared, in the present mood of the Church of Rome in Canada, is a delicate way of saying surrender at discretion. For all that, the game of politics must not be disordered; so in Canada is presented to-day the amazing spectacle of a majority forced at the hands of its politicians and official class to submit to each new exaction of the church whose open purpose is to abrogate the functions of majorities.

Modern states, the world over, have accepted the political theory of the Augsburg Confession, and limit the competency of churches to the administration of their sacraments and to matters of doctrine. No Protestant church claims more. It has remained for the Church of Rome, unique in the colossal assumption of authority, to consider all things political matter of breviary, and to insist, consequently, that the state accept of ecclesiastical control. The legislature in the state as organized Catholically is only Holy Mother Church in municipal council.

The reactionary desires of the Catholic Church in America have nowhere been made clearer than to this generation in Canada, and more especially through that self-styled eldest daughter of the papacy, the French Catholic province of Quebec. In the same decade in which Lincoln formulated, memorably, the American idea that government is of the people, for the people, by the people, the Jesuit Braun, preaching at Quebec before the prelates of that province, supported the thesis that "the state was bound to yield implicit obedience to the church. The fashion of looking on the majority as a source of right, now in vogue, was a revival of old pagan despotism." Later, Mr. Oscar Dunn, at the time a minister of the Crown, after felicitating his compatriots that no country was in closer communion with the holy see, argued that "the church was bound to procure the assimilation of the state with her own laws, so far as that can be done in the legislature without arousing the jealousy of the Protestants." The recognition of the canon law as of higher sanction in the law courts of Quebec than the civil code is a monument of progress in this path.

On all hands similar utterances are not far to seek. Perhaps the most noteworthy is contained in a pastoral charge, not addressed to a French and Catholic population, but written in English and published at the capital of Protestant Ontario by the late Archbishop Lynch, of that see. "The church," he declares, "justly and religiously claims the right to define the bounds of her own rights and jurisdiction. Were this in the power of the state, the church would not be permitted to preach the true gospel of Christ," The existence of the state by sufferance of the Church of Rome is held sufficient in official circles to constitute a condition of dreamless peace.

Altogether superfluous was the advice of Dr. Angelis to the church in Canada: "If she could not obtain what she wanted directly, she should get it in an indirect way." In the use of the indirect method the Catholic Church has always been adept. The solidarity of her vote has made her support politically highly prized, and she is merchant enough to get the full equivalent. A self-seeking friend of the administration of the day, her good-will has been the price of numerous concessions in those provinces where her approach must be masked. In this way she has had

obnoxious text-books removed from the state schools of Ontario. On the same province she has imposed a separate school system, which practically divorces her people from general state education. Two communities grow up side by side, yet apart, perpetuating old-world feuds; generation after generation become partakers in the heritage of hate.

It is, however, the growth in Quebec of the French-Canadian ideal that has made the situation acute beyond mere political intermeddling. In Canada there have always been two races. Indeed, fusion never received the sanction of the constitution, preserving as it does French language, customs, and laws intact. Much graceful oratory on occasion has glorified the unity and great love that are declared to exist. The fact is otherwise. Free scope to develop his genius has been given the *Canadien*, and these latter-day teachings of the church have powerfully contributed to divergence. The *habitant* interested other Americans by his picturesqueness, by historical associations; for his own part his chief care was to labor and multiply. Payment of tithes and child-like trustfulness in the *curé* filled up the measure of his duties to Mother Church. Now Jesuit and Ultramontane have supplanted the Gallican as keeper of the conscience of the people. There are *habitants* no longer, only *nationalists*. The war-cry of the nationalist was first heard throughout the agitation that followed the fate of Riel. The half-breed leader met with the sympathy and pity due the martyr for the faith he had in the mission of the French Canadian in America. For faith and patriotism go hand in hand under the new régime. The triumph of political Catholicism is to be the triumph of the French-Canadian race; or, as it is daily taught in all the schools of the faithful, "the cross planted by Jacques Cartier on the bank of the St. Lawrence is at once the sign of salvation and the glorious symbol of the French-Canadian nationality." Again and again it is urged that "the greater the confidence of the people in the clergy, the more wise and prudent and nationalistic in spirit becomes the clergy"; that "the day the French-Canadian people regret having placed their destinies in the hands of their priests would be a fatal day for their country and their religion."

Religious fervor being thus quickened by race motives, and by the belief that under the shadow of the cross the French Canadian is appointed to rule this continent, an entire people have enrolled in the active militia of the Church of Rome. And brave handsel have they already got of the future promised their obedience to the statecraft of priests. From Quebec, that "consecrated abode of the Catholic faith," the invader has been hour by hour thrust back, and of the English settlements, so long the stronghold of Protestantism, nearly all at this moment of writing have been erected into Catholic parishes. Lands that for upwards of a century were held in free English tenure are now tilled by French-Canadian farmers, who, for the glory of their race, submit gladly to "*La Fabrique*" and the visits of the tithe-gatherer. Manitoba struggles to throw off the dual official language and separate school system with which she was burdened at birth. Stretching westwards to the Rockies are great territories, where a French Canadian is as rare a sight as are swallows on a winter's day; yet have they not escaped the same official recognition of the French-Canadian idea. In northern and eastern Ontario a veritable army of occupation is busy founding a new Quebec. Everywhere St. Jean Baptiste societies keep the French-Canadian colonist in touch with the controlling principle that "New France's mission af civilization should advance as of old by an alliance for mutual protection between religion and the state.'

For eminent service in thus presenting America with still another problem of race and creed, the Society of Jesus in Quebec has just been endowed out of the public moneys of that province.

W. H. HUNTER.

IV.

HERESY-HUNTING.

"TRUTH," says John Milton, "is strong, next to the Almighty. . . . Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to doubt her strength. Let her and

falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?" Even the errors of a great thinker tend, if not directly, yet effectually, to the advancement of truth. It was nobly said by Forberg of a great German thinker: "All the truth that J—— has written is not worth a tenth part of the false which Fichte may have written. The one gives me a small number of known truths; the other gives me, perhaps, one truth, but, in doing so, opens before me the prospect of an infinity of unknown truths." Of many a powerful writer it may be said, *Si minus errasset, fecerat ille minus.* What writer was ever regarded with more alarm, not to say horror, by Christian Europe than David Hume? Yet it was Hume who, by his remorseless logic, reduced to an absurdity the dominant philosophies of Leibnitz and Locke, and thus compelled metaphysicians to ascend to higher principles, in order to place philosophy on an impregnable basis. Had a short-sighted zeal for religion suppressed the publication of Hume's sceptical theories, because of the harm they might do, it would have suppressed also all those great arguments of his opponents for an immaterial soul which have enlarged and ennobled the whole world of thought. Kant would have remained in "his dogmatic slumber"; Reid would have continued his adhesion to Locke; and the dreary materialism of Condillac would still be reigning over the schools of France. In view of these facts, it seems to us that, if there is anything upon which Christian men should frown, it is upon the disposition, occasionally noticeable in certain quarters, to arraign preachers of the Gospel hastily, or upon paltry grounds, for heresy.

A celebrated clergyman once said: "I love goodness a thousand times more than I hate badness"—a noble saying, worthy of the great heart from which it came. We would supplement it with another: "I love truth a thousand times more than I hate error." In all ages there have been men who have enjoyed heresy-hunting—the detection of hair-breadth deviations from strict orthodoxy—far more, apparently, than the recognition of truth. The increasing liberality and charity that characterize our times are daily lessening the number of such Christians, but the species is by no means extinct. Unlike their Master, who sympathized with the difficulties of men, and at once magnified points of agreement and minimized differences; unlike the Apostle Paul, who also sought always for the points of resemblance between the faith or observances which he sought to supplant and his own,—these men delight in magnifying trivial differences of opinion; and the petty, microscopic points in theology, concerning which Christendom is at variance, are to their minds of profounder importance than the great fundamental doctrines upon which all are agreed. No watchdog ever guarded his master's dwelling more vigilantly than do they, if clergymen, the orthodoxy of their brother-clergymen, or, if laymen, that of their minister. Their keenness of scent rivals that of Baron Munchausen's pointer. On a voyage to the East Indies this wonderful dog which the baron took with him surprised all on board by pointing when the ship was three hundred leagues from land. As he continued to do this for some time, the baron was confident that his pet had scented game, and wagered a hundred guineas that game would be found in half an hour. In less than thirty minutes some of the sailors harpooned a shark, and, on cutting him open, there were found in his stomach no less than six brace of partridges. Hardly less keen-scented are some of the theological inquisitors of the day, who detect in every petty deviation from established doctrine, every novel exposition of admitted truth, every attempt to break down party walls and make Christians fraternize so far as they can without a sacrifice of vital truth, a startling heresy.

Let us not be misunderstood. We have no sympathy with the outcry against creeds. No man can live without them, for, as Archbishop Whately has said, belief and disbelief are not two different states of the mind, but the same, only considered in reference to two contradictory propositions. Universal pyrrhonism is but another name for universal credulity. Neither have we any sympathy with that soft, sentimental, and flaccid Christianity of the time which shrinks from the expression of religious truth in clear and definite forms. We believe that there never has been, and that there never can be, a religious life of much strength and power, except where there was, or is, a firm grasp of truth—truth sharply defined and boldly

declared. "Not to love solid reading," Madame de Sévigné used to say, "is the way to get *bleached* in one's ideas"; and when one considers how the mental organs of thousands in our day are enfeebled by continual and almost exclusive novel- and newspaper-reading, who can wonder that they loathe, or are unable to digest, the strong meat of a doctrinal theology? But to overlook the distinction between vital and non-vital truths; to build up partition walls out of trivial differences of opinion; to raise the "mad-dog" cry of "heretic!" at every man who prefers a progressive to a fossil theology, and who thinks, with Milton, that "the light we have gained was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge"; to hold up to public suspicion every man who announces what he thinks a successful method of reconciling scriptural truth with human reason,—is contradictory to the very spirit of Christianity.

When shall we learn that men with different idiosyncrasies and mental peculiarities can never hold precisely the same views of truth; that, "as the sulphate of iron can never be the same as the carbonate of iron, though iron is everywhere and always essentially the same, so, though truth itself is invariable, the Smithate of truth must always differ from the Brownate of truth"? When shall we learn that words, even when most cunningly used, are but imperfect symbols of thought, the merest skeletons of expression, hints of meaning, tentative signs, which can give to another only a partial possession of our consciousness; that there is hardly an abstract term in any language which conveys precisely the same meaning to two different minds; and hence that a writer or speaker who, from the inadequacy of language, or his lack of skill in using it, appears to utter dangerous heresies, may yet, when perfectly understood, be found perfectly orthodox?

As words can mean the same thing only to persons who are psychologically the same, and who have had the same experiences, it is evident that, to apprehend perfectly the thought of another man, we need to know his individuality, his past history; we must be *en rapport* with him; and even then we may fail to penetrate to the central meaning of his words, the very core of his thought. It is stated by the biographer of Dr. Chalmers that the two giant divines, Chalmers and Stuart, met one day in Edinburgh and had a long and eager debate on saving faith. Street after street was paced, and argument after argument was vigorously plied; but in vain—they could not agree. At length, his time or patience having been exhausted, Chalmers broke off the interview, and, shaking the hand of his opponent at parting, said: "If you wish to see my views clearly and distinctly stated, read a tract called 'Hindrances to Believing the Gospel.'" "Why," exclaimed Stuart, "that's the very tract I published myself!" If the profoundest theologians and the most precise, hair-splitting writers, who weigh and test to the bottom every term they use, are thus baffled in their efforts to make themselves understood, what can be more unreasonable than to demand a full, exact, and logical expression of truth in every hastily-prepared sermon or necessarily incomplete newspaper article?

Let us remember that it is the noblest and bravest spirits that are most likely to be troubled with "obstinate questionings." It is on such souls as Robertson, of Brighton, who are too loyal to the truth to be satisfied with pretended solutions of difficulties, who will not "make their judgment blind," but will face the "spectres of the mind" till they lay them, at whatever cost of misapprehension and denunciation by their brethren, that theological doubts weigh most heavily. Let us remember, again, that it is by his *prevailing* belief that every man should be judged; not by his doubts, but by what he believes notwithstanding his doubts. It is the general pointing of the prow that must determine the course of the ship, though she labors with the waves. Grant that she makes now and then a long circuit, and seems to be sailing in the wrong direction; yet who shall accuse her of deviation, till he knows what tempests have assailed her, and whether she will or will not make the port?

Even where there is real error, the constant denunciation of it is generally self-defeating. It gives to the false opinions a factitious importance, imposes on the imaginations of those who hear them expressed, deepens the conviction of the errorist, and creates a sympathy for the object of such incessant attacks. "Most heretics," says Whately, "are made such by the orthodox."

The cynical Talleyrand once said of theologians that they resemble dogs who gnaw large bones for the sake of very little meat. The bones which some heresy-hunters gnaw have often no meat at all. When will they learn that beliefs, faiths, dogmas, important as they are, are, after all, only means to an end—the raw material of religion? As they are worked up into character, they become less and less objects of attention, and disappear as food does when it is converted into blood. It is even true in a certain sense that the more conscious a man is of his beliefs, the more he prates about them, the less they have got into him. Such a condition, like the consciousness of eaten food, marks indigestion.

We sometimes think it is because they are half-conscious that their own faith is shaky that some theological zealots are always on the war-path. Their convictions are, perhaps, so weak that they need to be propped by continual assertion of them and of the arguments by which they are supported; and so they sound the alarm, as the boy whistled in the graveyard, to keep their courage up. We confess, if our own faith in the great cardinal doctrines of Christianity is ever endangered, it is by some of the arguments urged in their defence. "I have heard," said a sagacious Oxford University official, "all the Bampton Lectures for thirty years, and, thank God, I am a Christian still!"

The fate of Eutyches, a champion of orthodoxy in the middle ages, should be a warning to all heresy-hunters. Dean Milman tells us, with quiet irony, that in the midst of an exciting persecution of Nestorius and the Nestorians this polemic suddenly found himself convicted of the most detestable errors; and, after expecting to add a name to the catalogue of saints, saw himself, to his infinite astonishment and disgust, registered forever in the catalogue of heresiarchs. Persons who are quick to snuff heresy, and who love to let loose the dogs of orthodoxy at the faintest shadow of error, should be very sure of their own theological soundness. It is one of those sports in which the hunter often finds himself transformed, like Actæon, into the game he is hunting.

WILLIAM MATHEWS.

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DISCIPLINE IN THE NAVY.

BY DAVID D. PORTER, ADMIRAL OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

"ORDER is Heaven's first law," and it is a law that governs all classes of society. It arises from the mental and moral training which one receives in early days—the foundation of manners, including the comprehension of knowledge which may enable one to enter into competition with others for the prizes which fall to those who can stand the rules of military or any other discipline.

When a boy starts in life to pursue any career, he should examine himself carefully to ascertain if he is mentally and physically qualified to contend with the discipline he will be called upon to face, for in every occupation, great or small, discipline is likely to be the stumbling-block of the youthful adventurer.

Discipline, in plain English, means "to train, form, educate, instruct, drill, or regulate," either by one's self or by another. More especially is it applied to the military and naval professions, where to the tyro the regulations may appear extremely arbitrary, although to the instructed those very rules are the life of the service. Many persons have an idea that naval and military regulations, by which armies and ships are brought to such a state of perfection, are something terrible; but, compared with ecclesiastical discipline, they are really quite moderate.

There is no business in life that can be successfully carried on without discipline, which must be sufficiently strict to keep every man, woman, and child at their work; and sometimes the overseers are so tyrannical that they far exceed the limits which would be allowed on board a vessel of war.

There have doubtless been cases in the navy where officers have exceeded their authority and have failed to master the first principle of discipline,—viz., to control their temper,—but my own experience teaches me that commanding officers have oftener shut their eyes to breaches of discipline than looked around in order to punish them.

This article properly concerns the discipline of the United States navy; but our navy is so small and of so little importance, compared with those of the other great powers, that it hardly affords a field for a display of ability in bringing the discipline to a high standard. It is an interesting circumstance that in 1799 we had a larger navy afloat than we have to-day—thirty-three vessels carrying more than eight hundred guns, commanded by glorious old Commodore Truxtun, who taught the French that they could not with impunity violate our neutrality.

We may open our eyes very wide as the enterprising news-gatherer publishes to the world the "barbarities" committed in the navy, but there is no comparison between naval discipline to-day and the iron system of 1798: they are as opposite as summer is from winter. When Truxtun arrived in the West Indies, the British, who had a large fleet in that quarter, were greatly astonished at the facility with which the Americans adopted the discipline of the Royal Navy and led them in many things which tended to make the squadron more efficient. At that time, as at present, Great Britain had the largest and best-disciplined navy afloat, and this preëminence she will doubtless continue to maintain while her fleets are regulated by a purely naval administration. The English inherited their naval training from the Vikings of old, who from the frozen north laid desolate the coasts of Europe, and even carried their victorious arms throughout the Mediterranean.

After William the Conqueror became master of England, the island gradually increased in maritime importance and established British influence the world over, and from Great Britain we have inherited the regulations which have made her preëminent as a naval power. From Great Britain, also, we inherited all our naval attributes, and had our navy progressed as has that of the mother-country, in proportion to our population and wealth, we would at present be one of the greatest of naval powers, with a discipline that would enable us to carry out any enterprise we might undertake.

But the United States have never been a great naval power.

Our efforts in that direction have been sporadic, and what one administration might undertake to establish another would set aside for something diametrically opposite; so that in the course of years the so-called navy of the United States has undergone more changes in organization, discipline, etc., than any other service in the world.

The first positive regulations for the government of our navy were prepared by the Board of Navy Commissioners in 1815, just after the close of the war with Great Britain. Up to that time we had been copying the British regulations, every commanding officer adding to his general order-book as seemed to him most desirable. The Board of Commissioners adopted the British system with some modifications, and our discipline became much like that of the English. It was rather severe, it is true, and smacked somewhat of the Vikings and buccaneers; but it was a delight in the days of my youth, and for many years afterwards, to visit an American man-of-war and see the cleanliness, comfort, and discipline that pervaded the ship. For aught I know, the discipline may be better to-day, but things do not seem to work so smoothly as of yore, and the results do not correspond to the time and trouble expended.

Of late years I have been struck with the avidity with which the press has sought opportunities to censure the navy for its shortcomings. The service does not receive a fair representation for any mistakes made by its officers. If one man commits an error, that is no reason why the whole service should be condemned. Nothing tends so much to break down discipline as furious onslaughts on an officer who has made himself liable to the ordeal of a court martial. Even the meanest culprit in civil life is seldom prejudged by the press; and an officer in the navy should at least have an equal chance with a prisoner in the Tombs, and receive a fair hearing before being condemned by public opinion.

The discipline of our navy is at present very mild,—patriarchal, in fact,—although it is within the power of a commanding officer to make it unpleasant for an insubordinate officer or man. If anything, the tendency in the service is towards what has been called "mollycoddling"—that is, a commanding officer is so anxious to finish his cruise with satisfaction to all hands and the Navy Department that he grants his men more indulgences than are required for their health and comfort. Leniency as well as

severity may be carried too far, and although the commanding officer of a ship is disposed to be very mild, he should see that discipline is not neglected.

On my first acquaintance with the navy, in 1823, there was but one kind of punishment for the men in vogue on shipboard. That was by the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails, a relic of barbarism handed down from the time of good Queen Bess, who prided herself on the navy which repulsed the "Invincible Armada" of ten times its own strength. Under the discipline of early times, of which the press-gang and the "cats" were such potent factors, the British navy captured or destroyed nearly everything opposed to it. Whipping was considered the best means of disciplining a crew, whereas, in fact, it made mere brutes of the sailors, who in those days had perhaps scarcely sentiment enough in them to appreciate the degradation to which they were subjected. However, the most remarkable circumstances of all is that in the early days of the United States navy this barbarous custom should have taken such deep root, and that the people of this country should so long have tolerated a practice so disgraceful.

It is true that the discipline of our navy was of the best kind as far as having duty carried on to suit the commanding officer of a vessel was concerned, and when the "cat" disappeared from the service in 1850, not many years before the spirit ration was abolished, it stood on a new footing altogether. Some of the wisest old sea-dogs declared that the navy was ruined, and, with the abolition of flogging and the stoppage of grog, could not hope to escape *sheol*. It is strange, but true, that many old seamen who were partial to the service for the sake of the grog, which they received three times a day, were equally opposed to the abolition of the "cat." The "cat," they argued, was a wholesome terror to worthless loafers about decks, and the only means of making them do their duty. As for the grog, it is well known that St. Paul recommended a little wine for the stomach's sake.

These two events, so important to the moral improvement of the navy, had the strange effect of driving some of the best seamen from the service, which would seem to indicate that their love for the navy was not equal to their fondness for grog. It was remarked by one of the best officers of the navy, who afterwards held a high position in the Confederate service, that, should the "cat" be thrown overboard and grog abolished, the navy would

never be able to maintain proper discipline ; but those in favor of the new departure had the satisfaction of seeing the naval service regenerated, the sailors working the ships and fighting the guns in a manner never excelled, while law and order, without which a ship is but a floating hell, were fully maintained.

If to-day any one were to propose to reintroduce flogging and the spirit ration into the navy, he would be ridiculed by everybody. It is true that in olden times ship's crews worked in a livelier way, as a rule, than they do at present; but the service has advanced so far on the road to moral reform, and the condition of affairs generally is so much improved, that it would seem better to adhere to the Roman maxim, "*Festina lente*," than to try for such great speed in everything, to the detriment of comfort and the moral attributes which should distinguish an American vessel of war.

No one can anticipate the ordeal through which he must pass during a three-years' cruise in a ship, say, like the "Chicago," of 4,500 tons' displacement, and with about 400 officers and men. The commanding officer of such a ship has a great responsibility on his shoulders. He finds himself face to face with all the different elements in the naval service, and is contemplated with the deepest interest by all on board, who wonder how much comfort they are to have during the cruise with their prospective commander. The captain, meanwhile, feels isolated from the rest of the world, uncertain if he has a friend in all the throng that clusters at the gangway to witness his coming on board. Perhaps he does not know a single officer in the ship, and it is probable that he never before laid eyes on any of his crew ; still he is expected by the government to take that vessel around the world, starting with everything in confusion, and bring her back after a three-years' cruise with all in perfect condition and the ship's company satisfied with their treatment.

To comply with these conditions, an officer must have dignity of character and temper under perfect control, be familiar with the regulations of the navy, be a good judge of character, and able to discriminate in regard to the numerous questions that are constantly raised for his decision. He has four hundred pairs of eyes ever on the watch, and his transgressions, great or small, will be noted and used against him, should opportunity offer. The commanding officer is alone responsible to the Navy Department for any inefficiency in the ship, and he has not always the means of

making her efficient without enforcing some regulation which may affect the convenience of those on board.

There are elements in a vessel of war that cannot always be kept at rest. In some cases these elements pull in different directions. Then indeed is the captain a subject for pity, since he must reconcile all differences that occur.

When a ship returns from a cruise, the Board of Inspection and Survey, which comes under my supervision, has to ascertain if the vessel is in all respects ready for any duty that may be required of her; if she is clean and in order, and her crew proficient in gun and sail drill; if every department of the ship is in perfect condition,—in short, if the regulations of the navy have been complied with. Frequently the board will append to their report a recommendation like the following: "The board are of opinion that it would be appropriate for the Navy Department to issue a letter of approval to the captain, officers, and crew for the fine condition in which the ship has been brought home."

This is saying a good deal for the discipline of the service, considering that in no other navy is there such a cosmopolitan set of sailors. They represent all the nations of the earth, with a large proportion of the descendants of the Vikings of the north. Such are the elements that our naval officers have to drill into shape to defend the honor of the flag, and it may be truly affirmed that the United States navy is manned by foreigners. The task of an officer is, then, a hard one—to drill a crew many of whom do not understand the English language.

By a report of the Board of Inspection and Survey I was made aware that when the "Trenton" sailed for the Pacific she had, out of the four hundred persons on board, but eighty who could speak English, and that most of the crew were Scandinavians who had never before served in our navy. Still they were a fine set of men, capable of performing any duty. How well the officers fulfilled the task of drilling this crew of aliens in a short time was illustrated in the harbor of Apia, at the Samoan Islands, when the "Trenton" and other vessels were destroyed in that awful gale.

None who experienced those hours of uncertainty can ever forget them, and those who appreciate our navy will ever remember the discipline exhibited in the three American vessels throughout that hurricane, which placed all the ships in the harbor either upon the bottom or upon the beach. On the

bridge of the "Trenton" stood the intrepid Rear-Admiral Kimberly, who fought under Farragut at Port Hudson, Grand Gulf, and Mobile Bay as first lieutenant of the "Hartford," coolly watching every phase of the storm, and prepared to take advantage of any chance to save the ship and crew; Captain Farquhar, whose discipline was of the firmest, but mildest, form, and who had taught in a few months his heterogeneous crew to move like a single man, with Lieutenant Brown, the navigator, at his side aiding and supporting him,—all as calm as if on parade. The eye of every one in the ship was upon them, and all were inspired by their example. During the storm there was no confusion in any of the ships; all was conducted in the most seamanlike manner; and, though the United States lost three vessels, the record made by the navy at Apia will ever stand as a monument to discipline.

When the "Vandalia" went to the bottom, the commander-in-chief, thinking to elevate the spirits of the "Trenton's" crew, ran up the American ensign, which was almost immediately blown to ribbons. Yet the brave officers and sailors paid due tribute to the flag under which they were serving, and gave three hearty cheers, which were heard above the roar of the elements. This was a touching event, but not more so than one which followed. When the storm was at its height, the band of the flagship was directed to play "The Star-Spangled Banner." Then came "Home, Sweet Home," the sound of the music carrying inspiration to the ears of those grappling with death.

The "Vandalia" was upon the bottom, her officers and men in the rigging, the captain washed overboard and drowned; the "Nipsic" was thrown upon the beach by the fury of the storm, where it was thought she would go to pieces and all her crew perish; the "Trenton" was lying at single anchor, her other chains having parted, with her fires extinguished, within twenty feet of an angry reef over which the whole ocean seemed to be pouring, while the only thing which saved the vessel was the undertow which kept her up to her anchor. Meanwhile the officers never faltered; they seemed to scorn the elements that were urging them to destruction.

While in this deplorable situation, the British frigate "Calliope," finding that she could not hold to her anchors, slipped her cables and put to sea under steam. Such was the fury of the blast that for a time the ship did not seem to move. Again the

"Trenton's" crew manned the rigging and gave three hearty cheers, to which the "Calliope's" crew immediately responded. The British ship seemed inspired with new life and crept out to sea, the only vessel that escaped unscathed.

In the whole course of my naval experience I have never known a case of more perfect discipline than was exhibited on board the "Trenton," and the officers who saved her for so long a time from going on the reefs may congratulate themselves on being identified with so glorious an event, and on having added laurels to the American navy. No greater exhibition of courage, seamanship, and discipline has ever been chronicled, and even if we did lose the best part of that little navy which has vigorously struggled for so many years for a trifling expansion, it went to the bottom, torn by the coral reefs of Apia, with a halo of glory which will never be dimmed.

I think I may justly say that the same courage and discipline which were exhibited in the squadron under Rear-Admiral Kimberly would be shown in almost every vessel of the service if placed in the same situation. The same spirit animates the breasts of the officers of the navy. There may be exceptions, but they are few and far between. I have been identified with the navy for sixty-six years, and have seldom known a case where there was a want of discipline, bravery, and seamanship in time of danger.

During the war I had under my command three hundred and seventy-five vessels and some 50,000 men and officers, and do not remember a case of cruelty and injustice from officers to seamen. The discipline was mild. Hundreds of offences were condoned because there was not time in those stern days to be wasted in courts-martial for cases that could be dealt with in a milder way without violating the law.

There may be sometimes too much law and not enough justice. It is not the severity, but the certainty, of punishment that deters men from committing offences. Except for crimes, the punishments on board ship should approximate in a manner to those used in private families. As much can be obtained from a child by setting it upon a chair and letting it cry itself out as by bruising its flesh; and in military courts the officers would do themselves more honor by leaning towards humanity than by enforcing the most rigorous punishments and gaining the name of martinets.

Errors in the proceedings of naval general courts-martial are

possible, and there is stringency in them which perhaps might be abated ; but the revising power has authority to modify sentences, and as the matter comes before the Judge-Advocate-General and the Secretary of the Navy, it is to be supposed that these gentlemen will view all cases without prejudice. Should there be too much rigor in the sentence of a sailor, it is not the fault of the naval officer if it is carried into execution.

The navy of the United States lies under one great disadvantage in regard to manning its ships : that is the lack of a reserve to draw upon for seamen; and the only Americanism which exists among the crews in the service is that little leaven of 750 boys who are under instruction at the Newport training station, together with the training vessels which obtain their crews yearly from these embryo seamen. This is a system which is highly prized by the navy.

The policy of this country has always been opposed to the establishment of large military organizations, on the ground that they are antagonistic to our system of government. The absurdity of this proposition could be easily demonstrated. On what principle the people of the United States have allowed their mercantile marine to go to decay, no one can tell. It is owing to the loss of our merchant vessels and the fact that the American flag is seldom seen abroad that we have so much difficulty in manning our navy with Americans. If we could have a pure American crew on board each ship in the service, there would be little or no severity required in maintaining discipline ; for as regards moral character, steadiness, obedience to regulations, and a love for the ocean, American seamen are unequalled by any afloat; but they ship in small numbers, not liking to be crowded with foreigners—people with whom they have few associations.

On the introduction of steam vessels and the establishment of ocean lines the magnificent fleets of American sailing vessels, which carried passengers and freight to Europe, were broken up. Their commanders, officers, and crews were quite equal to anything we had in the navy, and in regard to carrying sail and making quick passages they were ahead of the majority of old naval officers who were brought up to take a reef in the topsails at sundown. The discontinuance of the lines of packets was a great loss to the navy, for they provided the service with petty officers and leading men of American birth, the finest seamen in

the world. These men gave a patriotic tone to a ship's company; and woe to the foreigner who should curse the American flag or indulge in mutinous language on shipboard.

Every now and then certain persons, aided by assiduous reporters, make an attack upon the marine corps of the navy, insisting that the marines take up too much room on board ship, and are no longer useful. I fall back again on my sixty-six years' experience, and state, without fear of contradiction, that our marine corps is the finest body of men in any navy, and that to abolish it would strike a fatal blow at the discipline of the navy.

The character of the sailor has not been brought to such perfection that the military power on which the captain of a ship depends to put down insubordination and mutiny can be dispensed with. There could be no mutiny on board one of our ships of war that the marines could not put down. They are a most important part of the working power of a vessel, handling the great guns, small arms, and yards of the ship when not actually employed in police service.

It would be very hard to convince the majority of naval officers that the marine corps—I might say the right arm of the navy—should be dispensed with. If the corps was doubled, it would be one of the best additions that could be made to the navy.

The limits prescribed to my article do not give much opportunity to particularize on the subject of discipline. I beg leave, however, to state that the sailors of the United States navy are better paid, fed, and clothed than those of any other navy in the world. The average farmer does not sit down to as good meals as do our sailors every day of their lives. The sailors in no other navy are treated with such consideration and receive such indulgences as ours. Instead of being obliged to let their pay accumulate, as was the custom in olden times, until the ship was paid off, they are allowed a portion of their wages monthly, provided their conduct has been good, and they have merited the indulgence of visiting the shore.

On the whole, I believe the discipline of the navy may be safely intrusted to the hands of its officers, who have shown themselves faithful observers of the law, and who are more interested in having order maintained, and proper naval discipline kept up, than any one else.

DAVID D. PORTER.

KINSHIP AND CORRELATION.

BY FRANCIS GALTON, F. R. S.

FEW intellectual pleasures are more keen than those enjoyed by a person who, while he is occupied in some special inquiry, suddenly perceives that it admits of a wide generalization, and that his results hold good in previously-unsuspected directions. The generalization of which I am about to speak arose in this way.

In a book of mine called "Natural Inheritance," published about a year ago, I showed that the problems of family likeness fell entirely within the scope of the higher laws of chance; that we were thereby rendered capable of defining the average amount of family likeness between kinsmen in each and every degree, and of expressing the frequency with which the family likeness will depart from its average amount to any specified extent. It followed, very unfortunately for the general reader, that the problems of family likeness do not admit of being properly expressed except in the technical language of the laws of chance, and that it is impossible to discuss them adequately except through the medium of mathematics.

After the proofs of my book had been finally revised and had passed out of my hands, it happened that there was a delay of a few months before its actual publication. In the interim I was busily at work upon a new inquiry that had been suggested to me by two concurrent circumstances. One was a renewed discussion among anthropologists as to the information that the length of a particular bone—say a solitary thigh-bone dug out of an ancient grave—might afford concerning the stature of the unknown man to whom it belonged. It seemed to me that the anthropologists had not discussed their facts in the best statistical manner, and that they ought to have adopted a different form of

treatment to any they had hitherto tried. The other circumstance arose out of the interest excited by M. Alphonse Bertillon, who proved that it was feasible to identify old criminals by an anthropometric process. The man who was suspected of having been convicted before was variously measured, and his measures were compared with those of all the criminals who had previously passed through the same process. By a contrivance analogous in principle to that on which a dictionary is constructed, the search through a register containing many tens of thousands of measures was performed with unexpected ease and precision.

Then a question naturally arose as to the limits of refinement to which M. Bertillon's system could be carried advantageously. An additional *datum* was no doubt obtained through the measurement of each additional limb or other bodily dimension; but what was the corresponding increase of accuracy in the means of identification? The sizes of the various parts of the body of the same person are in some degree related together. A large glove or shoe suggests that the person to whom it belongs is a large man. But the knowledge that a man has a large glove *and* a large shoe does not give us very much more information than if our knowledge had been confined to only one of the two facts. It would be most incorrect to suppose that the accuracy of the anthropometric method of identification increases with the number of measures in anything like the same marvellous rapidity that the security afforded by the better description of locks increases with the number of wards. The depths of the wards are made to vary quite independently of each other; consequently the addition of each new ward *multiplies* the previous security. But the lengths of the various limbs and bodily dimensions of the same person do not vary independently; so that the addition of each new measure adds to the security of the identification in a constantly-lessening degree. It seemed important, as well as highly interesting, to investigate this subject.

These two problems—namely, that of estimating the stature of an unknown man from the length of one of his bones, and that of the relation between the various bodily dimensions of the same person—are clearly identical. I was able to attack them at once, from happening to possess a sufficient number of sets of measures of different persons, each of whom had been measured in various ways. My first step was to take a large sheet of paper, ruled

crossways ; to mark a scale appropriate to the stature across the top and another appropriate to the left cubit (that is, the length from the bent elbow to the extended finger-tips) down the side. Then I began to "plot" the pairs of observations of stature and cubit in the same persons. Suppose, for example, an entry had to be dealt with of stature 69 inches, cubit 19 inches ; then I should put a pencil mark at the intersection of the lines that corresponded to those values. As I proceeded in this way, and as the number of marks upon the paper grew in number, the form of their general disposition became gradually more and more defined. Suddenly it struck me that their form was closely similar to that with which I had become very familiar when engaged in discussing kinships. There also I began with a sheet of paper, ruled crossways, with a scale across the top to refer to the statures of the sons, and another down the side for the statures of their fathers, and there also I had put a pencil mark at the spot appropriate to the stature of each son and to that of his father. Reflection soon made it clear to me that not only were the two new problems identical in principle with the old one of kinship which I had already solved, but that all three of them were no more than special cases of a much more general problem—namely, that of Correlation.

Fearing that this idea, which had become so evident to myself, would strike many others as soon as "Natural Inheritance" was published, and that I should be justly reproached for having overlooked it, I made all haste to prepare a paper for the Royal Society with the title of "Correlation." It was read some time before the book was published, and it even made its appearance in print (Proc. Roy. Soc., Vol. 45) a few days the earlier of the two. Unluckily, through the hurry of preparation, I now find a sad number of numerical blunders in its tables, though none in the theory or formulas.

I hope to be able to give in this brief notice a just idea of the law of correlation, but it is quite out of the question to do more than explain its first and principal result. I trust it will soon be perceived by the reader that a great variety of important questions can be approached only through its methods.

The first step will be to explain the character of the connection that unites two related events ; the next will be to show an unexpected consequence of relationship. Then the conditions will be

pointed out under which mathematics may be applied to the discussion of related events, and one or two of the very important results to which they then lead will be described.

It is by the help of a succession of examples, rather than by a formal definition, that the nature of relation will be most quickly apprehended. Consider two men of the same race and country. Their remote ancestry, both human and prehuman, has been the same. There is, therefore, a considerable amount of identity in the sum of the influences under which they came into existence; there are also some few other identical events in the conditions of the climate in which they live, and even in the food they feed on. On the other hand, each of the men has been subjected to a variety of influences that have affected him separately and specially. In consequence, there is a certain likeness between the two men, intermediate between identity on the one hand and complete dissimilarity on the other. It is easy to express the average measure of this likeness in respect to any characteristic that admits of measurement. Stature will serve as an example: thus I found that, if any considerable number of couples of Englishmen are taken at random, the difference between the statures of the two men that compose each couple falls just as often below 2 inches and 4 tenths as above that amount. We may express the same fact in other language by saying that it is an even bet that the statures of two Englishmen taken at random will differ less than 2 inches and 4 tenths.

The relation between brothers is closer than this, because the number of identical influences that affect them is greater. The whole of their ancestry from their parents upward is the same. I found that the difference between couples of English and adult brothers fell as often below 1 inch and 4 tenths as above it.

Let us examine a little more closely the causes of the dissimilarity of brothers. There is room for a great difference in the circumstances of embryonic and preëmbryonic life, which may have helped to determine at each successive stage of incipient existence which one, out of the many conflicting possibilities of hereditary transmission, should become developed in either brother. Experience shows that the various qualities of ancestors do not blend equally in their descendants, but that the prevalence of one of these qualities, and the more or less complete exclusion of the rest, is a principal characteristic of fraternal dissimilarity. The

final prevalence of a particular quality in each individual case may justly be ascribed to "accident," because the results, as I showed in my book, were disposed in conformity with the laws of chance.

I fear it is necessary to digress during a single paragraph in order to insist upon the scientific meaning of the words "accident" and "chance," which a rooted perversity of thought, among theologians principally, leads many educated men to misinterpret. There is nothing whatever in the idea to be attached to either word that is in any way contradictory to the regular course of cause and effect. Either word expresses the fact that at the moment when certain causes came into play the particular combination of the independently varying surroundings was such as to produce an unexpected effect. If the same combination of circumstances is experimentally repeated, the causes will again produce the same effect as before; but the recurrence of the combinations without predetermined arrangement is, judging from antecedent experience, so unlikely that a similar accident may never occur again.

The general character of the conditions of which we were just now speaking, that may have had an extremely important influence during the stages of incipient existence, may reasonably be supposed to be connected with the accidental positions of each several element, amid the swarm of ultimate elements, at the moment when any fresh stage of structure was impending. Little as is known about these invisible ultimate elements, it is ascertained, through the rapid changes in the internal appearances of the owner, that they move considerably among themselves during these early stages. Any one of the elements A, B, or C may be equally suitable to become a constituent of the incipient structure; but if it be impossible for more than one of them to enter into it, it is a fair hypothesis that the element which is at the moment accidentally nearest to the line of tension will be included, and the others thereby excluded. Such accidents as these may reasonably be supposed to have differently affected the form and structure of each brother separately, and to have been a chief cause of their observed diversities.

There are, moreover, many causes of a mixed character, neither wholly identical in their action upon the two brothers nor yet wholly different, but which may be treated as if they were divisible into their two contrasted groups without introducing a

sensible error into the general problem. They are the greater or less similarity in food, climate, and early nurture.

It follows from all that has been said that the relation between the form and features of two brothers is the result of three groups of influences : (1) those that have alike affected both brothers; (2) those that have affected the first brother and not the second; (3) those that have affected the second and not the first. If there were no causes (2) and (3), the brothers would be identical; if there were none of (1), the brothers would have no likeness whatever, any more than that, say, of a brick to an elephant, or of a measure of hydrogen gas to a peacock. As it is, they are neither identical nor are they wholly unlike. They fall into the intermediate category of being related.

The following example, though totally different in its details to that of kinship, affords nevertheless a true example of relation. Two clerks leave their office together and travel homewards in the same and somewhat unpunctual omnibus every day. They both get out of the omnibus at the same halting-place, and thence both walk by their several ways to their respective homes. We must further suppose that neither of the clerks has any fixed appointment or other reason for adjusting his pace of walking to the time of arrival of the omnibus, by hurrying when it is late, or dawdling in order to get rid of superfluous minutes when it is slow, but that each clerk "goes his own gait" quite independently both of the omnibus and of the other clerk. The upshot is that when either clerk arrives at his home later than his average time, there is some reason to expect that the other clerk will be late also, because the retardation of the first clerk may have been wholly or partly due to slowness of the omnibus on that day, which would equally have retarded the second clerk. Hence their unpunctualities are related. If the omnibus took them both very near to their homes, the relation would be very close. If they lodged in the same house and the omnibus dropped them at its door, the relation would become identity.

It must be clearly understood that relation only concerns itself with differences, and takes no note of total measures, nor of averages, except as a means of obtaining the required differences. Suppose the average time of the arrival of the first clerk was five o'clock, and that on a particular day he arrived at ten minutes past; it would be the ten minutes *plus* that alone concerns us.

If the average time of arrival of the other clerk was fifteen minutes before four o'clock, and if he arrived on the same day at ten minutes before four, then he would be five minutes late; and it is this five minutes *plus* that we have to compare with the ten minutes *plus* of the other. Averages have no more to do with our present considerations than the position of the particular spot on the face of a white wall where a bull's-eye is painted for pistol practice has to do with the way in which the marks are distributed around the bull's-eye that are made by the shots aimed and fired at it. Departure is one thing, and the point departed from is another. The problems of kinship and correlation deal wholly with departures or variations; they pay no direct regard to the central form from which the departures or variations are measured. If we were measuring statures, and had made a mark on our rule at a height equal to the average height of the race of persons whom we were considering, then it would be the distance of the top of each man's head from that mark, upward or downward as the case might be, that is wanted for our use, and not its distance upward from the ground. In speaking of the couples of brothers, and of men of the same race who were not brothers, it was the differences of stature that were noted, and not the absolute statures. Differences of stature are identical in value with differences of the departure of either stature from the average of the race. It is, however, under the latter aspect that the mathematician has to consider it.

Fanciful examples like that of the two clerks are useful, because they thoroughly analyze the causes of relation. I will take another of the same kind of examples in order to emphasize the difference between relation and correlation, of which no explanation has thus far been attempted.

Suppose there are three commercial ventures *a*, *b*, and *c*, whose daily profits vary independently of one another, and that a certain investor, whom we will call R, has one share in *a* and another in *b*, while a second investor, S, has several shares in *a* and others in *c*. The total profits, day by day, of R and of S will be related together because they are partly due to an investment in a common concern, but they will vary on different scales, because the ups and downs of the profits of R, who has only one share in *a*, must be less wide than those of S, who has many

shares. The estimate that we may (and shall) find it possible to make of the probable profit of S on any particular day, from a knowledge of the profit of R on that day, would not work backwards without modification. There is not that *reciprocal* relation between them which is conveyed by the word correlation.

So in respect to the lengths of two limbs or other bodily dimensions of the same person that vary on different scales. A long finger usually indicates a tall person, and a tall person has usually a long finger, but by no means to the same amount. There is relation between stature and length of finger, but no real correlation. On the other hand, the scale of variation of symmetrical limbs, such as that of the right and the left cubit, is so nearly the same that they can justly be said to be correlated.

The general conditions under which a relation between any pair of events will necessarily be established has now been very fully explained and illustrated. They consist in the concurrence of three independent sets of variable influences, which we have called (1), (2), and (3). The set (1) influences both events, not necessarily to the same degree; the set (2) influences one member of the pair exclusively; and the set (3) similarly influences the other member. Whenever the resultant variability of the two events is on a similar scale, the relation becomes correlation. When it is not the same, and when the variations are of the character shortly to be described as quasi-normal, a simple multiplication will be found to suffice (in a way that I may not now digress to explain) to transform the relation into a correlation. Thus we may speak of the length of the middle finger and that of the stature being correlated together under a recognized understanding that the variations are quasi-normal, and that the multiplication in question shall be made. Henceforth I will use the word correlation subject to these tacit understandings.

We will now apply ordinary common-sense, unaided by mathematical processes, to learn something about the results of relation. They are paradoxical at first sight, and are of the following description: they tell us that a *very* long thigh-bone should lead us to expect that the stature of the unknown man to whom it belongs was not *very* tall, but only tall. Conversely, the knowledge that an ancient worthy was a very tall man should lead us to expect that his thigh-bone would be not very long, but only long. To explain this we must go back to our three groups of causes,

(1), (2), and (3), and let the two related events be called C and D, of which C is known and D is unknown. We want to learn something about the expectation that we ought to form concerning D. The size of C must be due either to the concurrent action of (1) and (2) acting together, both concurring in increasing C or both concurring in decreasing it, or else to the prevalence of one set over the other, when they are acting in opposite directions, the one tending to increase C and the other to diminish it. Now, a large departure occurs very much more rarely than a small one, and therefore it is very much more likely that a given departure should be built up of two lesser departures acting in the same direction than by the excess of a large departure over a small one.

It follows that it is much the most likely that set (1), if it acted singly, would produce a smaller departure than R, and this small contribution is all that D can get from set (1). D gets, *on the average*, nothing at all from set (3), because the total effect of that set is just as often in the direction of diminution as in that of increase. Consequently the *average* departure of S must be always less than that of R. In other words, the unknown S is probably *more mediocre* than the known R. Conversely, if S were known and R were unknown, the probability is that R would be more mediocre than S. The unknown brother of the very tall man is probably only tall; the unknown thigh-bone of the very tall man is probably only long; when one of the two clerks arrives home very late, the other clerk is probably only late; and so on. I have called this peculiarity by the name of regression. If there is no regression at all,—that is, if the regression is from 1 to 1,—then the correlation becomes identity. If the regression is complete,—that is, from 1 to 0,—there is no resemblance at all. In all intermediate degrees the ratio of regression is an exact measure of the weakness of the correlation.

We have now taken a general view of the nature of correlation and of its principal result; it remains to show that these general ideas admit of singularly exact interpretation in numerous important cases, and that problems can be worked out, and numerical calculations made, which in many cases admit of being verified by special sets of observation, and are then proved to be exact.

It is now beginning to be generally understood, even by

merely practical statisticians, that there is truth in the theory that all variability is much of the same kind. The theory rests on the grounds that all variability is due to an uncounted number of small independent influences, acting variously in different cases. Mathematicians are able on these purely abstract grounds to develop a singularly beautiful law, known as the law of frequency of error. It is the basis of the higher statistics, and is founded upon such laws of chance as those which enable us to calculate the relative frequency of runs of luck of different lengths. The results are as precise as possible. It tells, for example, that if one-half of all the departures in a series of measures lie within 100 units of distance from the common average, three-quarters of them will lie within 171 units of distance. This kind of information is now readily to be obtained in all needed variety from well-known tables that have been calculated for the purpose, and which refer solely to what may be called the standard or the normal form of variability.

Now, when a series of measures are submitted to a competent statistician, it is a very simple matter for him to discover whether they vary normally or not. If they vary normally, then the series of measures is subject to all the numerous and beautiful properties that have been discovered in the law of frequency of error, and the tables just spoken of will apply rigorously to them. If they are quasi-normal, which is the common case, then the laws and the tables will be applied with caution and common-sense prudence; the more so, the more they depart from the normal type. Lengths of limbs vary with very fair approximation to the normal type. In what remains to be said I shall speak only of such variables as may be treated as normal.

A normal system of variables is clustered more closely about its centre than at a distance from it, and it fades away into nothingness on either hand through rapidly-increasing degrees of sparseness. One system differs from another only in its greater or less spread or dispersion. If every measure in the series that has the wider spread were uniformly shrunk, it could be made identical with the other. As soon as the scale of dispersion of a system of variables is known, the whole system is absolutely defined. For instance, we know that such and such a *percentage* of all the measures contained in it will be found between any two distances from its centre that may be named. It is extremely easy to

measure the scale of dispersion in different ways that are all mutually convertible (one of which is to ascertain the so-called "probable error" of a single observation), but which I cannot digress to explain.

The numerical value of the scale of dispersion identifies a particular normal system just as completely as that of the length of a radius identifies a particular size of circle. Again, as circles have various properties and relations familiar to readers of Euclid, so normal systems of variables have their own peculiar properties, which enable numerous problems to be worked out concerning them, and make it possible to express in precise and definite language all that has been vaguely shadowed forth in the preceding pages about correlation.

For instance, it was said that the statures of a couple of Englishmen, taken at random, were equally likely to differ more or to differ less than 2 inches and 4 tenths. Theory teaches us that it follows from this that the stature of a single Englishman is equally likely to depart more or to depart less from the average stature of his race by that amount divided by the square root of 2, say by 1 and 4 tenths, which gives the result of 1 inch and 7 tenths. Observation confirms this.

A most interesting property of regression is brought into evidence by the theory of normal variability, and is fully confirmed by observation ; namely, that the ratio of regression is unchanged, whatever may be the amount of the departure. In the case of brothers, the ratio of regression is as one to two-thirds. Therefore, if a man exceeds (or falls short of) the average of his race by one inch, one foot, or one decimetre, his unknown brothers will probably exceed (or fall short of) the average in question by two-thirds of an inch, of a foot, of a decimetre. In the case of a man and his son, the ratio of regression is as one to one-third, and similarly in the case of a man and his father. So we can now appreciate the completeness with which the ratio of regression measures correlation. A single value suffices to connect the whole of two systems.

When dealing with *correlated* dimensions of the same person, we must take their several scales of dispersion into the account. Thus in respect to the left middle-finger and the stature, observation showed that a departure of 1 inch in the finger was associated on the average with one of 8 inches and 19 hundredths

of an inch in the stature; and that a departure of 1 inch in the stature was associated on the average with one of 6 hundredths of an inch in the finger. There is no numerical reciprocity in these figures, because the scales of dispersion of the lengths of the finger and of the stature differ greatly, being in the ratio of 15 to 175. But the 6 hundredths multiplied into the fraction of 175 divided by 15, and the 819 hundredths multiplied into that of 15 divided by 175, concur in giving the identical value of 7 tenths, which is the index of their correlation.

The purpose is now fulfilled that I had in view in writing this article, of giving a notion, that should be true as far as it went, of the chief law of correlation. Those who care to learn more about the subject may refer to what is said in the book and in the memoir already quoted, to which it is likely that I may be able to make additions before long.

The gain that has been now achieved is the discovery of the true and entirely unforeseen method of looking at correlation. The novelty of the idea is well exemplified by the question raised at the outset, of the thigh-bone and the probable stature of the man to whom it belonged. The old notion was that, the average length of the bone being so and so, and that of the stature of men of the same race being so and so, then if the bone were, say, a twentieth part longer than the average of such bones, the stature of the man to whom it belonged should be estimated at one-twentieth more than the average stature (subject to certain corrections). This we now perceive to be doubly erroneous in principle. We have nothing to do with twentieths or other fractional parts of the average length, and there exists no direct proportion between the total lengths of the bone and of the actually associated stature. The idea of regression being a factor in these relations has been hitherto quite unsuspected by anatomists. We now see that it necessarily plays an essential part in them, and that its value affords an admirable measure of the closeness, or weakness, of correlation between any two series that severally vary in a quasi-normal manner. We can also construct tables similar in form to those spoken of in the earlier part of this article, wholly by calculation from the following five *data:* namely, the averages and the scales of dispersion ("probable error") of either of the two quasi-normal series, and the ratio of regression from either of them to the other.

There seems to be a wide field for the application of these methods to social problems. To take a possible example of such problems, I would mention the relation between pauperism and crime. I have not tried it myself; but it is easy to see that here, as in every case of relation, success would largely depend on finding quasi-normal series to deal with. Both pauperism and crime admitting of many definitions, it would be necessary to restrict the meanings of those words for the purpose of the inquiry, so that the cases to be dealt with shall be fairly homogeneous in respect to all important circumstances. To do this is the business of the statistician, who becomes assured of the soundness of his judgment in devising his restrictions when he finds that his statistics are of a quasi-normal character. If he is able to succeed in this task in the present problem, the relation between pauperism and crime would be rigorously expressed by the simple methods already explained.

In conclusion I must repeat what was said before, that it is impossible to go deeper into this subject without using very technical language and dealing freely with conceptions that are, unhappily, quite unfamiliar to the large majority of educated men. I can only say that there is a vast field of topics that fall under the laws of correlation, which lies quite open to the research of any competent person who cares to investigate it.

FRANCIS GALTON.

MY LIFE AMONG THE INDIANS.

BY BISHOP WHIPPLE, OF MINNESOTA.

I HAVE been requested to write for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW my Indian experiences.

In 1859 there were twenty thousand Indians in Minnesota. They belonged to the two great families of northern Indians—the Algonquins, whose beautiful language was heard by the Pilgrim fathers, and the Dacotahs, whose bands extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. Both were noble types of wild men. They were hereditary foes, but neither knew the origin of their hatred. The Dacotahs, or Sioux, were the Indians of the prairie and the more warlike. The Ojibways, or Chippeways, were the Indians of the forest and the more cunning. Their habits and customs were similar; their languages totally different. The language of the Dacotahs has more vowels, sounds harsher, and is stronger. The Ojibway is the language of poetry and is made up largely of labials and liquids. Nearly every Indian word of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" is Ojibway. Indian words are descriptive. "Chair" in English is arbitrary; "a-pu-bi-win" in Ojibway is "the something on which he sits." Names of persons or places are descriptive, and are often changed. A mother names her boy Ne-in-dah—"the passing cloud"; in manhood he may receive the name Taopi—"the wounded one." In English the verb "I love" is the same when applied to a person, a thing, a quality of mind or of matter. If an Ojibway says, "I love," and stops, you can tell by the inflection of the verb who it is or what it is he loves. These unwritten Indian tongues are marvellous for their beauty and power, and are capable of conveying as nice shades of meaning as classic Greek.

The Indian is not in any gross sense an idolator. His universe is peopled with spirits. He recognizes a Great Spirit; he believes in a future life. He has a passionate love for his chil-

dren, and will gladly die for his people. He is a true friend and a bitter enemy. I have never known of an instance where the Indian was the first to violate plighted faith. General H. H. Sibley, the chief factor of the Northwest Fur Company, says that for thirty years it was the boast of the Sioux that they had never taken the life of a white man. The Hon. Henry M. Rice, the chief factor among the Chippeways, bears like testimony to their firm friendship and honesty.

Thirty years ago our Indian system was at its worst. It was a blunder and a crime. It recognized nomadic tribes as independent nations. It destroyed the advisory power of the chiefs and gave nothing in its place. It recognized no personal rights of property; it gave no protection to person or life; it punished no crime. Its emoluments were rewards for political service, and most of its solemn treaties were framed to use the Indian as a key to unlock the public treasury. At best it established heathen almshouses to graduate savage paupers. Three white men passed a sleeping Indian. One said, "I will kill the damned redskin," and drew his rifle and shot him. No one was punished. An Indian woman died in a border village from brutal violence. The agent was appealed to and said, "It is none of my business." A mixed-blood killed an Indian woman; he was arrested and sent to the nearest United States fort. After three months in the guard-house the Secretary of War ordered his discharge, saying that there was no law to punish an Indian.

It was not strange that the poor heathen, surrounded by evil influences, were dragged to a depth of sorrow which their heathen fathers never knew, and that robbery and wrong brought a perennial harvest of blood. Statesmen and philanthropists pleaded in vain. Changes were made, but the system was unreformed. Secretary Barbour asked Congress to remove the bureau from the War Department. It was done; but spurious coin is not made good by changing pockets.

Friends advised me not to undertake any Indian missions. In my boyhood I listened to the stories of an old soldier of the Mohawk, whose life had been spent among the Indians. A sainted mother taught me to defend the weak. I believed that these wandering redmen were children of one God and Father, and that he loved them as he loved us. I carried it where I love to take anything which troubles me, and I vowed that, God being

my helper, I would never turn my back on the heathen at my door. I have tried to keep the vow.

Three weeks after I reached my diocese I visited the Indian mission at Gull Lake. I had pictured the Indian of Cooper; the gay dress of wild men and women; the picturesque wigwam with its trophies of war and the chase; the happy groups of dark-haired women and children. We had hardly entered the forest before we came to the new-made grave of an Indian killed in a drunken brawl. The first wigwam was a scene of desolation,—dirty, squalid, half-naked children; a poor mother standing in the snow scraping the pitch from the inner bark of the pine-tree to satisfy the gnawing hunger of her starving babes; a young girl dying from scrofula: all a picture of woe to make me cry, "How long, how long, O Lord?"

The lights and shadows of that first visit are the epitome of years. We held a sweet service in the log church of St. Columba on the banks of the loveliest of Minnesota lakes. The service was strange to me. I only knew one word, and that is the same in every tongue—"Jesus." It made us of kin. I preached through an interpreter and tried to tell the old, old story so as to reach these hearts. After service I was asked to bury an Indian child. It was at even when the shadows of the pine-tree rested on the grave. Never did service sound sweeter than as I christened this Indian lamb "dust to dust" in the acre of God. An Indian burial is sacred. The mother lays the child's treasures in the grave; friends place the weapons of war and the chase in the warrior's hands, and the faithful dog is slain to bear his master company to the happy hunting-grounds. After the service the mother brought me a lock of hair, black as a raven's wing, and said: "I have heard that when white mothers lose their babes, they have the hair made into a cross to remind them of the baby who has gone and of Jesus who has taken it. Will Keche-muck-a-day-a-konay have my baby's hair made into a cross?"

Surely an Indian mother's heart is like a white mother's heart. In several wigwams I saw a little bundle ornamented with strips of bead-work. The bereaved mother had taken the things which belonged to her dead child and made a bundle and ornamented it; and this she carried for a year in memory of her child. They believe that the departed spirit lingers by the grave, and offerings of bread are often placed beside it. I once saw an

old man sitting on the bank of the upper Mississippi. I called him, and said: "Friend, come and dine with me." After dinner I said: "I have plenty of provisions. I shall be in the Indian country a week longer. If you will go with me, I will feed you, and when we part I will give you all the stores I have left." He said: "You have a kind heart. I thank you. My old wife is sleeping in a grave yonder. I cannot go away from her, for she will be lonesome."

I held my first Indian council at Gull Lake. The Lord Bishop of Rochester said to me: "An Indian council has all the dignity of the House of Lords, with this difference—that the House of Lords never listen; the Indians always do." The speaker rises, shakes hands with the principal men in the audience, drops his blanket from his right shoulder, leaving his arm free for gestures, and in a simple, straightforward manner presents his subject, enforcing his argument by many illustrations drawn from nature and daily life. They never interrupt a speaker. The last words of every speech are, "I have done."

In these early visits I heard many stories to make my cheeks blush for shame. The Ojibways justly claimed arrears of more than $50,000 under old treaties, which had never been paid. They sold some of the most beautiful land in Minnesota for one cent and a half an acre, under the promise that it should become the home of a friendly body of Indians, who would be a protection against their enemies, the Dacotahs. The treaty was made, and the country was immediately opened for white settlement. The Dacotahs had sold 800,000 acres of their reservation upon the plea that they needed more money for civilization. They waited four years and never received one penny; it was all taken for claims. This, and the withholding of their annuities for two months, precipitated that awful massacre of 1862 in which 800 of our citizens were slain. It is not easy to answer these overtrue charges of robbery, or even to condemn the Indian for his sins.

On a visit to the Dacotah mission a scalp-dance was held near the mission-house. I was indignant. I went to Wabasha, the head chief, and said: "Wabasha, you asked me for a missionary and teacher. I gave them to you. I visit you, and the first sight is this brutal scalp-dance. I knew the Chippeway whom your young men have murdered; he had a wife and children; his wife

is crying for her husband; his children are asking for their father. Wabasha, the Great Spirit hears his children cry. He is angry. Some day he will ask Wabasha, 'Where is your red brother?'" The old chief smiled, drew his pipe from his mouth, blew a cloud of smoke upward, and said: "White man go to war with his own brother in the same country; kill more men than Wabasha can count in all his life. Great Spirit smiles; says, 'Good white man; he has my book; I love him very much; I have a good place for him by-and-by.' The Indian is a wild man; he has no Great Spirit book; he kills one man; has a scalp-dance; Great Spirit is mad, and says, 'Bad Indian; I will put him in a bad place by-and-by.' Wabasha don't believe it."

The Indian has a keen appreciation of humor, and is like a child in his mirthfulness. No orator can see the weak points in his adversary's armor or silence a foolish speaker more quickly.

Old Shah-bah-skong, the head chief of Mille Lac, brought all his warriors to defend Fort Ripley in 1862. The Secretary of the Interior, and the Governor and Legislature of Minnesota, promised these Indians that for this act of bravery they should have the special care of the government and never be removed. A few years later, a special agent was sent from Washington to ask the Ojibways to cede their lands and remove to a country north of Leech Lake. The agent asked my help. I said: "I know that country. I have camped on it. It is the most worthless strip of land in Minnesota. The Indians are not fools. Don't attempt this folly. You will surely come to grief." He called the Indians in council, and said: "My red brothers, your great father has heard how you have been wronged. He said, 'I will send them an honest man.' He looked in the North, the South, the East, and the West. When he saw me, he said, 'This is the honest man whom I will send to my red children.' Brothers, look at me! The winds of fifty-five years have blown over my head and silvered it over with gray, and in all that time I have never done wrong to any man. As your friend, I ask you to sign this treaty."

Old Shah-bah-skong sprang to his feet and said: "My friend, look at me! The winds of more than fifty winters have blown over my head and silvered it over with gray; but they have not blown *my* brains away."

That council was ended.

An agent who had won the distinction of a militia general desired to impress the Indians. Dressed in uniform, with chapeau and sword, he said: "Your great father thinks that one reason why he has had so much trouble with the Indians is that he has always sent to them civilians. This time he said, 'These red men are warriors; I will send to them a warrior,' and he sent me." An old chief arose, drew a long breath and said: "I have heard ever since I was a boy that white men had their great warriors. I have always wanted to see one. I have looked at him, and I am now ready to die."

Since that first visit, after I had made a visitation in the white field, I went into the Indian country and travelled each year from 500 to 1,500 miles on foot or in a birch-bark canoe, going from Indian village to village, to hear their tale of sorrow and with a brother's heart and hand to try to help them.

At first we saw very little fruit. The work seemed hopeless. The Indian medicine-men, who made gain of their people, were our bitter foes. Old Shah-dah-yence, the leading medicine-man of the nation, was my Alexander Coppersmith. A Christian Indian died in the triumphs of faith. His last words were to ask friends to follow him to the other home. The next day all the medicine-men of the band disappeared. They were gone a month. One day they came back with blackened faces (Indian mourning) and in rags. The people asked what it meant. The medicine-men said: "It is too awful to tell." After much persuasion, they revealed the awful secret. They said: "We travelled far in the forest and held a fast. The Great Spirit showed us the other world. We saw this Christian Indian wandering alone. He told us that when he died he went to the white man's heaven and asked admission. The angel at the gate said: 'Who are you?' He said: 'A Christian Ojibway.' The angel shook his head and said: 'This is a white man's heaven. No Ojibway has ever come here. There are happy hunting-grounds for the Ojibways. You must go there.' He travelled until he came to the red man's heaven, and asked admission. The angel at the gate asked him: 'Who are you?' He answered: 'A Christian Ojibway.' The angel shook his head and said: 'The Ojibways are medicine-men. If you are a Christian, you must go to the other heaven.' The poor man would have to wander alone forever."

Old Shah-dah-yence had a great desire to have his son edu-

cated, and we brought him, with other Indian children, to Faribault. At wayside inns the border people would gather about the wagon and say: "Wonder what he is going to do with these Injun children." "Perhaps he thinks he can make Christians out of them." "It can't be did." "You might as well tame a weasel." Four of these boys became ministers of the church. This old medicine-man learned from his son to believe in Jesus Christ, and I have never known any man whose whole life was more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christ. In his old age I have known him to walk to Red Lake, seventy miles, to tell his people of the love which filled his heart.

In those early days my visits to Washington were oft-repeated stories of blighted hopes. I found President Lincoln a willing listener. I told him the story of the massacre of 1862, when 300 miles of our border was one track of blood. As I repeated the story of specific acts of dishonesty, the President said: "Did you ever hear of the Southern man who bought monkeys to pick cotton? They were quick; their long, slim fingers would pull out the cotton faster than negroes; but he found it took two overseers to watch one monkey. This Indian business needs ten honest men to watch one Indian agent."

From the martyred President I received the highest compliment ever paid to me. He said to a friend: "As I listened to Bishop Whipple's story of robbery and shame, I felt it to my boots"; and, rising to his full height, he said: "If I live, this accursed system shall be reformed." He would have done it.

Secretary Stanton said to General Halleck: "What does Bishop Whipple want? If he came here to tell us that our Indian system is a sink of iniquity, tell him we all know it. Tell him the United States government never redresses a wrong until the people demand it. When he reaches the heart of the people, the Indians will be saved."

As I recall those early days, there come to me many sweet memories of the heroism of my Indian friends. All that sheds light on the days when I was walking on my heart is the story of Indian bravery. Other Day, Taopi, Wabasha, Good Thunder, Simon Anagmani, Lorenzo Laurence, Wah-hau-ca-ma-za, and many others were heroes as the world measures heroes. Taopi carried to his grave a certificate saying, "Taopi, a wounded man, is entitled to the lasting gratitude of the United States for

having, with other Christian Indians, rescued 200 white women and children during the Sioux war." He died of a broken heart. His last words to me were : "The Great Spirit has called me to go on the last journey. I am not afraid, for Jesus is going with me, and I shall not be lonesome on the road." Dear old Good Thunder, chief of scouts, is living at Birch Cooley. He came to his old home and bought eighty acres of land. He said to me : "I have came back to my old home. I cannot live without a 'tipi wakon,' where I can worship the Great Spirit. If you will build my people a church, I will give you twenty acres of land." No guest is more welcome in my home than this Christian chief.

Generals Terry, Miles, Stanley, and Custer have again and again borne tribute to the fidelity of these scouts. After General Custer returned from the Black Hills, he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Hinman : "I cannot allow these scouts to return to their homes without bearing testimony to their fidelity. I not only say they have proved good soldiers; I doubt if any village can show thirty men of more exemplary character. Among many pleasant incidents I recall one Sunday in camp when suddenly I heard the familiar tune, 'Rock of Ages.' Knowing that cavalrymen were not noted for hymn-singing, I followed the sound and found that the sons of men who roamed over these prairies in barbarous wildness were engaged in the worship of God."

To Emmegahbowh, Bad Boy, Shah-bah-skong, and other faithful souls we owe the protection of our northern frontier. Many of them have gone before to the land, as Red Cloud once said, "where it is hoped white men will tell no lies."

In the hopes which come to me at eventide there are none sweeter than that in our Father's home we shall meet many of these men of the trembling eye and wandering foot, to whom we were permitted to give a brother's sympathy, a brother's love, and a brother's prayers.

If I do not weary your readers, I shall be glad to tell them what the gospel has done for these red men in leading them into the light of Christian civilization.

H. B. WHIPPLE.

THE NEEDS OF THE SOUTH.

BY ROBERT LOWRY, EX-GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

I AM invited to discuss the needs of the South as I learned them during my occupancy of the executive office for eight years in Mississippi.

The subject implies that the South has peculiar needs not common to other sections of the country; and this is, unfortunately, true. The position of the South is isolated. It is not rendered so by reason of differences in climate, soil, productions, or natural resources, though these exist; but it arises chiefly from political differences originating in the institution of slavery, the destruction of which has radically changed the labor of the country, this change creating new industries and enterprises. It will be remembered that great, impartial, and philosophical minds long years ago predicted disaster and ruin to those exposed to the ordeals through which the South has passed.

Thomas Jefferson believed that the two races of which the Southern States are mainly composed could not live equally free under the same government. In this opinion de Tocqueville concurred, as did distinguished historians of Europe, one of whom gave the West Indies as an example where the progress of civilization had been arrested and both races ruined.

The South has survived the ordeal, and the trials through which it has passed inspire courage and confidence for the future. The progress that has been made in the past ten years and the needs of to-day are inseparably connected. The one must be understood to comprehend the other.

Without discussing the policy of any political party, it can be truthfully stated that from 1867 to 1874 the laws in Mississippi were not enforced, and life and property had but little protection. The public revenues were exhausted and their sources dried up. This not only applied to the visible, tangible resources of the people, but in many instances throughout the Southern States the burdens were increased by the issuance of negotiable bonds.

Capital fled from the country. Farms were abandoned or forfeited and sold for taxes, and a steady stream of emigration, composed of the best material in the South, sought homes elsewhere. The great natural resources of the country remained undeveloped. Not a mine was opened, not a factory was established, not a railroad was built. Trade and commerce were paralyzed, and the stoutest hearts despaired.

The foregoing can be verified by the official statistics. In 1869 the State tax in Mississippi was ten cents on $100; in 1871, forty cents; in 1872, eighty; in 1873, one hundred and twenty-five; in 1874, one hundred and forty cents on $100; and the county and municipal taxes increased in the same ratio. Notwithstanding this high taxation, the public debt increased in like proportion, showing a large excess of expenditures over receipts. More than 40 per cent. of the lands were sold for taxes, embracing a large quantity in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, equal in fertility to the alluvial soil of the Nile.

Amid the general depression the people made a supreme effort to pick up their burden, and by renewed energy win prosperity, and they succeeded. From that time onward it has been a steady march unexampled in the past experience of even this rapidly-growing country. The increase in the assessed value of property in the Southern States since that date is enormous. The miles of railroad that have been constructed, the value of factories that have been established, amount to many millions of dollars. In Mississippi, during the time mentioned, there has been an increase of ninety thousand children in the common schools, and the amount expended in 1889 for their support was over $1,000,000. The people share liberally of their means for educational purposes. The resources have been sufficient to establish splendid institutions for the higher education of the youth of both races, and at the same time to build and support asylums for the afflicted. In addition to the liberal support for the purposes mentioned, the greater portion of the lands forfeited for taxes have been redeemed.

These are substantial evidences of prosperity, and they demonstrate the struggle that the Southern people have made to recuperate and build up their fortunes.

The needs of the South are organized or systematized labor, capital, and less legislation. I dissent from those who

class the negro as an inferior laborer. I regard him as the best and cheapest laborer that will ever be found for the cultivation of our chief product, cotton. His adaptability to the climate and the fact that he is not a skilled laborer, together with his natural inclination, fit him for the cotton field. What his ultimate fate may be is a difficult problem, but it will be no easy task to find his equal or supply his place as a laborer for the cultivation of cotton.

When it is remembered that the annual value of this one product alone in Mississippi is, in round numbers, fifty millions of dollars, and that it exceeds that sum in one State and approximates it in others, the importance of well-organized and reliable labor is apparent. It is one of the needs that cannot be overestimated.

I have had occasion heretofore to say, and I repeat the statement, that if the area of country embraced in what is known as the Mississippi delta was thoroughly protected from the floods, and every acre cultivated in cotton, it would produce more than was raised in the United States in any year previous to the late war. In this connection it may be said that the increased consumption keeps pace with the production, and, moreover, that cotton forms a part of almost every fabric that is found in the mercantile world.

Hence well-organized labor is a matter of the greatest importance in the production of this valuable crop. If the negro was let alone by politicians, and allowed to follow his own inclinations, he would be a better laborer, and more contented; and with the advantages of education time would increase his appreciation of citizenship.

In support of this view, the statistics show a decrease in crime during the last decade. In 1880 there were more than 900 convicts in the penitentiary; in 1889, with an increased population, there were 550. The improvement in this and other respects has been so marked as to lead to the well-founded hope that within a few years the stable and well-ordered governments under which we live, supplemented by the influence of education and Christianity, will accomplish much in restoring cordial relations between the races, and in systematizing labor, which will assure reasonable prosperity.

Mississippi is an agricultural State, and, notwithstanding the

difficulties to which I refer, much has been accomplished; and I do not hesitate to say that the progress of the State during the past ten years, under home rule, in all that contributes to the greatness and glory of a State, and the happiness and contentment of her people of every class, creed, race, sex, and condition, will compare favorably with that of other States for the same period. The same may be said of every other Southern State, and of some even more. These facts indicate more clearly than any mere words that the true need of the South is to be permitted to pursue without molestation the career upon which she is now embarked.

Besides systematized labor, we want capital; for it must be remembered that to get the great agricultural interests on a firm and prosperous footing required all the home capital at command. With the exception of Texas, which has five times its area, Mississippi is the largest cotton-growing State in the Union, and it ought to be the largest cotton-manufacturing State in America. One of the great needs of Mississippi and other cotton States is capital to establish factories, especially those of cotton and wool. The productions of the earth are usually manufactured where they are made or found, and why capital has not sought investment in this industry here is difficult to understand. It cannot be charged to unjust laws, or to oppressive taxation, or to misgovernment. I seriously doubt if there are a million and a half of people in this or any other country where laws are more impartial or more faithfully executed than in Mississippi.

Our climate, productions, and conditions generally are most favorable for the manufacturing of cotton. There are cheap land, cheap labor, cheap fuel, and the raw material raised in profusion. It may also be stated that in many localities we have never-failing streams of water, and the weather is never too cold for operators to do a satisfactory day's work.

While on this subject, it is not improper to say that the Wesson Cotton Factory, having only the Illinois Central Railroad for transportation, ships goods 1,450 miles to Boston, and there competes with cotton goods of every description manufactured within forty miles of Boston. The same may be said of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other large cities.

Yes, one of the great needs of the South is capital to build up and establish factories. Certainly where all the conditions and

appointments are favorable and the raw material is at hand, it would be cheaper and more profitable to bring and erect the machinery on the ground where the product is than to submit to the constant outlay of transporting the material thousands of miles.

Neither Vicksburg, with twenty thousand inhabitants, nor Meridian, with fifteen thousand, neither Greenville nor Jackson, each with eight or ten thousand, has a cotton or wool factory. The first-mentioned city has two railroads, one running north and south and the other east and west, and, in addition, is directly on the Mississippi River, and a large distributing-point. Meridian has four railroads, and is situated in a most delightful country. Greenville is situated on the great river, with three railroads, in one of the most fertile counties in America, and is a distributing-point of great importance. The capital of the State has railways leading in almost every direction. A factory at either of the points mentioned would possess superior advantages over one having but a single line over which to transport its goods.

Every section of our State invites the investment of capital, and the same may be said of contiguous States. The improved methods of industry which distinguish other States, and the results of their experience, would be most beneficial to our population. When the people of the world assembled in New Orleans at the Industrial and Cotton Exposition, and saw the gigantic structures that covered more than thirty acres of land, they were informed that every stick of timber was furnished from the pine forests of Mississippi. The shipments of lumber from one port, Pascagoula, during the week ending on the last day of February, were nearly three million feet, divided between Africa, Brazil, France, Uruguay, Mexico, and Florida.

It may safely be stated that 1890 finds the Southern States more prosperous than at any time during the past quarter of a century. Mines, factories, farming, and, indeed, all vocations have been reasonably remunerative. While money has been obtained more easily, and many national and private banks have been established, yet to raise and move crops keeps the home capital employed. Properly to develop the resources of the country capital is much needed.

The Southern people have been sorely tested. They have survived as best they could the demoralizing effects of war, and

the evils incident to the existence of peculiarly distinct and different races, equally free under the same government; but in their trials, and in the hope of bettering their condition, appeals were made to the law-making power for any relief that could be suggested. Too much legislation has been the bane of the country. Change is not always improvement. A law which may not be of the best, but with which those concerned are familiar, is better for society than frequent changes in the hope of improving the law. That is praiseworthy conservatism which clings to what is, until assured of something better to substitute for it.

The gloomy prophecies of those who spoke for posterity have not been fulfilled in our history. Great deeds and virtues are the legitimate offspring of great trials. To solve successfully the grave social and political problems with which we yet stand face to face, and to adjust differences and peculiarities of races so as to render mutual help, instead of putting a clog upon both public and private interests, are objects worthy of the loftiest ambition, and in which every citizen high and low may participate.

ROBERT LOWRY.

FLAWS IN INGERSOLLISM.

BY THE REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: When the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW asked me to reply to your two articles recently published in that periodical, entitled "Why Am I an Agnostic?" my first inclination was to decline. The larger my observation of life, the more mature my experience, the less my faith in the value of polemics. For two champions to measure swords against each other in a rhetorical duel, with a crowd looking on, and by their real or fancied applause stimulating the ambition and the vanity of the combatants, each applauded by the adherents of the cause he champions, and in the minds of both the desire of truth banished by the eager resolve for victory—this has always seemed to me, increasingly seems to me, a profitless occupation for earnest-minded men. Life is too short, life is too serious, to leave room for such spectacular tournaments, whose prize the public awards, not to truth, but to brilliance of rhetoric and readiness of repartee.

It would, indeed, I think, not be difficult to point out some serious errors in your statements, but they are probably not more serious than those into which I should fall were I to endeavor to write of constitutional law, furnished therefor only by a casual reading of the Constitution, and perhaps *The Federalist*, with no knowledge of the course of judicial interpretation afforded by the decisions of the Supreme Court during the last half-century. I might point out your mistake in supposing that hundreds of crimes were punished with death under the Mosaic statutes, telling you that there were in fact exactly twelve crimes so punished. These were idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, fraudulent prophecy, Sabbath-breaking, rebellion against parents, resistance to judicial officers, murder, homicide by negligence, adultery, certain incestuous marriages, kidnapping. When one reflects that

there were in that epoch no prisons, and no possibility of providing them, that banishment from the camp during the wanderings in the wilderness was punishment worse than death, and that as late as 1600 A. D., in England, two hundred and sixty-three crimes were capital offences, the Mosaic code does not seem to be extraordinarily harsh or cruel. When one reflects that in the Orient to-day the life of every citizen is at the mercy of an absolute despot, from whose decision there is no appeal, and that under Moses no man could be deprived of life or property except after trial and conviction by his peers, the judicial system which Moses established does not seem by contrast exceptionally barbaric.

I might assure you that you are quite mistaken in supposing that Christians say to the heathen: "You must examine your religion, and not only so, but you must reject it; and unless you do reject it, and, in addition to such rejection, adopt ours, you will be eternally damned." I do not recall the name of a single living teacher in the Christian church who holds any such doctrine. Joseph Cook and Dr. J. L. Withrow have stood in the very forefront of the conservative party in the orthodox church in its recent controversies concerning the future of the heathen, and they have both contended vigorously that an acceptance of Christianity is not essential to salvation; that, on the contrary, myriads of pagans will be found to have entered into eternal life without any knowledge of Christ or his religion. But it would probably be of little use in a public debate to point out these and kindred errors. No man likes to acknowledge publicly that he has been mistaken. The only result would be your reply, perhaps, that a code which punished Sabbath-breaking with death was barbaric, and that, if the acceptance of Christianity is not essential to salvation, it is not legitimate to lay such stress upon its acceptance. Thus the argument would be simply shifted; there would be a new thrust and a new parry, and the fencing would go on as before.

I do not propose, therefore, to enter into any controversy with you; to answer in detail your criticisms on the Bible, which seem to me to grow almost wholly out of a misapprehension of that book, nor your criticisms on theology, which seem to me to grow partly out of your misapprehensions of the theologians and partly out of their misapprehensions of the Bible. But I should like to ask you, and those who agree with you, or who, without agreeing

with you, admire your eloquence without seriously considering your object, whether you are quite sure that this object is worthy of one who desires to be and to be known as a lover of his fellow-men. You desire, if I understand the spirit and purport of your writings, to deprive mankind of their faith in God, in Christ, in the Bible. Are you quite sure that this faith is so injurious, so depressing, so dwarfing to human growth, so dangerous to human liberty, so distressing to humanity in its sorrow, so demoralizing to humanity in its moral conflicts, that to take it from them is worthy your eloquence on the platform, and your invective, your satire, and your ridicule on the printed page? Will life and property be safer, will liberty be surer, will homes be sweeter, will life be more joyous and death less terrible, if you succeed, and the life of Christ is forgotten, and the Psalms of David are no more sung, and the Ten Commandments fall into oblivion, and faith in God and hope of immortality are dissipated like pleasant dreams by a rude awakening, and humanity is left without a Father and life without a hope? You remember, perhaps, the testimony to his own experience borne by Professor Clifford, the ablest, most scholarly, most candid, most noble-minded atheist of the century:

"It cannot be doubted that theistic belief is a comfort and a solace to those who hold it, and that the loss of it is a very painful loss. It cannot be doubted, at least, by many of us in this generation, who either profess it now, or received it in our childhood and have parted from it since, with such searching trouble as only cradle-faiths can cause. We have seen the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven to light up a soulless earth; we have felt with utter loneliness that the Great Companion is dead. Our children, it may be hoped, will know that sorrow only by the reflex light of wondering compassion."*

What will it profit your fellow-men if you succeed in giving to them a like experience of orphanage?

Do not misunderstand me. Do not imagine that I wish you to give your countenance to a lie because it is pleasing or appears to be profitable. Or that I even wish you to keep silence while such a lie flourishes before your eyes. By no means. Let us have the truth, cost what it may. Let hearts bleed and feet falter in the march, let courage fail and hope die, let governments perish and communities dissolve into their original elements, rather than live and prosper by lies. If you are sure that there is no God who is the Father of us all; no future life which sheds its light of hope

*Professor Clifford: "Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief." Lectures and Essays, Vol. II., page 247.

on the sorrowful enigma of the present; no divinity in man tabernacling in the hearts of all who will give it admission, and most of all in the heart of him who, because he gave it free entrance and yielded it absolute loyalty, is preëminently the Son of God; no voice speaking in the voices of men the language of divinity, but in a patois of earth,—if you are sure of this, and are convinced that our brighter hope is a delusion and a snare, you do right to attempt to dispel the illusion and waken us from the dream. So one might well exhaust his skill to awaken from his pleasing lunacy one who was a prince in the asylum ward, but would become a pauper when returned sane to his home. But if I understand you aright, you are not sure. Thus eloquently, in the December number of this REVIEW, you state your conclusions:

"Let us be honest with ourselves. In the presence of countless mysteries; standing beneath the boundless heaven sown thick with constellations; knowing that each grain of sand, each leaf, each blade of grass, asks of every mind the answerless question; knowing that the simplest thing defies solution; feeling that we deal with the superficial and the relative, and that we are forever eluded by the real, the absolute,—let us admit the limitations of our minds, and let us have the courage and the candor to say: We do not know."

You do not call yourself an atheist, but an agnostic. You do not know that there is no God, but you do not know that there is one. Well, let us for the moment grant that we are all agnostics; that we none of us *know* that there is a God; that we only have faith that there is one. Is it so impossible a faith that loyalty to truth requires its overthrow? Is it so injurious to man that loyalty to love requires its overthrow? I believe, indeed, that our faith in God rests on the surest of all foundations—on a personal acquaintance and fellowship with him. Herbert Spencer can hardly be accused of being subject to the delusions and superstitions of an ignorant and priest-ridden intellect. It is Herbert Spencer who says: "Unlike the ordinary consciousness, the religious consciousness is concerned with what lies beyond the sphere of sense. A brute thinks only of the things which can be touched, seen, heard, tasted, etc, and the like is true of the untaught child, the deaf-mute, and the lowest savage. But the developing man has thoughts about existences which he regards as usually intangible, inaudible, invisible; and yet which he regards as operative upon him." It is in this consciousness of a God who lies beyond the sphere of sense that our faith in God is founded—a faith which in one form or another has character-

ized the greatest, the profoundest, the most luminous thinkers of all ages; the greatest philosophers like Socrates, the greatest poets like Goethe, the greatest statesmen like Gladstone, the greatest scientists like Isaac Newton. On the one side is this faith of the wisest, the best, the noblest of mankind; on the other—what? This answer: "We do not know." It will hardly be sincerely contended that this faith, so witnessed, is so irrational that one who does not know is bound by his loyalty to truth to attack it.

Is it, then, so injurious to mankind that loyalty to humanity requires him to attack it?

He who asks his neighbor to be candid must himself show candor. And I am quite of the opinion that there have been, and still are, conceptions of God so injurious to man, because so degrading to his ideals, as to arouse in the lover of his kind intensest indignation. It is not without good reason that the Bible counts idolatry the worst of all sins; and I think that there is more in common in the old Hebrew prophet's ire and your own temper than either you or your critics would be willing to concede. I fully agree with Plutarch that superstition is as much worse than atheism as a bad god is worse than no god at all. In so far as you wish to emancipate men from their terror of God, I sympathize with the result which you are endeavoring to accomplish. But surely you know that there are not a few Christian ministers, though perhaps you do not know how many, who are endeavoring to achieve for their fellow-men the same emancipation. Surely you know, to mention no others, what my predecessor in Plymouth Church did by voice and pen to exorcise the demon of fear from religion by invoking the angel presence of love. Surely you know that he was not alone; and that the faith of the Christian pulpit to-day, dim, but growing clearer, narrow as yet, but growing broader and more inclusive, is that faith which the Roman Catholic Faber has expressed for all of us so exquisitely:

> "There's a wideness in God's mercy
> Like the wideness of the sea;
> There's a kindness in His justice
> That is more than liberty."

Is this faith in a Father of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named—a Father who understands what is mystery to

us, and who out of chaos is evolving a new created world—so deadening to human sensibilities, so discouraging to human endeavor, so dwarfing to human growth, that one who does not know whether it is true or not, should feel himself appointed to overthrow it? Fear hath torment, and I would gladly join forces with you in endeavoring to rid the world of this tormentor. But may it not be that perfect love is more effectual than perfect ignorance to cast out fear?

The mystery of life! Who is not at times oppressed by it? Whose faith does not sometimes fail? Who does not sometimes cry out also, "We do not know"? He who does not see that the whole world groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now, has studied life to little purpose. If the object of life is to produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number here and now, it is one long, continuous, unbroken blunder. But love has higher aims than this. It seeks to give character, not happiness. Whether I am happy here or hereafter is a matter of small concern; whether I am true, pure, noble, manly, is the only question worth considering. I ask science to interpret life for me, and it replies, "Life is a struggle for existence; the result is the survival of the fittest." I ask religion, and religion replies, "Life is a battle with temptation; the result is eternal life to the victors." The phrases are different; the answer is the same: struggle—battle; survival—life; fittest—victors. And if you agree with me that character is worth more than condition, life than place, being than happiness, you may possibly also agree with me that, when the end is seen,—that end which is not yet,—we shall see that life was adapted to produce character; that the struggle was adapted to produce the fittest.

If you ask me, Could not omnipotence have created the fittest without the struggle, virtue without battle? I reply, "We do not know." We only know that we can conceive no way in which courage can be produced without danger bravely encountered, nor patience without burdens bravely borne, nor love without self-denial cheerfully endured. And so the faith in a love which puts its children into the battle, binds burdens on their shoulders, offers them the cross, and itself enters the battle, bears the burden, and endures the cross with them, seems to us neither inconsistent with life nor inconceivable by the reason. You do not know. That I can readily understand. But why, since you

do not know, should you endeavor to take from humanity a faith and a hope so illuminating and inspiring? That I do not so readily understand.

But we are not merely theists—we are Christians: we believe in God; we believe also in Christianity. What is Christianity?

The first century of the Christian era was the darkest which the world has ever seen. Poetry had died in Greece, philosophy in Rome, prophecy in Palestine; in place of Isaiah was Gamaliel; in place of Socrates was Philo. Liberty was bound, gagged, and given over to the wild beasts to be devoured. Society was divided into two classes—many paupers and few rich. Public corruption was not even a public disgrace. Gluttony and drunkenness were fine arts, and licentiousness and prostitution a religion. The laborers were slaves; public education there was none; marriage was a partnership dissolvable at the will of either partner. In Palestine, also, decay, though not so complete. Thanks to the system of public education which Moses had founded, there was a parochial school for the children of the peasantry in every village that had a synagogue; thanks to the restrictions which Moses had put about slavery and polygamy, there were few or no slaves in Jewish households, and not a harem in all Palestine. And yet even in Palestine the church had fallen under the dominion of a corrupt and infidel priesthood, who were agnostics in their creed, though they were still ritualists in their practice.

At this time there appeared a young man of thirty whose brief life and simple teaching were to revolutionize the world. He never went beyond the bounds of his own little province. He gathered a few hundred of the common peasantry about him, and talked to them of truth, duty, love, God. Most of his teaching was conversational; not more than five or six of what can be called his public discourses have been preserved to us, and these only in fragmentary, imperfect, and sometimes conflicting reports. His message was very simple, and yet the world has not yet become weary of listening to it; and to-day, when a Henry Ward Beecher, a Phillips Brooks, a Dwight L. Moody, quietly ignoring the additions and corruptions of a later scholasticism, goes back to the simple teaching of this Galilean rabbi, throngs gather to hear the teaching, as they did when it was first given on the shores of the Lake of Gennesaret.

This Galilean rabbi told these people that he had come from God to tell them about God ; that he was a witness and testified to what he had seen and heard. He told them that the world was not orphaned ; that it had a Father in heaven who loved his children, cared for them, suffered with them. He told them that all men were brethren ; that distinctions between rich and poor, high and low, cultured and ignorant, between Hebrew and Greek, between Jew and pagan, differences of ritual, of creed, of condition, of race, were of no consequence ; that the only distinction of consequence was between righteousness and unrighteousness, truth and falsehood, virtue and vice, love and malice. He told them that life was for service ; that to be useful was to be great ; that to be self-denying was to be happy ; that sorrow rightly borne was a blessing, not a bane; that the way to overcome evil was by love and patience, not by force. Moses had told the Jew to love his Jewish neighbor as himself ; Jesus told him that the apostate and heretical Samaritan was his neighbor. Moses had forbidden cruel and disproportionate punishments : only maim, he said, the one that maims ; kill only the one who has killed. Christ went further. Do not punish sin at all, he said; cure it. Love is better than justice ; a penitentiary than a prison ; a reformatory than a jail. Resist not evil ; do good to them that despitefully use you. Moses had told them that God was justice—too holy to clear the guilty ; Jesus told them that God was love—so holy that he would cure the guilty. He treated sin as a disease ; God as a physician ; life as a hospital. Forgiveness of sin, deliverance from sin, was his mission. He told them that not ignorance, nor wretchedness, nor race, nor even sin separated the soul from God ; that the more the soul needed God, the readier was God to give the help of his companionship.

He not only taught these things; he lived them. He cared nothing for wealth; sought not office nor place. Applause was distasteful to him ; he eschewed it. When men would have shouted his praises, he bade them be still. He was as gentle as a woman, as heroic as a knight. The wrongs of others aroused his wrath ; wrongs inflicted on himself aroused only his pity and his love. The church-member who devoured widows' houses and for a pretence made long prayers, he denounced with ringing invectives as a hypocrite ; the apostate who betrayed him with a kiss, he bade pathetic farewell to with the appellation of "Friend." In all

this he declared that he was simply fulfilling his Father's will, revealing his Father's truth, doing his Father's work, actuated by his Father's spirit, and manifesting his Father's character to men. His whole life and teaching were one continuous indictment of the social and the ecclesiastical order of his time; and the social and ecclesiastical order combined to crush him. But the authorities were compelled to move cautiously because the common people loved him. By the aid of a betrayer they traced him to his retreat. The three trusted disciples who had undertaken to watch, that they might guard against surprise, fell asleep. Jesus disdained to flee and leave them to be arrested, put himself between the police and his own recreant followers, bade the latter escape, surrendered himself, and was led away to death. The shameful story of cruel abuse, the resplendent story of divine suffering love, I need not here recall. His death seemed to have extinguished the last light from the heavens and left the world in the night of an utter despair.

But his disciples did not long despair. In the belief that he had risen from the dead, they rose from a despair that was worse than death. Within thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus, faith in his resurrection had become the inspiration of the church. With an unprecedented audacity, the followers of Jesus had undertaken to convert the world to this faith, and in that faith to loyalty to their master and his teachings. Their early successes are among the marvels of history. Pagan temples became Christian churches; pagan feast-days Christian festivals. In three centuries the faith of the despised Nazarene had become the recognized religion of the Roman Empire. But the conversion was too sudden to be complete. While the church was converting paganism, paganism was also converting the church. From that day to this the teaching and influence of Jesus Christ have been contending with the paganism which is inherent in us all. The banished gods were rechristened as saints, and came back again. The banished idols were renamed apostles, and remained to be worshipped as before. The polytheistic throng of mediators between deity and man were imported into the church. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man made a struggle for existence in Alexandria, but was no match for the forces of wealth and ambition arrayed against it. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God was

dimmed, if it did not entirely disappear. The old pagan dread of God came back again into human consciousness. Perfect fear cast out love ; God became a terror, religion a law, faith a creed, worship a ritual.

Yet the new life could not be destroyed. Every age has produced, now within the church, now without it, protestants against the paganism which masquerades in the robes of Christianity. Christ and his truth are growing clearer in the apprehension, stronger in the heart, of his church. In that church there are, of course, narrowness, intolerance, crueltry ; that is to say, the church is made up of men and women, and there are narrowness, intolerance, cruelty, in the best of us. But these belong, not to Christianity, but to the paganism with which, in the church as without it, the spirit of Christianity, the spirit of gentleness, generosity, service, self-sacrifice, is contending. These are seen at their worst, not within, but without the church of Christ. Count Tolstoï has shown that in one Russian campaign more lives have been sacrificed to the devouring spirit of ambition than have perished in all the religious wars and persecutions of the Christian church from the beginning of the Christian era to this date. The powers of evil which have made their lair in the very church of God are not yet driven out of it.

We do not pretend to have fully comprehended the teaching of the Master, still less to realize in ourselves his life. Nevertheless, the United States could ill afford to lose the church despite its faults—its too narrow creeds, its artificial scholasticism, its emphasis now on doctrines, now on ritual, its schisms and separations, its bickerings and strifes, its fashion, its pomp, its social exclusiveness, its sometimes aristocratic temper. It does us no harm to have critics, whose keenness of vision is quickened by prejudice, point out these faults to us. Still, despite them, the church is a conservator of civilization, an educator of good-will, an almoner of charity, and the school of a noble, though defective, reverence and faith. It compels men to think of other things than stocks and bonds, lands and houses. It turns their minds toward considerations of justice, mercy, and truth. It calls men to reflect on noble lives; to look for an hour a week on the incomparable life of Jesus Christ, and measure their own lives by his. It ministers comfort at the coffin and courage in the market-place.

It is the reservoir from which need draws its assistance. The festival of the church becomes Hospital Sunday, and swells the treasure of those that minister in unpaid service to the sick and the suffering. It is to the church men look for endowments of asylums, colleges, all benevolent institutions. And it preaches a gospel of peace on earth and good-will toward men, the influence of which is seen in innumerable private rills of personal benevolence. The most stalwart anti-Romantist, in his calmer and more candid moments, can hardly question that, were the Roman Catholic church abolished by instantaneous decree, its priests banished and its churches closed, and the restraining influence of that form of the Christian religion taken away from its adherents, the disaster to American communities would be simply awful in its proportions, if not irretrievable in its results. The church has been and still is a Theseus struggling with the Centaur; it is itself half Theseus, half Centaur. He who desires to slay the Centaur should be careful to so aim his blow as to help, not wound, Theseus.

The teaching of Christ, the spirit of Christianity, seem to me very simple. They are that duty is love, that life is service, that every man is my brother, that God is the All-Father, and that he is cleansing, purifying, educating, developing, perfecting his children for a more harmonious life to come. We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, because we believe that he came from God, because in him there was, without dimness or darkness, that light of God some ray of which trembles in the darkest heart and life. We believe that he is the Saviour of mankind, because we believe that through him mankind is coming to know God, to receive God, to live in and with God, to become sons of God. The Christian spirit is the spirit of loyalty to Christ; making Christianity not merely our creed, but our life; making our own duty love, our own life service, our neighbor our brother, and God our Father, and finding in him the power to live this life of love and service which we believe is endless because it is divine. This faith wrought into the life of society would put an end to its discords; wrought into many a Christian household has made of them types of what all society might become, if it were reorganized on the simple but radical principles of the Sermon on the Mount. It is the comfort of the sorrowing, the strength of the tempted, the peace of the tempest-tossed, the purifier of the sinful, the upholder and

perfecter of the unfinished and the immature. If one who does not know whether this faith is true or not attempts to take it from the world, he should consider seriously whether he has something better to bestow in its place.

I have not in this paper discussed the miracles or the inspiration of the Old Testament, partly because these topics, in my opinion, occupy a subordinate position in the Christian faith, and I wished to consider only essentials. On historical evidence which, after a somewhat careful weighing of the matter and a somewhat careful study of the arguments on both sides, seems to me to be quite adequate, I regard as historical the events narrated in the four gospels ordinarily regarded as miraculous; the historical evidence for the analogous events in the Old Testament is not equally strong, and some of these events are clearly not historical and were not intended by the writers to be so regarded. But I fully agree with you that the order of nature has never been violated or interrupted. So that it would appear possible that our difference of opinion upon this subject is due partly to a difference of definition, partly to a difference of historical judgment, and only partly—possibly only in a minor degree—to a difference of religious faith.

As to the Old Testament, I confess myself unable to understand how one possessing a literary, not to say an ethical, taste could write the sentences, "To me there is nothing of any particular value in the Pentateuch. There is not, so far as I know, a line in the book of Genesis calulated to make a human being better." I should suppose that the magnificent psalm of praise to the Creator with which Genesis opens, the beautiful legend of the first sin and its fateful consequences, the inspiring story of Abraham, the first self-exile for conscience' sake, the romantic story of Joseph the peasant boy become a prince, would have attraction for any one if he could find a charm in, for example, the legends of the Round Table. But Genesis is not the Bible, and Abraham and Joseph are not Christ; and what I wish I might commend to the candid consideration of those who, like yourself, seem to me to throw away the wheat because it is not wholly winnowed from the chaff, is the Christian faith in the brotherhood of man, faith in the Fatherhood of God, and faith in the forgiveness of sins. Yours respectfully,

LYMAN ABBOTT.

CONVERSATIONAL IMMORALITIES.

BY MRS. AMELIA E. BARR.

WORDS are realities: they have the power to evoke ideas, which shall evoke facts; and it is from an inherent sense of right, and a subtle sense of values, that we say "words and deeds," not "deeds and words." For even between such grave evils as libertinage of words and looseness of conduct, immoral conversation is the more degrading and pernicious of the two. A vicious life preaches its own lesson, and bears its punishment in the public eye; but vicious words enter the portals of the ear to defile the heart, and the loose-lipped tongue of one woman, hesitating, and insinuating sensual images, corrupts all who hear her. She has the infamous prerogative of being the source from which moral sewage percolates into minds whose numbers she cannot estimate, and whose defilement is a wrong passing her power to redeem.

The prostitution of the ear is a fact whose solemnity is too lightly regarded; for a girl who will listen to impure talk will also do impure things. And in respect to our private intercourse we are a loose-zoned, free-and-easy generation. Women talk with each other, and also with men, on subjects which fifty years ago were scarcely spoken of, except in "asides" and allusions; and young girls have a familiarity with the names and likelihoods of sin of which the maiden of past generations was absolutely ignorant.

It is often said that such ignorance is unwise, that life should now be taken on a broad, philosophical basis, and that whatever is true is also proper. On the contrary, nothing is gained by divesting human life of certain mysteries, and much is lost. Matrons may converse innocently on subjects which young girls should not listen to; which they cannot listen to without losing something of the bloom of innocence that men have always respected as the great charm of maidenhood. Married women

may imagine that their puzzling ellipses and mysterious allusions are regarded by young girls with indifference: the case is by no means so; a prurient curiosity is aroused, and they have opened for imagination the door into forbidden ground.

The modesty of a young woman is the tact put before all her perceptions, the instinct which resists whatever is forbidden, the blind discernment, the mute indicator of what should not be known. It makes the senses circumspect, and it prevents youth from stepping prematurely out of its innocence. Surely it is the duty of mothers and matrons to hesitate ere they remove this delicate veil between the senses and the innocent mind!

Loose, unguarded talk between women is, however, the least of the conversational immoralities of our day. Even young girls now talk with men on subjects scarcely proper, and in language which is still more doubtful. For our active life is beset by so many complications of purposes, impulses, and sensibilities that nothing now seems so very bad or so very good to us. Such questions as prostitution and Malthusian doctrines are courageously gone into, and conversation about them is carried on in a free and unembarrassed way. Women of whose lives good girls should at least seem to be ignorant are topics of discussion. It is easy to admire that conversational frankness which calls a spade a spade, but spades need not be put into garbage heaps, and a reticence that is almost dissimulation about certain matters is a feminine virtue very near akin to modesty. There are bad people in the world, but young girls should never be near enough to them to be aware of the fact.

Unfortunately, also, there are reputable women who, not having intellect, try to compass notoriety by saying and doing startling things. With audacious daring they discuss characters whom they would consider it a defilement to know; the peculiar features of their friends' marriages; the scandals which have caused pending divorces. There are reputable women who delight in slippery confidences and perilous familiarities. There are fast girls who consider propriety an attribute of old maids, and who utter doubtful speeches and slang phrases with an air of intentional smartness and hopeless unruliness which would be disgusting, if it were not so pitiful; "awfully jolly girls" who have a professional jabber so slippery and evasive that gesture is more to be trusted than its masquerading initials. Let

such girls imagine themselves mothers teaching the savagery of slang to their baby daughters, and it may help them to an estimate of its immorality and intrinsic vulgarity.

Pure, refined language is one of the many charms of noble womanhood, and girls who think it "slow" are not as interesting as they consider themselves. Perhaps at exceptional moments they may be amusing, but whatever is the cause of laughter contains within it the elements of contempt. A girl who has ceased to exact respect for herself speedily becomes a bore, and sooner or later she will have this fact made clear to her with an unsparing frankness.

The present laxity in the morals of conversation has come from various causes. One has certainly been an imprudent and, perhaps in many instances, an unclean and spurious charity. Never before in the history of Christendom have unchaste women been the subjects of so much attention. The broad Saxon names designating them, unsparing in their condemnation, unmistakable in their meaning, have been put aside for others euphemistic enough for good society, and thus unnamable things have been made namable. It is a very significant breaking-down of decent barriers. The "whore" and the "courtesan" have become "fallen sisters" and "unfortunates," "Magdalens" or "*lorettes*"; and a sentimental sympathy has familiarized young girls with conditions of which they ought absolutely to know nothing.

To seek and to save the lost is truly a noble mission, but the mission is not one for unmarried girls. If moral scavenging is to be done, let those men who have conceived themselves "called" to preach repentance do it. And if women are advantageous in the service, there are mothers in Israel, there are widows who have empty hands, and matrons who have daughters of their own.

But the truth is that these "moonlight" and "midnight" missions attract girls by their romantic names, and by that flavor of impropriety that attaches to them. It may be asked, Will it make us wicked to know all about the wicked? We certainly expect that knowing about the good will make us good. The rule will work both ways. These dark-life studies are dangerous. Can we touch pitch and not be defiled? Can we go into the haunts of sin and not get a strong *soupçon* of them? To give the young an unnatural insight into the methods of immorality has dangers which are facts.

And if they go, then they have done what they consider a great charity, and they inevitably desire to talk of it. Under the guise of religion they can do so. But talking of fallen women is talking of vice, no matter how many texts are introduced. And into what perilous places walks that girl who talks with men of her Magdalens, their wrongs and sorrows, their repentances and their relapses! How barriers slip away as unchastity begins to be looked upon as misfortune; when men are regarded as the seducers, and women as their victims; when any case is supposed in which a woman is not in herself a sufficient guardian of her purity! Yet one has only to go among a certain very respectable class of society to get the impression that the most interesting state of womanhood is woman at her lowest point of degradation. Certainly this is a wrong atmosphere for inexperienced youth. Good girls should dwell outside the current in which such subjects are spoken of. It is not given to the generality of men and women to visit Corinth, and not do as Corinth does.

The excuse for these imprudences may be found in the fact that women will commit immoralities in the mass which singly they would shrink from. What modest girl would talk of the heroine of "Traviata" to her lover? Yet with that indecency generated by numbers she will sit for hours in the crowd of the theatre, admiring the luxury, the splendor, the passions, and the sorrows of the dying prostitute. She will join the chorus adoring "La Perichole" and giggle over Schneider or Aimée. Surely this is a seduction worthy of the attention of those parents who know the wisdom and kindness of the divine prayer, "Lead us not into temptation."

Purity of speech is as much to purity of action as kind and gentle speech is to peace and good-will; and never is a woman so undignified and so unlovely as when uttering words of doubtful propriety. There may be even no question of virtue or vice in such talk; but it takes the edge of modesty, and she has no cause of offence if, after them, men approach her with that air of easy insolence which they readily fall into with a woman who, having ceased to respect herself, has also ceased to respect them.

Another provocative to immoral conversation in our modern life is the erotic literature of the day and its promiscuous circulation, both in the form of cheap novels and in the columns of the newspapers; the details of divorce trials, the publicity given to

lives of shame and crime, etc., etc. Now, the reader of immoral books is never a person of moral practice. Unwholesome brooding over unwholesome reading brings sin; much more so conversation pertaining to it. It is said that to the pure all things are pure; but, unfortunately, a large part of society is not pure; and the ease with which the sexes now approach each other makes immoral reading particularly dangerous. "What are you now reading?" seems a very innocent question, but its answer may be full of suggestive shrugs and glances, of meanings half expressed and wholly understood.

Undoubtedly the abolition of duelling has something to do with immoral conversation between the sexes. In countries and times when men were prompt to punish with a pistol-shot, or the sword's point, an improper glance or a lascivious innuendo, there was more ceremony towards women, and certainly more visible respect. For there are, and always have been, a class of men amenable to nothing but personal physical punishment; and it is precisely this class who consider a woman's folly, weakness, or affection their legitimate prey. The pistol-shot is by no means advocated, nor, indeed, is there any need to advocate it; many times in every year we are reminded that, in spite of its illegality, it is looked upon as the only sufficient redress for certain wrongs.

American women have a great deal of liberty, and to balance it they require a great deal of womanly dignity. No matter how audacious a man may be, if a woman is dignified she has the advantage over him. Who can talk improperly to a woman who listens with an icy politeness and calm, ignoring eyes? It is an honest defence against all impertinences of conversation, and if its rigor and formality be considered slow and old-fashioned, is it not better to be slow and old-fashioned than contemptible? Everything can be learned, even virtue; and social and domestic virtues are best learned and conserved by adhering to those forms of social life, apparently insignificant in themselves, which it is ruinous to abrogate. The propriety of centuries has encircled girls with certain limitations and rules as with a rampart; and men have been taught to respect women who keep within them. In their violation they depart from a known order, and the mere breaking of conventional right is a wrong which the delinquent is always conscious of. And every such lapse robs her of nicety of feeling, of sweetness of mind, and of self-respect.

There are other and very distinct conversational immoralities, but the one tending toward sensualism is the most general and the most dangerous. For many women, more thoughtless and vulgar, perhaps, than wicked, not only tolerate its impertinence, but find it laughable and "funny." And it is worth consideration that such shady talk not only disintegrates the purity of women's characters, but also has a demoralizing influence upon men. For men are themselves elevated by the respect they pay to good women, while those who permit them license, though it be but in words, drive them into contempt and cynicism even more readily than women who are fickle and false.

Something alike to this degradation of virtue by the tongue is a certain degradation of religion, in which sacred things, either through design or excitement, are spoken of in words admitting of a sensual meaning—a common excess in emotional prayer-meetings, and among elderly women who have abandoned love for religion. It is a sacrilege in itself, and a cause of sacrilege in all who listen and have not the moral courage to express their disgust and disapproval.

The question of social lying and of its kindred immorality, "talking of self," is too wide to be entered upon at this time; but who has not been a passive sufferer from that clamor of conceit and invasion of arrogance which lead young men and women to continually boast themselves the envy of one sex and the idol of the other—that odious egotism which has no more shame in parading itself than a peacock has?

Flattery, jealousy, calumny, satire, snubbing, etc., have each and all their special characteristics of immoral tendency; but sins, in order to obtain proper reflection, are best looked at in the abstract rather than the concrete; and it would be a great point gained if guardians of girls set themselves peremptorily and positively against all conversation tending to sully the innocence of youth, or to bring about between the sexes that familiarity of speech that leads to contempt, to broken faith, to sin, to moral death.

This is the canker in the rose of youth. There is a kind of affront in exhortation.

AMELIA E. BARR.

THE PLEA FOR EIGHT HOURS.

BY T. V. POWDERLY, GENERAL MASTER WORKMAN OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

ONE of the principles of organized labor is to "reduce the hours of labor to eight per day," and at the present time there is an agitation going on throughout the United States and England which has for its object the accomplishment of this looked-for result.

All employers of labor claim to be workers; they assert that they have to toil as wearily as do the men whom they employ. They will tell the advocate of the short-hour work-day that there is no necessity for a shortening of the hours of labor, and that a man should be allowed to work as long as he pleases. That all employers are workers is true, but there is this difference between them and their employees: the employer may work one hour or ten as he pleases; the workman must work whether it pleases him or not. The employer enjoys a profit on each hour of labor performed by the employee, while the latter has no share in the profit whatever; he simply receives all that he can wrest from his employer. Competition obliges the humane employer to adopt the same methods as the skinflint, or go out of business, and, as a consequence, the lowest rate of compensation for which men will work is all that he will pay. Justice seldom enters into the adjustment of wages: necessity is the standard by which they are regulated.

Previous to 1825 men worked "from sun-up to sun-down," and they saw but little of their homes on what was then rigidly observed as "the Sabbath." The adornment of the home gave the head of the family no concern, for he spent but a short time in the house. He knew but little of the wants of the household except those that pertained to food; and to the fact that he went forth for the purpose of supplying the family with food we owe

the term "bread-winner" as applied to the laborer. To be a bread-winner was all that the workman of the last century aspired to; and yet he grew tired of the contest, for it brought him but a scanty portion of what he struggled for. In 1825, the agitation for the establishment of the ten-hour system began, and it continued until it was officially recognized by the President of the United States in 1840. Strikes, contentions, disputes, and, very often, bloodshed, at length brought the ten-hour system into operation, and with its final adoption the workman became ambitious of being more than a bread-winner.

The steam railroad was then courting commercial acquaintance, and in rapid sequence came the telegraph, the lightning-express train, and the daily paper, with its record of yesterday's proceedings. Invention took new life in every department of trade and industry, and we now find ourselves able to do in a minute what it formerly required hours to perform. Since 1840 the agencies of production have gained a power and force that were not deemed possible during the years which rolled between the dawn of the Christian era and that date. Previous to that time brain work was not supposed to be entitled to any more consideration than hand labor, so far as the hours of service were concerned. Until recent years it was not supposed that the clerk or the employee of the counting-house should remain at his post a shorter number of hours than the mechanic or the laborer. What was wanted in order to allow all men to labor was light, and the light came.

Fewer hours of toil mean more time to read, and after the adoption of the ten-hour system the workman took more of interest in the press of the land; he had more time to read; and, that fact once established, it became a paying investment to advertise in "the papers." The number of papers began to increase, for the masses had more time to read; having more time to read, they learned what was going on throughout the world, and they naturally acquired new tastes and desires. The adornment of the home became an object with the man who could see his home by daylight, and the demand for articles of home consumption and adornment increased very rapidly. The "oldest inhabitant" has only to travel back some fifty years in memory to see a house with bare floors from cellar to garret, sawed-off stumps serving as chairs, stone dishes on the table, and sheepskins for blankets. He will

remember that the workman of that day lived in a log hut, and that he had to stuff the cracks with fresh mud every fall; that a coat of whitewash was a luxury, and that corned beef and cabbage were regarded as delicacies. It was very easy to supply these wants, and had men continued to work on for as many hours as they were able, they would never have dreamed of improving their condition.

That the condition of the workman has improved wonderfully is true, but to no one can the credit of this be given save the workman himself. He alone sought for the means of improvement, and his every step has been contested by those for whom he toiled, and by others who never gave a thought to his surroundings. It is true that philosophers and philanthropists have spoken in favor of the "man who worked," but their pleadings and writings had no more effect on the minds of the wealth-getters than has a zephyr on the Eiffel Tower. To look back at the sanitary condition of the workman's home and surroundings is to learn that, if he had had to work on the inside of factory walls at that period, he would have lived but half as long as at the present time. If the man who lived in a log hut, where "the wind whistled through the chinks," was obliged to work in the stifling atmosphere of the present-day factory, he would die of lung trouble in a very short time. Workshop, means of transportation, dwellings, and every surrounding have changed, and for the better.

Too many advocates of the eight-hour day are in ignorance of the vital principle which underlies the agitation. They argue in this fashion: If the hours of labor are cut down to eight, the idle men who have flocked to this country will be employed, and we shall be correspondingly happy. Following that course of reasoning to its logical conclusion, we should have to cut down the hours of labor still further in a few years to accommodate the idle thousands imported to this country by steam and railway companies; and after the number of the unemployed increased again, we should have to reduce the hours of labor again and again until the unemployed of Europe and of Asia had landed, when we should have nothing to do.

On higher ground does the sincere advocate of the short-hour work-day base his agitation. The final solution of the work-day problem will come when the workman becomes a sharer in what he creates. To-day the laborer is considered by his employer to

be no more a factor in the field of production than the spade which he handles. The laborer has no other interest in the work he performs than to draw pay for the work done at the end of the week or month. Workman and employer find their interests to be identical in but one particular—to get the most out of each other.

Take an employer who gives work to one hundred men. The value of their labor we will rate at $2 a day. He pays them an average of $1 a day each. His profits will equal the total wages paid, and in twenty years he may retire a wealthy man. How fares it with his workmen? They remain poor and retire only to the poor-house or the cemetery. What do the riches of the one represent? Unpaid labor. To labor, then, belong the vast sums that rich men leave after them to erect poor-houses and charitable institutions, which would not be necessary if the workmen were paid what they earned.

We have the Moses Taylor Hospital in Scranton, to which the miners of this valley will be admitted upon receiving injuries in the mines. That hospital represents $300,000 of their own earnings, which by right belongs to them; and yet they must enter its door as objects of charity because an unjust system enabled one man to rob them of that sum. Had the miners of this valley been sharers from the beginning in the earnings of the mines, had they received a just share of the profits which their labor created, they would to-day be in a position of independence, and when misfortune overtook them they would not have to seek admittance, for sweet charity's sake, within walls every brick of which is cemented in their own sweat and blood. Had they been sharers in the profits, every hour of toil performed by them would be an hour of profit also, and they would find pleasure in working as many hours as they desired. They would work as they pleased, and would not be driven to it. The incentive to labor for something more than a master would be there, and each one would be a part of that which he created. Until such a day as that comes we must agitate for shorter hours of toil, so that men may have the time to prepare for the system of the future.

No one now thinks of requiring the bank clerk to work ten hours, or even eight. His mind would not stand the strain, and the physical part would also decay. The work of the future will be scientific in its nature, and will call for more exercise of the brain than of the hand. Witness the rapidity with which

women are being crowded into the places made vacant by men, and we realize that it is no longer strength, but skill, that is required. No man or woman can work as long at an occupation which requires skill as at one which calls for no exercise of the mental powers. Turn to statistics, and it will be seen that the mechanic dies many years in advance of the day-laborer. One exercises the muscles alone; the other exercises brain and muscle. The double wear ends existence more quickly. Brain work will soon be required in all callings, and if for no other than a sanitary reason, the hours of labor should be reduced to the eight-hour standard.

Men who work short hours are better educated than those who do not; they have more time in which to study. A thinking, studious man will learn that overexertion shortens life, and he will guard against it. Thousands go to early graves through overwork every year, and until the struggle for existence is shortened by cutting down the hours of toil, this condition of affairs will continue.

We see the miners and operators of the West combining to curtail the production of coal, and we see the farmers of the West burning corn and grain as fuel. We notice factories shutting down every now and then, and when we ask questions, we are told, "These periodical depressions must come every few years." These periodical depressions need not come every few years, and they would not come if we had an eight-hour work-day in existance and workmen were educated in the science of government. Capitalism cares but little how long men work; its rule is grasping, and it drives whom it controls with pitiless spur. Must we look to Wall Street for reforms of any kind? Even Wall Street itself will answer "No." Must we look to men whose every instinct is in the direction of acquiring extra millions for a relief from "periods of depression"? Must we look to those who control the currency of the country for a proper system of finance? If we do, things will grow worse, and in the end we must turn to the intelligence of the masses for a reform of the evils that are now growing upon us. How can the masses be educated if they are obliged to work long hours when they get a chance, and fret because they are idle during "periods of depression" which give the Anarchist the best of arguments and increase the number of his converts?

The manufacturer complains that he must keep his factory running long hours in order to pay his taxes. He should study the question of taxing land for full value for use, and know that his improvements should not be taxed out of his hands. The manufacturer complains that he cannot pay the interest on borrowed capital unless he works his factory long hours. He should study the question of finance, and learn that his government, and not its enemies, should regulate and control the volume of currency, that it may become a circulating medium, instead of an interest-gathering machine. He complains of excessive freight charges, and declares that he must work long hours in order to meet his obligations. Let him unite with the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance in demanding that his government control the avenues of transportation and distribution. To study how to solve these problems, men must work fewer hours each day.

Should this much-desired reform be inaugurated by strikes? is asked. Not necessarily. In a given occupation or trade the employers and workmen throughout the country should agree on the establishment of the eight-hour work-day. To institute it by means of a strike in one part of the country would but place the short-hour employer at the mercy of his long-hour competitors. To demand the same rate of compensation for short hours as is now paid would be unjust. To rush the system through would unsettle affairs; and for that reason Knights of Labor ask for a gradual reduction of the hours of labor. We believe that, unless workmen are educated to understand the full and true reasons why their hours of labor should be reduced, they will not retain what they get; and for this reason we appeal to their reasoning powers rather than to their powers of endurance in case of a strike. Employers as well as workmen will soon realize that the short work-day will be the most beneficial. In any event its introduction will soon be announced.

T. V. POWDERLY.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BOOK MARKETS.

BY OLIVER B. BUNCE.

AN ASSERTION made in a recent magazine article that there are twenty readers of books in the United States to one in Great Britain only exaggerates a little a prevalent conviction. Declarations similar to this are continually put forth, not only here, but abroad, until almost every one has come to believe them to be true. And yet it is easy, I think, to show that they are unsupported by facts; and my present purpose is to marshal a little illuminating testimony bearing thereon.

The method of publishing and circulating books in one country may yield larger profits than the methods of other countries,—as, for instance, the high-priced books for circulating libraries in England compared with the low-priced books in this country,—but a fair test of the reading activity of any people largely lies in the rewards they are willing to pay the authors whose books they peruse. A comparison between the profits of authors in England and authors in the United States shows a striking difference. When I remember how enormous were the gains of Sir Walter Scott, how brilliant were the profits of Charles Dickens; when I recall that Bulwer received a hundred thousand dollars * for the privilege of printing a cheap edition of his novels for ten years; that George Eliot was paid thirty-five thousand dollars for "Romola," and made seventy-five thousand dollars out of "Middlemarch"; that within three months after the publication of the fourth volume of Macaulay's "History" the Longmans sent him a hundred thousand dollars, I wonder in what fairy-land these things could have occurred.

I know not what Tennyson's arrangements are with his present publishers, but at one time he received the fixed sum of twenty-

* It seems to me advisable, in the frequent compari ons of prices I shall have to make, to give always the American approximate equivalent for the English monetary term.

five thousand dollars a year for his copyrights, whether he published anything new or not. It would be interesting to compare these figures with Longfellow's yearly receipts. Trollope frankly tells us just what he received for his novels, which in many instances was not less than fifteen thousand dollars down. Mr. Roe was the most successful of recent American novelists, and yet it is doubtful if any of his much-read novels yielded him more than half this amount. Anthony Trollope's prices were not at all exceptional, every English novelist in the first rank obtaining as much, and a few considerable more. Some single books in this country, such as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "The Wide, Wide World," "Ben Hur," have yielded their authors a large profit; but I know of no author publishing rapidly book after book whose average receipts are at all equal to those of English authors of corresponding rank. And if we compare exceptional books, England still pays much more liberally than we do. George Eliot, as I have already mentioned, is said to have made seventy-five thousand dollars from "Middlemarch." "Ben Hur," large as the returns have been, can scarcely equal this.

If a disinterested person desired to ascertain the comparative literary activity of two countries, he would naturally compare the literary journals of each with the other. Could there be a surer test? If we place before us copies of the *Athenæum*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Spectator*, we see at once what is going on in the English world of letters. If we place by their side the only three American periodicals with which comparison can be made, the *Nation*, the *Critic*, the *Literary World*, the difference is rather astonishing. In a copy of the *Athenæum* now before me I count thirty-six columns of book announcements and advertisements; in the *Nation* of the same date about seven columns, the columns being of equal length. In another number of the *Athenæum* I find twenty-three columns, against four columns in the *Nation* of the corresponding issue. The other American literary journals exhibit a similar disproportion in comparison with English journals. How are we to account for this remarkable difference? Is it to be believed that the lesser activity pertains to a much larger body of book-buyers? If all other evidence was closed against us, this fact would be sufficient to show in which land books are the more bought and the more read. An examination of these announcements by detail is exceedingly suggestive—

here so few books comparatively within the higher range of thought; there so much activity in every branch of intellectual effort.

Every one knows something of the great circulating-library system of England. The magnitude of the Mudie library is of itself proof of the existence there of a very large, alert, and eager book-reading community. We have many libraries in this country, —public libraries, circulating libraries, free libraries,—but their aggregate consumption of books is much below that of Mudie's. In truth, it is not uncommon for Mudie to take on the day of publication more copies of a book at a high price than could be sold throughout the United States at a lower price. When, for instance, Anthony Trollope's autobiography was published, Mudie subscribed for 1,500 copies, the retail price being five dollars. I think any publisher here will bear me out in saying that it is doubtful if so many copies could be sold in this country even at half the price. The book was published here in cheap form, at about twenty-five cents, and had, no doubt, a very good sale. Had it been published in England at that price, I am justified in saying that the sale would have reached some immense figure. When Froude's "History of England" was first published, Mudie subscribed for a thousand copies; yet no publisher here thought it prudent to make an edition for this market, although a thousand copies, at the usual price of works of the kind, would have insured the publisher against loss. These instances indicate the volume of Mudie's business. The ordinary edition of a three-volume English novel is five hundred copies, the greater number of which are taken by Mudie. Published here at a dollar and a half, the edition could not exceed two thousand copies, or if in paper covers at fifty cents, five thousand might be reached. The English edition must be estimated to have for each copy from ten to twenty readers, counting each family as one reader.

Mudie's central establishment at London and his branches in all the towns are so large, so vital a fact in English publishing that they render the issue of many books possible that could not otherwise be printed. This system, moreover, greatly increases the rewards of authorship. The prices of books for circulating libraries are very high, and with every notably successful book the profits are greatly beyond anything that we experience in America.

But while the prices by the library system are high, English readers obtain books for perusal at a very small cost. For five

dollars a year a subscriber has the command of all the literature of the day; for twenty-five dollars a year he receives his fortnightly parcel of various books, which he may taste, read, or reject at his pleasure. Here with us every individual book, so far as it looks for individual buyers, has to overcome the reluctance, if not the hostility, of the public; for no man will deliberately purchase a book unless he has assurance that it is what he wants. Under the English library system the reader is brought in contact with every book, no given book involving a special outlay; and hence every new production enjoys an opportunity that is denied most of the new books under our methods. I believe that the English library system, with its large body of alert and accessible readers, has been the means of building up an expansive and catholic literature. It may be asked how it is that the innumerable public libraries with us do not produce similar results. There are several thousands of them, and yet, while they obtain books at much less cost than the English libraries do, they seem to exert a very small effect upon numbers printed. On the contrary, editions have become smaller as these institutions have multiplied, so that the suspicion arises whether they are not detrimental to literary interests. How there should be this difference in results between circulating libraries supported by subscription and libraries free to all comers, I am not prepared to say. As for subscription circulating libraries in this country, they are wholly insignificant. Their total purchases of books make a paltry showing by the side of Mudie's splendid orders.

One misleading circumstance in comparing the sale of books in England and the United States is the habit of putting the sale of high-priced books, designed almost exclusively for circulating libraries, in comparison with the same book here at a very low price for popular circulation. Obviously in such cases there must be a wide difference between the relative figures. But if we could compare readers with readers, instead of buyers with buyers, the difference would vanish. It is also necessary, in making comparisons, to select books the authors of which have equal popularity with readers on both sides of the ocean. Macaulay in numerous very cheap editions has had an immense sale in this country, but at a much higher price he has had an immense sale in England. If we knew the number of readers his books have had in England through the libraries, we should be in better position than now to make an

exact comparison between his readers here and abroad. A few years ago, when a cheap edition of his history was put upon the English market, sixty thousand volumes went off the first month or two, and since then innumerable editions have been printed.

One of the most brilliant English successes in recent years is Green's "History of the English People." The English publishers announced about a year ago the sale of a hundred and thirty-two thousand copies. I know of nothing with us comparable to this. Higginson's "History of the United States" has had a very large sale, but the price is much lower. It is intended, moreover, for young readers, and there has been a large school consumption. I am not unmindful of the wonderful success of General Grant's "Memoirs"—a success unprecedented in literature. But look how many circumstances combined to make it so. A general, passionately loved, writing on his death-bed the history of campaigns that enlisted the profoundest patriotism of the people, insured for it at the beginning a vast circulation. Then we recall how it was carried by thousands of active agents to every house in the land. Never was there a book waited for by so eager, so admiring a multitude. A book produced under circumstances so extraordinary and sold by methods so special is in no wise a test of the intellectual tastes of the people. We must compare the sale of Green's "History," not with that of Grant's "Memoirs," but rather with the sales of Bancroft, or McMaster, or Hildreth, if we would accurately judge of the comparative demand for historical literature. When the first volume of McMaster's "History of the People of the United States" appeared, it was believed to have been inspired by Green, and was hailed with enthusiasm. There were many indications of a brilliant literary and popular success, and yet the sale has not been more than a twentieth of that of its great English model. This is very significant, and is enough, of itself, to dispose of the notion that we buy more books than the English do.

Some years ago Macmillan published what is known as the Globe Edition of Shakspeare. This edition was a compact 12mo volume, printed in small type, but type so perfectly cut that the impressions looked as if they were taken from copperplate. It was in every particular a fairly perfect specimen of book-manufacture; yet the price was only sixty-two cents. Fifty thousand copies went off immediately. An edition was published in this

country, probably from duplicate plates, but the price was higher and the sale comparatively slight. About the same time there appeared in England a religious series known as "Heaven Our Home Series," the name being derived from the title of the first book. This series attained in England, it is said, a sale close to a hundred thousand copies each volume; but the reprint in this country, as near as I can ascertain, did not reach a tenth of this figure.

But there are frequently local differences that account for marked divergences—sometimes price, sometimes the local popularity of the author. It is not easy to find a book that stands upon equal conditions in both countries. Looking over the list of recent books, there is one which seems to me to afford favorable circumstances for a just comparison. Charles Darwin is probably as well known and as popular with readers here as in England. I am unable to say what difference there is in the sales of his books in the two countries; but the recent biography by his son, Francis Darwin, gives us just the facts we are in search of. This book is published in England in three volumes at $9, and in this country in two volumes at $4.50; yet the sale in England at double the price has been twice as large. Moreover, as the greater number of copies there went into the libraries, they had probably ten times as many readers. I consider this a conclusive test as to the comparative demand for intellectual books by readers in England and readers in the United States.

Much has been said about the greater sale of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" in the United States than in England. Several editions were published here at a much lower price, and the sale was pushed in each instance by an army of active agents. Had this work been published in this country at one-half the English price, and sold, as it was in England, through the regular book channels, the showing would have been very different. Nevertheless, the large consumption here of a work of so high a character is very creditable to our people. We are distinctively, as a nation, buyers of dictionaries and cyclopædias. There is abundance of money in the country, and a wide-spread thirst for practical information, even on the part of those who care nothing for literature. We are, however, by no means alone in this. It is declared that two hundred thousand copies of Chambers's "Information for the People" have been sold in Great Britain, and that Knight's *Penny Magazine*, which was a

sort of cyclopædia, had at one time a circulation of the same number.

Encyclopædias with us have been pushed with great ingenuity and energy, and in recent years they have been sold in large numbers by the instalment plan. This method of selling books cannot be considered as at all indicative of our national literary tastes, inasmuch as most of the people that buy in this way are ready for anything that gives them immediate possession with pay-day somewhere in the future, whether it is a cyclopædia, a piano, a sewing-machine, or a new carpet. The only index of the intellectual tendencies of a people is what they search for and select. Unless, indeed, there is selection, there is nothing that concerns the present question. The demand at the libraries is one index of what readers prefer; the demand at the book stores is another; although neither the libraries nor the book stores escape the crazes of the hour, and are often beset by people who never resort to them except when rushing to read the last literary sensation. It is obvious that the idle reading of any book that chances in the way is not an intellectual proceeding. There are hundreds of thousands of our people carrying a little spare money in their pockets who are ready to kill an unoccupied hour with a book, indifferent as to whether it is "Peck's Bad Boy," a sensational romance, or a comic almanac.

There are many "libraries" of standard works published in England in excellent style and at a very low price, with which we here have nothing to correspond. Morley's Universal Library consists mainly of classics. The volumes are a crown 8vo, neatly printed and bound in half cloth, the price being thirty-six cents per volume.* Although not commenced until 1885, the sales last December were authoritatively declared to have reached four hundred and eighty-six thousand volumes. A certain proportion of this number, however, probably came to America, where the publishers have a branch house. The Chandos Classics is a collection of standard authors, in compact volumes, bound in cloth, at thirty-six cents each, of which the publishers announce that they have sold over three and a half million copies. Bohn's Library is famous the world over, and the sales have been enormous; but I have been unable to obtain definite figures. Some recent

* This is the price in England. The same books imported to the United States are sold at an advance of about 50 per cent.

"libraries," consisting of minor gems in literature, selling as low as six and twelve cents, have been projected in England, and are popular successes. The Canterbury Poets, consisting solely of poetical selections, neatly bound, and yet selling at twenty-four cents each, is a recent successful venture, some of the volumes reaching large sales. The Camelot Library is a series of well-selected books, neatly bound in cloth, at twenty-four cents a copy.

A small proportion of each of these "libraries" comes to America, but no publisher here has ventured upon anything similar. We have editions of the standard authors offered at low prices, but they are, for the most part, clumsily made, badly printed, and vulgarly bound. No man with a taste for well-made books can touch them. In addition to these libraries the great authors are issued in England in delightful styles at almost a nominal price. A new edition of Thackery is a charm to behold, and yet the price is but twenty-four cents a volume, or in half-binding thirty-six cents. The Brontë novels are now appearing in exquisite little volumes, necessarily with small type, but perfectly printed, and in tasteful half-binding at thirty-six cents, and in paper covers at the astonishing low price of twelve cents each. The latest venture in this line is an edition of Kingsley's novels in octavo volumes from new type, perfectly printed on excellent paper at the astonishing price of sixpence (or twelve cents). A hundred thousand copies of the first of the series, "Westward Ho," went off immediately, and the sales now are far beyond this number. Editions that unite perfect workmanship with great cheapness are not made in the United States. The enormous sale in England of these low-priced editions disposes of the assertion often made that the English people do not care to own books, but read simply what they borrow from the circulating libraries.

One surprising feature in English publishing is the immense consumption of evangelical literature. Some years ago the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge published "The Pilgrim's Progress" at two cents, the first edition being a million copies. Many others of the religious classics have been published at the same astonishing low price. This society has a magazine, entitled *Dawn of Day*, with a monthly circulation of 250,000 copies. The activity of the society is one of the most remarkable and interesting features of English publishing. We have nothing here that fairly compares with it. It is now issuing a series of penny tales

by the most popular novelists. Twelve had been issued up to last December, with an aggregrate sale at that time of 1,340,000 copies.

We in this country print many books, but the issues of the cheap-fiction libraries, which are scattered in such numbers over the country, are rather to our disgrace than our credit. When one looks at the display of these volumes on the book-stands, he asks in despair whether it is possible that there is no such thing as taste. In one thing we do, indeed, evince a great supremacy; for no nation equals us in a knowledge of the arts of how to make a book hideous. In that public education of which we boast so much, in that spread of intelligence in which we think we are so superior, how is it that taste in these things is so rare? In former years the books that the pedlers carried through the country, and which were bought by farmers' wives as ornaments for the centre-table, were monuments of showy and vulgar taste. To-day the paper-covered novel equals these examples in all that is repulsive. In any fair estimate of the intellectual tendencies of a people, productions of this character should be placed on the debit rather than on the credit side.

In magazine literature we compare favorably with the rest of the world. Reviews of a high intellectual character are more abundant in England than here, but magazines of a superior popular order are numerous with us, some of them circulating very largely. These productions are handsomely printed, their pictorial features excel in artistic quality anything abroad, and their literature is commonly very good. In all particulars they reflect credit upon the country, and afford certainly a surprising contrast to the cheap issues of popular fiction. How is it that taste can be so manifestly absent from one class of our publications and exhibit such ascendency in another? The demand for magazines of discussion, of symposia on religious, socialistic, economic, and political themes, has recently greatly increased. This is not so much evidence of a taste for literature as proof of a remarkably wide-extended intellectual fermentation on all matters immediately affecting the practical and moral welfare of the community. In England there is a noticeable demand for magazines of a religious or semi-religious character. I have already spoken of the *Dawn of Day*. *Good Words* is an estimable and widely-read magazine of this class, and there are others. We have nothing here exactly their equivalent, although there are

periodicals designed specially for Sunday-school teachers, which have a large *clientèle*. Nor have we anything here that is a substitute for *Chambers's Journal*, which is extensively read by intelligent artisans, and always unites useful articles with entertaining fiction. As for story-papers of the *Ledger* class, they are numerous under both flags, and the running pretty nearly equal.

When the American publisher hears of the great number of book-buyers here, he wistfully asks himself, Where are they? He knows that school-books, text-books, and books of reference sell largely, and that occasionally there is a great rush for a novel of some kind. But if there are twenty readers in this country to one in England, or ten to one, or one to one, where are they? He finds the English literary journals teeming with announcements; he sees Murray, and the Longmans, and Macmillan, and Blackwood, and Kegan Paul, and many other houses, ceaselessly producing volumes which here would soon ruin any publisher that should put his capital in them; and wonders again where the great body of American readers is to be found. For books of science, for standard histories, for books of information, there is considerable demand; but for books of imagination, outside of fiction, books strictly intellectual in character, books that come distinctly under the name of literature, there are very few buyers indeed. One of our great publishing houses fortifies itself with its periodicals, another with its school-books and cyclopædias, another with a great printing establishment; but no house can stand alone in the field of belle-lettres and survive. The houses that have attempted it have gone by. There is a public that devours the newspapers; there is a public that buys the magazines, sometimes mainly for the pictures; there is a public that idles over the last sensational novel; but the public that exhibits a genuine taste for higher reading, and is ready to welcome productions of genius in this field, is very limited indeed. And yet this public is larger than the consumption of books indicates. The appetite of every true lover of books is omnivorous; he needs a large income in order to satisfy his literary hunger. There are hosts, therefore, who would become an eager constituency for books did their means permit it. For these people we need cheap and neat editions of standard authors, such as are produced in England, and for new publications an extended and thorough circulating-library system.

O. B. Bunce.

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

BY OSWALD OTTENDORFER.

No INTELLIGENT observer of events will deny the importance of the so-called "Social Question." In the literature of nearly every nation that participates in the progress of the race, in books of fiction, in treatises and essays, in periodicals and scientific works, it is discussed with more or less talent and ingenuity, and such publications find large numbers of eager readers.

Even the legislative bodies of many civilized nations spend much time in preparing laws for the repression of the excesses of socialism, or to remedy some of the most glaring evils which seem to have their source in the development of modern industry.

It is not difficult to detect the cause of this. Since the origin of mankind there has been no period of equal, or even longer, duration in which the production of wealth made such immense progress as during the present century. This is, no doubt, due to the numerous inventions by which space and time have been nearly annihilated, forces multiplied a hundredfold, and nature made subservient to human enterprise.

But these inventions would not have been made, or, at least, would not have been introduced to such an extent, if knowledge and intelligence among mankind had not been diffused in a greater degree during the present century than during any previous period. It required not only the invention of steam power, but the coöperation of millions of intelligent heads, to build the present immense system of railroads and steamships; and they would not be operated in so perfect and systematic a manner if the wants of the human race had not increased immensely, and if the millions of intelligent heads were not compelled to exert themselves in order to meet the increased needs of the people.

It is a fact proved by statistical researches that the standard of life of the present generation in all civilized countries is higher and better than it was a century ago, and that the story of the

"good old times" is a myth. Even the older men among us will remember that the mode of living among all classes of our population, their food, clothing, lodgings, etc., are much better to-day than they were in the days of their childhood.

Nevertheless, the discontent of a very large number of the people with their condition and prospects is evident to the most superficial observer, and the misery among some classes, especially in large and densely-populated cities, is appalling.

The solution of the seeming contradiction with the foregoing statement is to be found in the fact that, while the increase and diffusion of civilization and culture multiply the wants of the human race, these wants are at the same time the most potent incentives to increased production. The creator of the wants would, no doubt, be able to supply all the demands, and, in fact, does so (for it can be easily shown that the production of the necessaries of life has increased more rapidly than the need for them); but the distribution of the products of human industry and skill is to a great extent independent of their production. It is, therefore, not the lack in the production of wealth that causes the prevailing discontent, but the imperfection in the distribution of it.

How far these defects are unavoidably connected with the system of our industrial development, which is the result of civilization, and has spread over the civilized world a degree of blessing never before witnessed in the history of mankind; how far they emanated from and are the consequences of laws, habits, and customs voluntarily enacted and adopted, it may be, with the laudable intention to promote the general welfare; how far the present system is the outgrowth of human nature, based upon laws of nature which it would be futile and useless to attempt to amend or to repeal; or how far the tendency of centralization (the most characteristic promoter of the progress of our days) can be considered responsible for the evils complained of, and how far this tendency can be modified or repressed without incurring the risk of losing all the benefits accompanying its unrestricted working—these and similar considerations are the contents of the social question, which occupy the minds of thousands of highly-cultivated men, and control the thoughts and feelings of millions of people.

It will be generally admitted that the social question affecting the welfare of the largest number of people of the civilized world

is the most important problem of our day, and the most difficult one to solve, as it may imply changes in the present organization of human society. No intelligent man who appreciates the far-reaching influence that the social question and its solution, or even any attempt to solve it, must have upon the development of civilization, can approach it without feeling the insufficiency of the human intellect, as it may be concentrated in any individual, to control and to master it.

Nevertheless there is no lack of social quack-doctors who recommend their medicine as a most reliable and never-failing remedy against all the evils with which human society is afflicted ; not to mention the demagogues who use the social question as a stepping-stone to satisfy their ambition, or the lower grades of their colleagues, who depict the defects of the present social organization and the misery of the world in the darkest possible colors, and throw out with full hands the seeds of discontent, expecting in the confusion created thereby to reap the fruits which they are too indolent to secure by industrial habits and energetic work. There are some men, highly intelligent and animated, no doubt, by the best intentions, who do not hesitate, in meditating on the social problem, to fly to the skies and to build air-castles, from which they proclaim full-fledged schemes, by the adoption of which they promise to remodel the present social order, and to make all mankind contented and happy.

These gentlemen should pause and reflect that the present state of social affairs, however imperfect, is the result of the evolution of civilization during many centuries—a result for the accomplishment of which the wisest men of all nations and all times have worked, and which could only be attained after numerous experiments, and with the sacrifice of many lives and much treasure.

Then it may dawn upon them that the much-desired and needed improvement in our social condition can only be achieved by the most extended and careful study of the whole field of sociology, and practically can only be tried step by step by numerous experiments, most of which may prove to be failures, but in some of which a grain of real merit may be detected, which is capable of further development and may finally bear fruit commensurate with the work bestowed on its cultivation. They may come to the conclusion that millions of intelligent heads and stout hearts must assiduously coöperate, if the practical

solution of only one part of the social problem is to be accomplished, and that those who undertake to cut the Gordian knot by an *arbiter dictum* will only retard the work they profess to promote, and may do more harm than good to the real interests of the masses, whose deplorable condition enlisted their sympathies.

From this point of view, the social movement in Germany, as it is shaping at present, richly deserves the interest so generally taken in it; the government there, or, rather, the Emperor, not only having recognized the necessity of social reforms, but taken measures for their realization.

The social agitation in Germany commenced about the same time as in the other countries in Europe, though confined, up to the consolidation of the German Empire, mostly to secret propaganda by the circulation of pamphlets and tracts through private agents who knew how to elude the vigilance of the police. Since the formation of the empire and the adoption of universal suffrage as the basis upon which the deputies to Parliament are elected, the Socialists have become encouraged to send their own representatives to the highest law-making body of the country. Many of their companions, however, misled by former conspiracies, could not rise to the position of battling for the recognition of their opinions and demands by the use of the legal means that were at their disposal. Some of them became helpless tools of communistic and anarchistic agitators, whom they assisted in putting their schemes of vengeance against society into execution. This brought them in conflict with the criminal courts, and landed a few in the penitentiaries and even on the gibbet.

The Socialists, it is true, did not approve of these crimes, but their official organs did not condemn them, and it is, therefore, not surprising that indignant public opinion held them to some extent responsible for these outrages. The attempts upon the life of Emperor William I. in 1878, and the severe measures of repression which were then resorted to, led to the expulsion of the most active socialistic leaders. Their organization, though severely shaken thereby, was not broken up, and in 1884 they succeeded in electing twenty-five of their representatives to the Reichstag. It is true that this number shrank to eleven in 1887, but the election of the later year cannot be considered as an expression of the popular will, as it was held under the pressure of impending danger of war, and the government made every pos-

sible effort to secure a majority that would approve the proposed large increase of the army for the following seven years. In the meanwhile, socialism, or, rather, the recognition of the necessity of effecting social reforms, had made converts among the highest classes of society, among whom Emperor William I. occupied the most conspicuous place. In the message which he transmitted to the Reichstag on November 17, 1881, he said :

"Already last February we made our conviction known that the cure of social evils could not be accomplished exclusively by the repression of the social-democratic excesses, but simultaneously by positive measures tending to promote the welfare of the workingmen." And after announcing the drafts of the law relating to the organization of an accident insurance for the workingmen, and to provide for their support in case of sickness, the Emperor continued : "We consider it our duty to recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the Reichstag, and we would look back with great satisfaction to the success which God has vouchsafed our régime if we could take the consciousness with us that we have left to the Vaterland new and durable guarantees for internal peace, and to the poor and needy the better security and assistance to which they were entitled."

The legislative drafts alluded to in the message were thoroughly discussed, and not only was the path struck out by the government in the direction of socialism looked upon as very questionable, but the difficulties in the way of the practical execution of the measures recommended were so great that they were not adopted before 1884, and then only with considerable amendments.

But, apart from this, the social movement received a new impetus through the sympathy of the Emperor, and, as it was deemed impolitic to sail under the flag of socialism pure and simple, the new school of state socialism was established, which obtained numerous adherents among the best-educated classes, especially among men who had become distinguished by their theoretical, incisive treatment of the various subjects they had applied themselves to, but who, it must be confessed, betrayed an equal lack of practical experience—university professors, etc.

The assumption, occasionally heard, that the attempts upon the Emperor's life led him to the recognition of the need of social reform appears unfounded ; but nevertheless the statistical exhibit of the forced sales, during one year, of the land of the poor people by the fiscal agent of the state for the collection of unpaid taxes, made a deep impression upon the aged monarch, and his sympathies with the misfortunes of the poor were roused thereby.

Prince Bismarck does not seem to have had great sympathy with the socialistic inclinations of the Emperor, though he did not

make the slightest effort to hinder or frustrate them. As a faithful servant of his master, for whom to die, as he repeatedly declared, would be the height of his ambition, he did not interfere in the least with the hobby of the old man, especially as he had not the faintest conception of the extent, if not of the measures, at least of the principle from which they emanated. Bismarck, on the whole, is by no means the genius in questions of political economy and state financiering that he proved to be as the arbiter of and leader in political questions, especially those which called for the highest statesmanship ; in reality he displayed in his judgment of the measures of political economy which came up in the discussions concerning the raising of the protective tariff, especially the duties on breadstuffs, a naïveté which borders on the humorous.

This is not at all surprising, because he is not such a universal genius that he can instinctively hit the mark straight in every question ; and as he had to concentrate the entire force of his powerful mind upon objects that are foreign to these questions, it is not strange that he does not betray in their treatment either practical experience or theoretical study.

At the assumption of government by the present Emperor in 1888, it was not to be expected that he would bring to bear a comprehension of social questions or any sympathy with them. After his accession to the throne he seemed to give his whole attention to the army ; nevertheless, events soon came up which probably enough turned his mind toward social reform. In Germany the government is the owner of nearly all the railways. The acquisition of the roads was forced upon the government on strategical grounds rather than from politico-economical considerations. It stands to reason that a country which is bordered on two sides by rival nations, and on its other borders by rather unreliable friends, must not only be prepared to have the army always ready to take the field, but must also be able to send it on short notice to any exposed point, and, so to say, to throw it within a few days from the north to the south, or from the east to the west. For this purpose it is indispensable to have the means of transportation—the railroads—under the unconditional control of the government, in order that it may determine the changes to be made not only in their improvement and extension, but also in the articles transported, so that it might effect such transportation as a threatened out-

break might call for. The running of railroads, however, requires, above everything, coals, and in reality an abundance of coals, so that the old proverb of the need of money, more money, and limitless money for the continuation of war should be altered in these days to read that a rich, inexhaustible supply of coals is an indispensable necessity.

The strike of coal-miners which broke out in 1888 in the coal regions of Germany might have first suggested to the Emperor the need of measures for the removal of dissatisfaction among that class of the laboring population. The warning thus afforded was emphasized by the strike which again broke out in those regions during the past year, which actually induced the Emperor to intervene personally, summoning the delegates of the laborers to appear before him in Berlin, and instructing the government officials in those regions to exert their influence for the adjudication of the points in question. One of these gentlemen, the president of the district government of Düsseldorf, Baron von Berlepsch, appears to have gained, by his successful efforts in that direction, the favor of the Emperor, so that he intrusted him a few months later with the portfolio of commerce, which Bismarck had held until then. The proprietors of the coal mines, partly private individuals, partly corporations, did not take kindly to the interference of the Emperor. They maintained that their workmen became more stubborn in consequence, and, in spite of all concessions, would be incited to make new demands, the concession of which would finally become irreconcilable with the successful carrying-on of their business. In the meanwhile, preparations were made for the new elections to the Reichstag, which were held on the 20th of February last. Suddenly, on the 4th of February, two proclamations of the Emperor were published. One was a rescript addressed to the Minister of Commerce and Trades, which orders the summoning of the Council of State to deliberate on measures for the amelioration of the condition of workingmen, and for the prevention of disturbances in the industrial works, especially in the coal mines. The Emperor says in that proclamation:

"Valuable and successful as the measures are for the amelioration of the conditions of the laboring classes which have thus far been initiated by legislation and administration, they do not come up fully to the task which I have assumed. The existing regulations of the trades, rules affecting the condition of workingmen in the factories, are to be examined into, in order to do justice to the complaints and demands that have been made in this field in so far as they are well founded. This

examination has to start from the point that it is one of the duties of government to regulate time, duration, and mode of work, so that the preservation of health, the demands of morality, the economical needs of the workingmen, and their claim of equality before the law, be vindicated. For the cultivation of peace between employers and employees legal enactments should be considered, in which the workingmen, by their representatives who possess their confidence, shall have an equal share in the regulation of affairs, and for the protection of their interests in negotiations with the employers and with the representatives of my government. By such an arrangement a free and peaceable presentation of their wishes and complaints is to be secured, and an opportunity is afforded to the state authorities to keep themselves informed of the condition of the workingmen and remain in intercourse with them. The state mines I wish, as far as care for the welfare of the workingmen is concerned, to be made model establishments, and for the private mining works I desire the cultivation of an organic relation of my mining officials with the miners. For the preliminary deliberation of these questions I will it that the Council of State meet under my presidency and in conjunction with such experts as will be designated. The selection of the latter I reserve for my personal disposal."

The other rescript addressed to the Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, charges him to extend invitations to France, England, Belgium, and Switzerland to send delegates to a conference in which measures for the amelioration of the condition of the workingmen were to be considered. In that rescript he says:

"I have resolved to offer my hand for the amelioration of the condition of German workingmen as far as the limits will permit within which I am confined by the care forced upon me by the necessity of maintaining our German industry in a condition to compete successfully in the world's market, and thereby secure its existence and that of the workingmen. The difficulties in the improvement of the condition of our workingmen, founded on international competition, may, perhaps, not be overcome entirely by an international agreement of the countries that rule the world's market, but they may be mitigated. Convinced that other governments are also animated by the desire to subject to a common examination the objects which have already formed the subject of international deliberation by the workingmen of those countries, it is my will that, primarily, France, England, Belgium, and Switzerland shall be asked officially by my representatives there whether their governments would be inclined to enter into negotiations with us in behalf of an international exchange of opinions on the expediency of meeting those needs and wishes of workingmen which in the strikes of the past years have come to the surface. As soon as the consent to the principle of my suggestion shall have been obtained, I charge you to invite the cabinets of all governments who take a like interest in the workingmen's question to a conference for deliberation of the questions involved."

These proclamations, immediately after their publication, received approval and acclamation at home and abroad. It was, however, soon found that the matter had also a serious aspect. The employers, and, indeed, the whole middle class of the people, were afraid that the open espousal by the Emperor of the workingmen's cause would encourage them to raise new demands that could not be complied with, and the workingmen, on the other side, were induced thereby to side with the Socialists, whose aims the Emperor had indorsed by the expression of his sympathies. The organizations of the Socialists were by no means satisfied

with the obscure, vapory promises; they accepted with pleasure the increase to their ranks brought about by the attitude of the Emperor, but with one single exception* gave no sign of relinquishing their opposition to the government. The influence upon the elections was not to be wondered at and could be easily foreseen. It led to a crushing defeat of those parties that supported the government in the last chamber, the Conservatives, the Liberal-Conservatives, and National Liberals, and their numerical decrease turned to the advantage of the Socialists and Radicals (Freisinnige). The former will number in the new body 35 and the Radicals 72, which will give them (aside from the fact that, with the exception of a few minor questions, they never coalesced) in the Reichstag, which is composed of 397 members, but a very moderate influence. The power will rest in the votes of the Centrum, the Clericals, who, with the remnant of

* At a meeting of Socialists on the 6th of March, presided over by ex-Deputy von Vollmar (Munich), he declared that he and his party cannot but be greatly pleased by the turn that has been given to the labor questions by the Emperor. The ideas of the Emperor are in perfect agreement with the wishes of the workingmen. As the latter seem now likely to become realized, it is absolutely necessary to have as many Social Democrats as possible elected to the Reichstag.

The increase of the socialist vote in the German cities is as follows:

	1884.	1887.	1890.
Berlin I.	821	2,176	3,586
" II.	9,282	14,751	19,339
" III.	6,344	9,088	12,278
" IV.	25,386	32,064	40,521
" V.	2,444	4,803	7,332
" VI.	21,258	30,453	42,394
Hamburg I.	12,282	15,497	17,031
" II.	14,306	18,672	22,093
" III.	10,922	17,803	27,250
Breslau I.	6,019	7,781	9,996
" II.	6,221	8,032	11,404
Munich I.	3,462	4,563	7,539
" II.	6,399	11,332	17,717
Dresden I.	6,514	6,942	11,054
" II.	8,620	9,175	13,427
Leipzic.	9,676	10,087	12,921
Cologne.	4,151	4,952	10,688
Magdeburg.	8,112	11,438	17,256
Frankfort-on-the-Main.	7,965	8,640	12,653
Königsberg	4,351	7,987	12,300
Hanover.	8,839	12,210	15,752
Stuttgart.	3,346	4,496	10,372
Bremen.	4,880	7,743	14,843
Düsseldorf	1,048	2,933	7,502
Nuremberg.	12,582	14,857	16,809
Danzic.	577	2,279	3,525
Strasburg.	9	103	4,770
Chemnitz.	14,413	15,356	24,192
Elberfeld-Barmen	13,031	15,655	18,094
Altona.	10,770	15,120	18,240
Stettin.	1,139	4,276	7,761
Aix	864	905	1,744
Crefeld.	1,181	1,917	3,025
Brunswick.	6,764	10,659	12,804
Halle.	3,585	6,590	12,390
Lübeck.	2,482	4,254	6,258

the former supporters of the government, will form a bare majority, whose support the government will have to obtain by making concessions to the demands of the Catholics. The strength of the Socialists in the new Reichstag is, therefore, in spite of the considerable increase which they secured so far, of no importance. More significant is the increased vote given for them in all larger German cities. (See table on page 488.) In some of the cities like Hamburg and Bremen they have elected all their candidates. This shows that the increase in the number of votes of the Socialists is principally due to the position the Emperor took in his proclamation in relation to the social question. Wherever the pulsation of news and of thoughts generated by it is the quickest, there the effect was the greatest, and it is probable that, should the elections take place to-morrow, the number of the Socialistic votes would show a similar increase, as appears from a comparison of the results of the elections of 1887 and 1890. The State Socialists have no party organization, and, therefore, no representatives. The government party has until now supported the measures advocated by the State Socialists.

The social problem will not be brought nearer solution either by the proclamation of the Emperor or the result of the recent elections. The conference of the delegates of the various powers, now being held in Berlin, will presumably accomplish no results, and we may hardly expect an agreement on any of the questions that will be brought before it; nor will the Council of State, in whose deliberations the Emperor takes part and over which he presides, produce any tangible fruits. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Emperor to influence the solution of the social problem from above will not be altogether barren of results. They certainly direct public attention in a high degree to the importance of the question, and may be a new contribution toward demonstrating the fruitlessness—nay, foolishness—of trying to solve the social problem by dictates from above or below, by arbitrary interferences, instead of leaving it to the evolution of civilization. The attitude of the Emperor on this question does all honor to his heart, but shows his wisdom and his experience in a poor light.

The lessons to be derived from these events will not show a positive gain, but a negative result—"How not to do it."

OSWALD OTTENDORFER.

SOCIETY IN PARIS.

BY MADAME ADAM.

After Count Paul Vasili, it is a great boldness on my part to speak of the society of Paris. I beg my readers to believe that it would not have entered my head to write on this subject had I not received the pressing invitation of the editor of The North American Review.

It is impossible to depict the society of our capital, republican though it may be, without beginning with the Faubourg St. Germain. *"A tout seigneur, tout honneur."*

Why can I not yield the floor for one moment to the sincerest, the truest, the wittiest of our great ladies, the Duchess de Maillé?

For more than a quarter of a century the noble Faubourg has met at her house every Sunday. Young and old find there pleasure and profit—the old from the calm of an atmosphere which has not varied in a single degree, where good form, good manners, the traditions of their youth, are strictly maintained; and the young in the most brilliant sallies of wit that can be evoked. The amiable dowager has the most admirable way in the world of weighing "the benefits of civilization and of democratic progress on social relations." She preaches with such fine humor, such exquisite *brusquerie*, that we are tempted to furnish her with the opportunity. None of her peers, whoever he be, finds favor with her if he is bitten by the ideas of "modernity"; it should be seen how she bestows a grandmotherly rating upon the young lordlings who show themselves too progressive.

The Duchess de Maillé is respected as well as loved, notwithstanding her biting, or, I should rather say, her nibbling, wit; because if she irritates vanity, she never wounds dignity. No one understands better than the Duchess the great art of receiving. Her salon is one of the most attractive, the most sought after, the gayest in all Paris, because gentleness hides itself there under

severest judgment, like eternal youth beneath the silvery hair of the mistress of the house.

Since I have spoken of one grandmother, I shall continue. The Duchess de Polignac has ten grandchildren. Just as the Duchess de Maillé finds pleasure in attacking new methods, so the Duchess de Polignac finds pleasure in defending men and things who are ill spoken of. Figuratively speaking, her drawing-room is wadded in such a way that the walls of her hôtel have never needed to have ears.

The Marquise de Lillers is one of those rare personages whose remarkable knowledge is accepted in the great world. It is true that she shrouds it with so many veils that its brilliancy is infinitely softened. The choice expressions and beautiful language which she employs are so little emphasized; learned as she is, she is so simple and so smiling, that even the Duchess de Maillé herself does not groan over her erudition.

If I place here the sparkling Countess de Montgomery, it is not to specify an age which she has not, and which she never will have; it is to mark to what degree her influence is beneficial over the young women who go to her to ask counsel. Never has a mind more sound, more upright, more indulgent, more lofty, held the delicate function of guiding youth. And how many go to her, and, having confessed themselves, return better, surer of the straight path!

In the great world, which is in itself a larger family, women, as they grow old, have a high mission—that of giving their experience for the service of the new generations, of unceasingly recalling them to the good traditions of a past always greater and more heroic than the present, and whose lessons teach a nobility which excludes the vulgarity of certain epochs. Among the financiers and the middle class the ancestor has often been the most skilful and fortunate, while in the nobility he has oftener been the proudest and the bravest.

Mothers and grandmothers teach their daughters distinction, as the law which should rule all their thoughts, all their acts, as well as their manners. Refined by all their surroundings, they receive the most delicate, the most chiselled, the most artistically-measured education that can be imagined. Thus the great lady who is a product of this education is more perfect than in any of the foreign aristocracies. All the lines of her character are soft-

ened; the sentiment of her own beauty or value is weighed and sometimes effaced; she is taught hour by hour forgetfulness of self, which is the basis of duty in the family, as well as of the courtesy of society. She learns to judge and to compare with good taste, and to express her thoughts with good breeding. She should know several foreign tongues; she should have touched the thought of the whole world, and thence gathered the honey of her speeches. Knowing these languages, she can maintain with her numerous relations a correspondence that keeps her mind alert regarding all that which in other countries interests those of her caste.

Certainly, this admirable education has sometimes very little in common with learning. At certain epochs it has produced women who were pedantic, affected, exceedingly superficial, abstractresses of quintessences in regard to sentiment, putting words to torture to make them express more of the ideal than they can embrace or contain. At present, the Duchess de Maillé would say, exaggerated refinement is not to be dreaded, but rather the contrary. The classic dowager condemns English and American ways, and laments over the passion for sport which absorbs the youth of the day.

"But, Duchess," say the young dukes, friends of the first "conscript" of France, the Duke of Orleans, "give back to us the daring adventures of the past, the battles, the opportunities for great acts of courage, and we will abandon the race-course; revive a court, and we will sacrifice the clubs; give us even a night of the 4th of August, and we will know how to prove that the French nobility has remained brave and has retained all its qualities of daring and devotion to its kings, of disinterestedness in regard to great liberal causes. Sport is only a gymnasium to maintain our manhood, otherwise without a field."

"Yes," replies the Duchess, "as the Mollier Circus maintains the suppleness of Hubert de la Rochefoucauld when he plays the clown there; as the club preserves the traditions of good language; as the meetings at Neuilly bring back the customs of courts."

The young dukes are right, for among the well-born men the sportsmen are those who most recall their ancestors. Those who neglect active exercise, who have no other end than to seek after elegance, become exaggeratedly effeminate.

A young noble of this day ought to learn to ride from child-

hood, so that at his majority he may be a perfect horseman. The la Rochefoucaulds, the Bearns, the de l'Estrades, the Contades, the d'Armaillés are admirable riders. The greater part of those who pass some years in the army, and particularly at Saumur, are veritable centaurs. All the young men of the French nobility who go to St. Cyr only enter there to arrive at Saumur. They do not understand, they not admit, a military career except on horseback. They wish to be dragoons, light-cavalrymen, cuirassiers; very few consent to serve in the infantry.

When well-born young fellows have no taste for the army, they sometimes enter the navy, where they always occupy a privileged place, this arm of the service having the tradition of good education. Those who are neither soldiers nor sailors begin their social life by travels, but they rarely seek to complete their education in foreign countries, where they visit the aristocracy and the capital, shoot pigeons, frequent clubs, ride horses, or make excursions, always having for their destination a chateau or a country place where they hunt. Do not ask them to put themselves out to see a museum, a work of art, a library, a celebrated ruin: all that, in general, lacks interest for them.

Yet there are writers and artists in the French nobility. His Royal Highness, Monseigneur the Duke d'Aumale, is an admirable historian; his nephew, the Count of Paris, has written more than one book of great research; the Duke de Noailles, Academician, has written two volumes on "A Hundred Years of Democracy in America"; Prince Eugene de Courtenay-Beauffremont, who descends in a direct line from Charlemagne, is a literary man, who devotes his talent as a writer to the glory of an illustrious family; the Duchess of Fitz-James has written a useful and remarkable book on the method of combating the phylloxera by American grafts; the Duke de Broglie, Academician, is famous for his pen; the Viscountess de Turenne has signed with a pseudonym two very curious books; the Marquis Antoine de Castellane and the Viscount Melchior de Vogné have, though still young, considerable literary luggage; the Countess de Martel, granddaughter of Mirabeau, is no other than the very clever "Gyp"; the Marquis Philippe de Massa is one of the wittiest writers for the theatre; and the Duke de Bellune is at once author, actor, and manager of his own plays.

The Duke d'Audiffret Pasquier is an orator both classical and

individual; the Prince de Leon, son of the Duke de Rohan, in politics knows how to inspire a sensational article or to draw up a profession of faith better than any one; Count Albert de Mun allies sacred and profane eloquence in an incomparable manner.

Duke Edmond de Polignac is a distinguished composer; the Duke de Massa is also a composer of merit; the Duke de Marmier, a sculptor of talent, is, like the Countess de Greffulhe, a celebrated lover of music. The Duke de Clermont-Tonnerre is a remarkable violinist, and the Viscountess de Tredern, by her first marriage Marquise de Cosse-Brissac, is a singer of the first order. The Princess d'Arenberg, the dowager Duchess de Luynes, and Guy de La Rochefoucauld are painters of importance.

The men and women of the world in general know how to write a note with finished perfection. They narrate with that faculty of speaking well characteristic of those who have early occupied themselves with the art of conversation.

The greater number of the noble French ladies are always present at the receptions of the Academy, which has remained a popular institution in the Faubourg St. Germain because several of the great nobles belong to it, and the traditions of beautiful language have been maintained by it.

The French aristocracy has no aptitude for business. During the latter part of the empire there were several great names in boards of directors; there is still the Bank de la Bouillerie, very respected, very honest; some great nobles are directors in insurance companies; the Railroad of the West has a Noailles; that of Orleans has a St. Aignan; but since the failure of the Union Générale the entrance of the nobility into large affairs is not often attempted.

The Catholic bank of M. Bontoux had a great success; almost the whole of the French aristocracy had turned into it the larger part of its wealth. They may applaud themselves for it. Affairs like the Landerbanck, the Servian railroads, and the Alpine were good and honest. This bank wished to inaugurate a new system, that of seeking public credit only when an affair had given results, and not for its creation.

The jealousy of the Jewish bank broke the Catholic bank, and the "Krach" swept away the fortunes of the aristocracy and ruined many of its families. This failure drained the disposable money of the French nobility, to whom there still remain large landed estates at the moment when the agricultural crisis is at its

height. The Faubourg St. Germain will long suffer from this blow. During several years receptions and fêtes were rare on the other side of the water, as they say on the boulevard, and a certain number of *mésalliances* were judged necessary to reëstablish certain budgets. Marriages for money were made by the young nobles, the wives easily becoming patricians. There can never be any question of regilding an escutcheon through a son-in-law in the Faubourg St. Germain ; that would be an unprecedented scandal.

Outside of these necessities of fortune, marriages among the French aristocracy are marriages of convenience, of reason, of position ; they are prepared at an early date by the parents. Very few love-matches are made among well-born people; they are even discountenanced. Why, it is said, should we upset what is established ? Love passes and position remains with the congenialities of family, of rank, and of fortune. Love which does not come before marriage may come after it, since the contrary is often seen.

There are among the French aristocracy many excellent couples. It is very bad taste to be in a state of disagreement. They see little of each other. It is not fashionable now for a husband to go during the day where his wife goes. The Duke walks about, strolls through the town, goes for a little while to the club—to the Jockey Club, which is the most elegant in the capital; or to the Union, a club a little antiquated, but calm and tranquil; or to the Agricultural Club, where they naturally speak of lands; or to the Cercle des Bébés, Rue Royale, a gambling club. The Imperial Club, whose members are now received in the other clubs, has just united with the Union Artistique under the name of l'Epatant. The aristocracy created by the first empire mingles now with the old aristocracy. There are large fortunes among the Imperialists, and for marriages it is preferable to go to the nearest.

The married people meet each other again at dinner. Madame la Duchesse has made all her visits to her friends ; has driven to the Bois, and brings her quota of news. Dinner at home is an hour of repose. The chat with each other only has its charm. Good humor at table is inscribed in the current code of politeness. Society gives this habit, since it insists that we should sacrifice to it all our sorrows and annoyances. In truth, each of us could not mourn over all the vicissitudes of all the others.

Monsieur le Duc is in evening dress—dress coat and white cravat—whether he goes out after dinner or remains at home.

Madame la Duchesse, unless she has put on an elegant house dress, wears that in which she made her visits; and if she goes out, she will dress herself for the theatre or the ball while her husband talks with his friends, or runs over a newspaper while he smokes.

In the morning, the man of the world goes riding in the Bois or exercises himself in fencing; he has busied himself with his toilet, which is as important as that of his wife, and he has breakfasted quickly and very soberly. The woman of the world sometimes goes to the Bois on horseback with her husband; she attends to her devotions; has occupied herself with good works as well as with her toilet; she also breakfasts very hastily, having a thousand things to do before dinner. In the evening, theatres, balls, dinner parties, occupy the aristocratic family even to fatigue, for the life of people of quality is far from being a sinecure.

The great houses where they receive are, first, that of the Duke and Duchess de Doudeauville, the greatest noble and the greatest lady of France. It is there that royalty hovers, and hovering becomes it better than alighting. The Count of Paris, Philip V., prefers study to society, his library to the ball-room. The "Queen" shines in conversation by her culture, and on horseback by her qualities as a sports-woman; she will never be the queen of Parisian elegance, of aristocratic taste, and of the traditional luxury of the noble Faubourg and of the great capital. She will ever prefer the chase of the deer, the stag, or the boar to any fête, however brilliant it may be, and a thoroughbred to the most magnificent of jewels. Chantilly, the admirable residence, ornamented with the art and the refined taste of the Duke d'Aumale, interests her less through its rare collection than on account of the beautiful stables of the Condés, filled with valuable horses. The "royal"—I do not say royalist—*salon par excellence* is that of the Duke and Duchess de Doudeauville.

The evening parties at the hôtel in the Rue de Varennes are admirable. They are given generally in the spring from the 15th of April to the 15th of June, after the return from Cannes and Nice, and from the country-houses, where people remain later and later. Two thousand guests may be invited by the Duke de Doudeauville. The Duchess, born Princess Marie de Ligne, though of a haughty type of beauty, is extremely amiable. It may be said that she receives like a queen. Loving the world, she is loved by it, and she devotes herself to it almost entirely. The

Duke, still young in appearance, has a very distinguished air; his taste is wonderful in every thing that regards the organization of a festival. The splendors of his drawing-rooms and the magical way in which they are lighted are unique in Paris. The Duke is very kind, of vast generosity, and has great influence on the opinions of his set. He is the true head of the Monarchist party. He receives foreigners, the great political world, and knows how to bring together with perfect tact individuals who do not consent to meet each other except at his house. The Duchess, when she receives, is simply dressed, so as not to eclipse her guests. She who possesses jewels celebrated for their rarity never wears them at her receptions. The splendor of the flowers and suppers of the Duke de Doudeauville cannot be surpassed.

The *salon* of the Duke de Broglie, grandson of Madame de Staël, is a political gathering. The Duke has a perfect knowledge of foreign countries, expresses himself with elegance, and is intelligent, but he absorbs the greater part of the conversation. As a politician, he is more dangerous when he is in opposition than when he is in power, knowing better how to attack an adversary on his own ground than how to choose the ground himself. The daughters-in-law of the Duke de Broglie bring into his drawing-room an animation which without them it would lack.

The Count Othenin d'Haussonville, nephew of the Duke de Broglie, has also an Orleanist *salon*. The d'Harcourts, the Ségurs, the baronne Reilla, the Lamberts de Saint-Croix, like the de Broglies and the d'Haussonvilles, the Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier, M. Bocher, and M. Buffet, constitute the staff of the Orleanist party. Since the fusion and since the death of the Prince Imperial, the three groups, Orleanist, Legitimist, and Imperialist, are commingled in one single monarchical party, and Monsieur and Madame Lambert de Saint-Croix have contributed much to the reconciliation of the Monarchist groups, the circle of their invitations being very select, yet very wide. Wit and grace reign as masters of their house.

An artistic and literary *salon* is that of the Princess Mathilde. All that Paris contains of wit and wisdom has been welcomed there, and is there retained. The choice language of the day is spoken there, the Princess having a mind open to all the movements of thought which talent initiates.

In the drawing-room of the dowager Marquise, on the con-

trary, they converse as they did in the eighteenth century. Good French taste, in the purity of its traditions, is defended foot by foot and saved.

At the Duchess d'Ayen's, at the Duchess de Noailles', the parties are grave and solemn. We become stiff, we become haughty, we become weary; but the supreme good style is to say : "I was yesterday at the Duchess d'Ayen's, at the Noailles'."

Madame de Pourtalès, with her amiability, with her charm which jealous time dare not blight; the Countess de la Ferronays, with an unexpectedness, a tact of which she alone has the secret; the Marquise de Beauvoir, lady of honor to the Countess of Paris, with a grace, an originality, and a sparklingness of thought which make her the Frenchiest of French women ; the dowager Duchess de Luynes, with her sadness as an unconsoled widow and her sweetness as a happy mother; the Countess of Greffulhe, with her poetry and idealism, which give her the appearance of a being superior to reality; the Duchess d'Uzes, with her impetuosity, the masterfulness with which she leads a hunt, celebrated also by her political alliance with General Boulanger; the Countess de Brigode, born de Grammont, with her slenderness, her incomparable distinction, and the melody of her voice; the Princess Alice de Monaco, born Heine (married first to the Duke of Richelieu), with the golden waves of her blonde hair, her angelic face, and her beauty; the Princess Anna Murat, Duchess de Mouchy, so charming and seductive, with a sincere and attractive worldliness; the Countess d'Harcourt, born de Mun, and her two sisters, the Duchess d'Ursel and the Countess de Franqueville, with their genius for conversation, which makes them the women the most sought after and the most surrounded of Parisian society ; the Princess de Leon, with her sympathetic welcome, the fixity of her friendship, and her admirable jewels; the Viscountess of Turenne, born Fitz-James, with her delicate taste for literature ; the Maréchale de MacMahon, with her personal influence which creates for her a truly sovereign court ; the Viscountess de Durfort, so motherly, so gay, so much the noble lady ; the Countess Aimery de la Rochefoucauld, so pretty, so envied, with a calm which is not ruffled even by the anxieties of her noble husband over precedence, good manners, the laws of the social code, of which the Count Aimery is the grand pontiff ; the Duchess de Bellune, with the pleasure which she takes in receiv-

ing, so that you cannot forbear to partake of this pleasure with her; the Duchess de Valençay, who, on the contrary, interests herself cleverly in the occupations of her husband and his struggles for the defence of social usages; the young Duchess d'Albufera, with her carriage as the chief equestrian of France, her simplicity of high taste, her black hair braided on the nape of her neck; the Countess Jeanne de Montebello, so pretty and so handsome at the same time, so elegant and so wonderfully framed amid the artistic splendors of her hôtel in the Rue Barbet de Jouy—a frame which the Duchess de Montesquiou, in the riches of her collection, could alone dispute with her; the Marquise Antoine de Castellane, with her right-mindedness and her purity of taste; and the Princess de Sagan, with her rather noisy existence, but who knows how to break the antiquated moulds of receptions and invent new methods of amusing her guests, and whose fêtes are a Parisian event,—all these great ladies, and many others whom lack of space prevents me from naming—intelligent, beautiful and distinguished, with that distinction which veils defects, imperfections, and age with so much grace—all these receive, come and go across this great Parisian society which so many other aristocracies envy.

The little Duke of Montesquiou, who dreams and knows how to play the magnificent; the Princes of Henin, with their traditional taste; the Duke de Lorges, of the house of Durfort, the man most favored by fortune and yet the saddest that lives; the Duke de Brissac, that perfect gentleman; the Duke de la Trémoille, so disdainful of his age, yet consenting to live in it with so much fulness, taking all that is delicate of what it offers; the young Duke de Luynes, and the young Duke d'Uzes, champions of the Duke of Orleans, the first "conscript" of France; and alternating with the old families, the Bonapartist nobility, the Murats, the d'Albuferas, the Rivolis, the Wagrams, the d'Abrantés, the Trévises, the Talleyrands, the Malakoffs, the Bassanos, the Magentas, the Montebellos, the Decazes, the Feltres, the des Cars, the d'Harcourts, the Fitz-Jameses, the Rohans, the Turennes, the Mortemarts, the Marmiers, the Grammonts, the Beauveaux, and the ducal families with foreign titles—the Sabrans, the Gadagnes, the Courtenays, the Caraman-Chimays—form the great staff of French society, always ready to belt on the sword, rusty or new, of their ancestors or their fathers

at the first bugle-call of France. If politically or democratically "the new social strata" indict the old, there is not one Frenchman who does not render homage to the patriotism of the nobility of our epoch. Coblentz would not be possible to-day.

One la Rochefoucauld is a cavalry officer; another is captain in the army; the two sons of the Duke of Fitz-James are soldiers, and Count Robert Fitz-James is in the navy; the Duke de Maillé is a cavalry officer; Count Amedée des Cars is a fanatical soldier; the Marquis de Castellane has allowed his sons to enlist, as have many others.

The Marquis de Breteuil is the crack shot of France. All the young men of the nobility are great hunters; many of them have passed through Saumur, and, as I have already said, they cultivate all species of sport; besides the chase, they exercise themselves daily in fencing, lawn-tennis, racket and rally-paper, boating and riding, so that they are prepared for the fatigues of war.

To speak of things less grave, the women of rank who dress best in Paris are the Marquise de Beauvoir, the Countess de Pourtalès, Princess Anna Murat, the Duchess d'Albufera, the Princess de Leon, and the Princess Alice of Monaco—noble ladies for ages or noble ladies of yesterday. Some are perfect models, others copying them with success; each has really or in appearance that distinction of carriage, that delicacy of wit which refines and perfects itself unceasingly in the daily contact of the same pursuits and the same characters. Good breeding and aristocratic education consist in this—that it becomes impossible for the most critical observer to find in a word, in a gesture, in an attitude, in a movement, in a salutation, in a look, in a smile, the least thing that is original or unconventional as an expression of good manners. Nothing either of the stiffness or the *abandon* of the Saxon races is permitted to a French woman of rank; nothing of the Latin exuberance; nothing of the Austrian arrogance, of the Prussian rigidity, of the wheedling graces of the Slavonians.

In the great world of Paris we must neither discourse nor argue, nor strive to dazzle those with whom we converse; we may entertain them by lightly touching upon subjects, amusing others as we ask that they should amuse us; approving of everything, unless one is the Duchess de Maillé and has employed a quarter of a century or more in making scoldings acceptable. The ease of mind acquired by this aristocratic education gives enough supple-

ness to conversation for it never to lose its harmony of shades, its perfect rhythm. The woman of rank is more subtle, more analytic, more observant than the man of her own caste. She lives more within herself. She is more profound. She is devoid at once of timidity and assurance. She has a sense of her distinctive value. She likes to question and to learn. She is curious, feeling at liberty to sift and reject all which it is not the best taste to assimilate. Devotion and worldliness mix in her mind in the direction of charity, and the exercise of this quality is as necessary in the world as in good works. There are, indeed, some young lords and ladies who are called *outranciers*, extravagantists, extremists; but these are the exceptions, and they return one day or another to the ordinary world, or they quit it altogether; they are, besides, the proof of the general fidelity to received ideas and are the Helots of good society.

At this moment it is the style to be melancholy, pessimistic; which irritates the dowagers, of whom the greater part force themselves, notwithstanding the weight of years, to preserve their cheerfulness. This will quickly pass. Did we not see at the end of the empire the "curled darlings" fight like heroes and bear with fortitude the misfortunes, the privations, the fatigues of that terrible year?

The French nobility to-day, while it keeps its superiority in elegance and is a teacher of good breeding, has become the compeer of the most ardent patriots. One cannot now be a man of the world and a sceptic; he is, therefore, a believer in the altar more than in the throne, and he is for France even to sacrifice. A lover of women, of amusements, frivolous, as light as you please, the French gentleman would not have a moment's hesitation in stripping himself of what is laughingly called *le pur gratin* (the outer coating), to make of himself a defender of his country.

European interests occupy and interest our nobility, who keep themselves informed of everything. They are Franco-Russian and very decidedly anti-German. General de Charette, who remains their captain, and who, since the fusion, has buried the white flag in the folds of the tri-colored banner, would be quickly up and in arms were France in danger. In celebrating the anniversary of 1889, France has celebrated the return to herself of all her children, for there are no longer any royalists more royalist than Frenchmen.

The only drawing-rooms where a stranger meets, at the same

time, the great world, the financiers, the artistic and political sets, are those of some great embassy. Each group, it is true, isolates itself; they watch each other, and though individuals meet, never does the mass mingle.

I do not speak of the theatre, the first nights of the opera, where, each in his own box, these celebrated representatives of the different Parisian sets are, as at the exhibitions, as at the races and the *concours*, face to face with each other; but here also there is no commingling.

Two groups, however, in the last twenty years have intermixed; these are the artistic and the political groups. The empire, notwithstanding its advances, having been unable to draw the artistic world to the Tuileries, and Gambetta having proclaimed his taste for an Athenian republic, arts and politics have begun to fraternize. The official world has even democratically relieved the comedians from the ostracism which still weighed upon them.

In the political world are found, then, all societies except the highest; in return, "the new strata" have taken it by storm. The provinces have furnished their superabundant contingent. Several generations of politicians will be necessary before great distinction rules in the greater part of the official residences.

The President of the Republic and Madame Carnot, who are not at all of the new strata, will hasten the day when the dainty social aspirants of the democracy will no longer have to groan like *Bridoison* over the *foörmes* of the more considerable representatives of their party.

Democracies have power, warmth of heart, and generosity, which exist among the masses in the superior races. The voice of the people, at certain moments, is the voice of God, but it is necessary that those who expect from it a certain perfection should wait with patience until the day when from this same democracy will rise, according to the Greek word, the best of itself—that is to say, an aristocracy.

The gravest reproach which can be thrown at the French nobility in general is that it draws from the smallness of its wealth its cruelty towards its poor members and its indulgence towards men of wealth. No doubt, in presence of the rich "finance," as they say—Rue de Varennes, Hôtel de Crillon, and Faubourg St. Honoré—the French nobility remain haughty in reality, nay, even in appearance, and practised eyes have no great

trouble in perceiving the shades of tone, manner, and carriage of a gentleman at the Rothschilds', or the Baron de Hirsch's, or the great Jew bankers' of Paris. The slightest detail is perceptible, and the dukes, when they consent to seat themselves at the table of the financiers, always find their cooking too spicy in flavor. You may wager one hundred to one, that they will not sip the fine wines of the Jewish bankers with the pleasure which they feel in drinking those of the Dreux-Brézés, of the Monteynards, of the Sinétys, whose aristocratic cellars have a wide renown.

The high "finance" in Paris entertain a great deal, and the French nobility, which frequents their entertainments, accepts their invitations with less parsimony than it returns them.

As to society features, the financial world has no distinctive traits, because its ambition is to have none, and to imitate with the utmost diligence the manner of living and receiving of the great world. It does what the other does, goes where it goes, dresses itself, furnishes its house and models itself in this likeness.

The high "finance" has become a neutral ground, where the nobility elbow the constantly-renewed society of rich foreigners, foreign nobles being received by the nobility, to whom they are generally related. Finally, the great French middle class exhibits there its daughters, and plays there the unending rôle of *M. Poirier.* The great manufacturers, the merchant princes, the mighty speculators, imitate the bankers, who themselves imitate the nobility.

The sober magnificence of the great nobles, which pervades the old mansions, has in time become acclimated there. In the noble Faubourg the bric-a-brac, though it has not the merit of discovery, has the very superior one of tradition; it is at home there, and it tells that at the period when it entered into the family such a thing happened, which is often written in the genealogy of some honorable or glorious deed. Purchased bric-a-brac is only in harmony with another *bibelot* as costly; it is no longer an object of art, but an object of price. Its surroundings often change its nature, and the purest style of the upholsterer will never make of the hôtel even of a Rothschild the hôtel of a Duke de Doudeauville.

The bankers and rich *bourgeois* indulge in great splendor and rich housekeeping, but profusion is visible; the fear of not spending enough shows itself everywhere. There is no assimilation.

The gilding on the walls, the plate on the table, are either too new, or of different shades, or too artificially dulled; the hangings are too new or too much freshened up by the upholsterer. In the galleries, the pictures have no normal succession of periods, and the fine family portraits are missing. At the Israelitish financiers' they talk loudly, and the soft pedal is never used for anything, because they have only what they wish to parade before their guests; what they can show them and make them envy. The silent heritage of a title would calm the appetite for distinction of wealthy parvenus, but this is the only thing which money cannot purchase.

A bridge of gold is thrown from one world to the other; they cross and recross, as over the bridge of Avignon. Marriages with the daughters of bankers and manufacturers bring money to the aristocracy, who need it, but the great nobles do not change caste, and the middle-class woman who becomes a noble lady gives sons to her husband, but not grandsons to her father. The financiers and the middle class succeed in their magnificent endeavor, only to become dupes in the matrimonial market. I see only the artistic world which has truly liberated itself from the great nobles. In former times the nobility protected arts and lived more in the intellectual life of France; they directed and absorbed it. At present the great world thinks it disdains the artists, while it is the artists who have separated themselves from it.

Writers, painters, sculptors, artists of all sorts, have become the favorite caste of the democracy, who honor them, enrich them, and make them live. To them the far-famed names conquered by high intellectual deeds; to them the splendid works which enable France to take peaceful revenges—harbingers of others.

Art and industry, the artist and the artisan, in democracies, have exchanges which double the power of each to the profit of the country.

Our Universal Exposition has been one of the most complete expressions of popular art applied to industries, and of industry lifting itself to the height of art. It is by genial good taste that democracy arrives at the conquest of its aristocracy; and traditional good taste does not suffer by this. The more æsthetic qualities a people possesses, the greater its power; and power is still the best means for conquering brute force.

JULIETTA ADAM.

FREE TRADE OR PROTECTION.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM C. P. BRECKINRIDGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM KENTUCKY.

THE very existence of government necessitates the sovereign power of taxation. It is impossible to maintain public order, defend the liberties of the citizen, insure tranquillity, and execute the purposes for which governments are formed, except by the expenditure of revenues, which cannot be obtained in any other mode than by taxation. It is *the* sovereign power. By it the government assumes the right and exercises the power to take from the citizen so much of his earnings as may be necessary for its support, before permitting him to expend these earnings for the support of himself and the family dependent upon him. It has, therefore, been universally agreed that the government ought to absolutely need the money thus obtained by taxation before it resorts to the exercise of such a power, and that the limitation upon its exactions should be its necessities. In a free government, where, under the law, there are no classes, where every one is entitled to equal protection, the burdens of taxation should be equally and impartially imposed. So far as it may be possible, every man should be required—as every citizen ought to be willing—to pay his fair proportion of the expenses of the government, which is based in part upon his consent, which was formed for his protection, and by means of which he is secured in the enjoyment of his property and in the protection of his liberty and life; but he ought not to be required to pay one cent more than that fair and just proportion; so that in the very nature of our institutions, and by the very limitations created by the formation of them, we find these fundamental principles of taxation: the amount raised ought to be limited by the necessities of the government; and the distribution of the burdens ought to be impartial and equal.

The adoption of a system of "raising revenue" by means of

a tariff is one of the modes by which the United States exercises the power of taxation and obtains its necessary revenues. Primarily, this power is wholly a taxing power. Primarily, its object is to raise revenue. Its purpose is to obtain, by the imposition of imposts upon imports, such proportion of the Federal revenue as wise statesmanship may determine. There is no dispute that it has this power. The contention begins when it is claimed that incidental to this taxing power it has the right—indeed, has imposed upon it the duty—to so impose these imposts as to give "protection to domestic productions." Very latterly it has been made the platform of the party in possession of all the departments of the Federal Government that this duty is the primary and important duty under the taxing power; that the old conception of Hamilton, Clay, and others, of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection, must be considered as obsolete, and must give way to the new theory of a tariff for protection with incidental revenue. For this generation, so long as the constitutional mandate that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States in proportion to population remains unchanged, the larger part of our revenues must be raised by imposts on imports. Practically the present generation of statesmen will never meet the question of free trade. Whatever views may be entertained by those in public life or by the great body of the people, it cannot be that in our day free trade, even in the limited sense in which Great Britain has adopted it, can be made the system of imports in the United States; so that the true question which at present divides the parties and the practical statesmen of the day is: Shall the principle upon which imposts are laid be for protection primarily or for revenue primarily?

It is freely admitted that there are evils which are common to any system of taxation by tariff; that there are bad results which must follow from the imposition of duties upon imports; and it is also freely admitted that it is impossible to "raise the revenues" required by the United States under a system of tariff imposition without incidental protection to certain industries. All taxes are burdens that cannot be laid and collected without some injury or without some compensatory advantages. The amount necessary cannot be withdrawn from the earnings of labor without injury to some persons and possibly to some classes; nor yet without some incidental advantages to competing industries and rival interests.

It is, therefore, only a question of what is best as practical statesmanship; and yet the systems are based upon principles which, if not antipodal, are very diverse.

Legislation for protection is based upon the fundamental principle that the government has the right in some manner to take, without direct compensation, from one man or class of men part of his or their earnings and by law bestow it upon another man or class of men. It is precisely the basal principle of slavery. Slavery took by law all of a man's labor, returning only a livelihood measured by the humanity, the self-interest, and the will of the master. The protective tariff takes by law so much of a man's labor as is necessary to pay the difference caused by that tariff in the cost of necessary articles. It is an inheritance from our remote ancestors of the conception they had of government, which was that by divine right rulers reigned, and that the power exercised by society organized into governments was broad enough to create class distinctions, and that this was its best hope for stability and its only mode of preserving public order.

Hence it is not strange, in any country where there have been monarchical institutions and aristocratic distinctions, that the system which is designed to benefit favored classes should be readily accepted and perpetually maintained. It would be almost inexplicable if this were not so. It is only when the spirit of freedom thoroughly pervades the institutions of the country, and dominates its legislation, that this principle is eliminated from practical legislation. Consequently it is not remarkable that, after centuries of struggles for parliamentary and personal liberty, for judicial independence and constitutional government, Great Britain should enter upon a career of economic freedom; but it is almost beyond explanation that in the United States, within thirty years, it should be accepted as a postulate of free government that the true prosperity of the country is based on inequalities made by law and on distinctions created by legislation.

From the days of Hamilton to those of Senator Morrill and Mr. Blaine, the advocates of protection and the advocates of freer trade have agreed that the ultimate object should be absolute free trade in the future; that the point to be reached by economic legislation was ultimately the firm establishment of free and untrammelled commerce with all the nations of the world. The plea of the advocates of protection was that it was necessary only in the

infancy of certain industries ; that it was simply temporary; that it was a burden to be borne only for a time ; to be justified solely because it would bring about more speedily that system of commerce which all recognized to be beneficial. And until the present generation of statesmen came into power there was no dispute as to this. As soon as the claim was seriously put forth that protection in and of itself was to be primarily sought in bills "raising revenue," and that the true end of economic statesmanship was the isolation of the country from all other nations, and the erection of higher barriers to the introduction of foreign imports, then the nature of the contest necessarily changed. Formerly, while the discussion of the principles involved was important and able, the disputes were very much over details. Now the contention is not only over the details,—that is, on the schedules of the tariff bill,—but over the principles of the different systems.

I look always with some suspicion upon columns of figures made for the purpose of sustaining a pet theory, and it is always misleading to attempt to account for the growth of a people upon any one ground. The most complicated practical experiment which can possibly be made in the world is the development of a nation. More factors enter into it than into any other experiment, and there are no means yet discovered which are at all reliable to estimate or measure the relative power, activity, and value of these different factors. At the best it is a mere guess as to what has been the effect of a particular single cause upon the growth and development of this country. That we have prospered is beyond all doubt. That we prospered in our colonial days is equally beyond all doubt. That even during the weak and doubtful days of the Confederation, before the adoption of the Constitution, we continued to grow is historically true ; and every decade has found us more populous, richer, and more powerful at its end than its beginning. This growth has been under every form of economic legislation adopted by Congress. It has been greater at certain periods than at others. How far it has been affected by events in other countries, their wars, the burdens of standing armies, the famine in Ireland, the discovery of new continents, the inventions and progress in industrial arts abroad, we have no means of accurately measuring. What effect any particular domestic event or cause had, we cannot accurately tell.

The formation of the Constitution, the acquisition of Louis-

iana, the removal of the Indian tribes to the west of the Mississippi, the institution of slavery, the war and the destruction of slavery, the wondrous mechanical inventions, the almost boundless extent of fertile land to be had for the asking, the enormous immigration from abroad, the diversity of climate, the varied and inexhaustible mineral resources, the peculiar system of waterways, especially the lake system in the North and the river system in the Mississippi valley ; above all, our free institutions and the peculiar nature and qualities of our particular race, have had, indubitably, very great effects, no one of which can be accurately measured. It is, therefore, disingenuous and wholly misleading for the advocates of protection to claim that the whole of this vast prosperity is due to that economic system. It will be recalled that, high as has been this protective tariff, it has never been prohibitory save on a comparatively few articles ; that our exports have always been paid for by an equivalent value of imports ; that during considerable periods of our history—in the main substantially more than half of it—the duties imposed were not high enough to interfere seriously with the natural and proper development of our industries, and that, therefore, whatever may be the effect of protection when it is fully and completely put into operation, it has not yet been entirely and satisfactorily tried.

An able article appeared not long since in which it was attempted to be demonstrated that the destruction by prohibition of the liquor traffic would destroy the cause of a large part of the prosperity of the hundred-odd years of our history. It was said that the prosperity of any city or section could be accurately measured by the number of the saloons therein. As, for example, the largest, wealthiest, most powerful city in America —the imperial and majestic city of New York, with its great sister-cities clustered about it as gems around a great diamond—had more liquor saloons in its limits than thirteen of the States of the South ; and in parallel columns were given the figures which "demonstrated" (to use the favorite term of our protection friends) that wealth and prosperity went hand in hand with the liquor traffic. To the minutest detail the arguments made by Mr. Blaine and Senator Morrill in favor of protection were made by this writer in favor of the liquor trade, with perhaps the exception that the facts in his case were stated with somewhat less of rhetorical beauty and more of historical accuracy. He did not have

to falsify so large a period in our history as that between 1846 and 1860; nor did he have to make assertions as to which only respect for these eminent gentlemen prevents one from intimating that they were known to be inaccurate. I leave it to others whether the conclusion drawn by that writer is not as worthy of acceptance as the conclusion drawn by these distinguished gentlemen.

From my early recollection until the end of the war I heard the same arguments made concerning the institution of slavery, and supported by similar figures. The growth of population in those fifteen Southern States, the increasing wealth, the many thousands of acres of new land brought under successful and intelligent culture, the increasing crops of cotton, the many institutions of learning, the attractive civilization, were eloquently and apparently conclusively urged to "demonstrate" the proposition that slavery as an economic institution was of the very highest value, and as a moral institution of still greater profit. I also leave to others to decide whether that demonstration in the light of to-day would be held to be conclusive.

That system of protection which Mr. Blaine and Senator Morrill now praise, and to which they ascribe all the wondrous growth of the past thirty years, has been latterly reviewed by the present Secretary of the Treasury in his late report to Congress. It will be remembered that it is not protection only which has produced these marvellous results, but necessarily it is that form of protection, that peculiar system of protection, which we have enjoyed in America. It may be possible—though I myself utterly deny it—that there might be devised a system of protection which would be wise; under which undervaluation by the importer and adulteration by the domestic manufacturer would not be both caused and encouraged. But we must discuss the system to which these gentlemen ascribe these beneficent results. Now, that system has been described by the Secretary of the Treasury in his late report. The statutes under which we have lived, and by means of which these results have been produced, have been analyzed. No Free-Trader has used such intensely hostile and uncomplimentary terms in description of that system as have been used by the present Secretary of the Treasury in that report. There is hardly any charge which can be brought against an economic system that he has not brought against that system. He winds up his description of only one feature—appeals and suits

caused by doubts as to the meaning of the tariff schedules—with this sweeping conclusion: "All this is subversive of commercial and official morality, is destructive of legitimate trade, and appeals to the judgment of all fair-minded men for correction."

This is the system which these gentlemen praise; under which, they urge, we have prospered; by means of which good morals, patriotism, and all the virtues that can adorn a free citizen have been developed and encouraged; and through and by means of which the country has become the great exemplar of the commercial world. It will not do to say that these are temporary evils of unwise statesmanship, because it is this very system under which these gentlemen say we have grown.

It seems to be impossible to have any period of the history of America accurately understood. If these distinguished gentlemen, and those who agree with them in their views, are now to be believed, the condition of the country from 1846 to 1860 was one of deplorable retrogression. This view probably was discovered by the late Hon. William D. Kelley, whose long and continuous service on the Ways-and-Means Committee, as well as in the House, and whose great ability and equally great singleness of purpose, gave him unusual conspicuousness and large influence, out of which grew the two celebrated debates between him and General Garfield. It may not be inappropriate to call attention to the speech of General Garfield, delivered on March 6, 1878, in the Forty-fifth Congress, in which he with great care set out the result of his industrious researches about that period from 1846 to 1860. I would not myself even seem to be so guilty of want of respect towards the distinguished disputants in this particular discussion as to say that they have distorted the history of our country; but General Garfield, in answering the argument made by Mr. Kelley, which is now repeated by these gentlemen, did not hesitate to say: "We can find ample ground for the sufficient protection of American manufactures without distorting the history of our country." I quote but one single sentence from that great speech of General Garfield's:

"The fact is, Mr. Chairman, the decade from 1850 to 1860 was one of peace and general prosperity. The aggregate volume of real and personal property in the United States in 1850 was, in round numbers, $7,135,000,000; in 1860, $16,159,000,000—an increase of 126 per cent., while the population increased but 35 per cent. Yet to suit a theory of finance, we are told that 1860 was a year of great distress and depletion of business, equalled only by the distress of the present year."

The year in which he spoke was 1878, being the fifth year of that great and troubled period of financial distress which cannot be recalled without pain even to this day, and which occurred under the present system of a protective tariff. If the description of the decade from 1850 to 1860, as drawn by General Garfield, could be put in parallel columns with an appropriate description of that period from 1873 to 1878,—such as that made by Mr. Mills in the February number of this REVIEW,—no human ingenuity could confuse the simplest intellect or render the choice of any unprejudiced citizen doubtful as between the two systems which were in operation at these two different periods.

In Report No. 2,848 from the Committee on Ways and Means, made during the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress, is a letter from the Hon. J. Q. Smith, of Ohio, from which I quote these passages :

"By the census of 1850 the estimated value of farms in the United States was $3,271,575,426. In 1860 the value was estimated at $6,645,045,007, showing an increased value during the decade of $3,373,469,581, or more than 100 per cent. In 1870 the value of the farms was estimated at $9,262,803,861, showing an increase during the decade of $2,617,758,861, or less than 40 per cent. In 1880 the value of the farms was estimated at $10,197,096,776, being an increase during the decade of $939,292,915, or only a fraction over 9 per cent. (See 'Compendium of the Census' of 1880, page 58.) The value of live stock in the United States in 1850 was estimated at $544,180,566. In 1860 it was valued at $1,089,329,915. The increase during the decade was $545,149,349, or over 100 per cent. In 1870 it was estimated at $1,525,276,547, being an increase during the decade of $435,946,542, or less than 40 per cent. In 1880 the live stock was estimated at $1,500,464,609, being a decrease during the decade of nearly $25,000,000, or more than 1½ per cent."

The figures given in this report taken from the "Compendium of the Census" have been fiercely attacked, but the facts stated remain true. I merely give them because they illustrate the growth during three decades,—the first during the existence of what is known as the Walker tariff; the second, that of the great war between the States; and the third, during the operation of the protective tariff (which decade, however, included the years of the great panic). The basis of our wealth must always be its agriculture; and I use this particular quotation because it is confined to our agricultural wealth during that period. Surely a system which during the ten years from 1870 to 1880 could not prevent an actual decrease in the value of the live stock of America, and could produce only an increase of a fraction over 9 per cent. in the value of the farms of America, is not one that should commend itself to a people largely dependent upon agriculture.

It is, of course, absurd to maintain that any system of protection can benefit all persons equally. If it did, it would leave every one relatively in the same position that he was in at the beginning, and would be a useless system. If it did not, it would necessarily operate unequally and unjustly. The value of the present system to its advocates is that it benefits them; that they obtain advantages under it; that by means of legislation their profits are increased; that by it they are enabled—or their friends and supporters and allies—to carry on their business at a profit. If it were not for this, it could have no advocates. The very gist of the system is that it gives to certain persons a legislative advantage. It must follow that those who by legislation have obtained the advantage will use it to maintain that advantage; and does any one doubt that this is exactly what we have witnessed in the last few years and are now witnessing at Washington? The direct beneficiaries of legislation will always attempt to maintain by legislation that advantage, and an easy and simple mode of maintaining it is to select those who are to legislate; so that it would be inexplicable if the beneficiaries of this system had not done all that was possible to have the Congress of the United States composed of persons who are friendly to them and to the system.

How far it is possible to honestly and incorruptly select legislators by whom private interests are to be maintained by legislation, we are unable to estimate; but it is scarcely possible that in the end the means will not be carefully scrutinized, not only as to their propriety, but as to their efficiency. If the fortune and business of the citizen depend upon the vote of the Representative from his district, the temptation to select a Representative largely, if not solely, because of his certainty to deliver that vote becomes almost irresistible; and the extent of the interest involved will pretty accurately measure the strength of the temptation, and it will also pretty accurately foretell the extent of the means used. Favorable legislation becomes a matter of necessary business administration. He who is dependent upon it for his profits must look to it as carefully as he does to the purchase of his material or to the state of the market; and when other persons have like interests, he will, of course, combine with those other persons to maintain their common interests. It is, therefore, impossible that there should be either legislative reform, civil-service reform, or ballot reform, so long as the Congress of the United States

exercises the power to make or mar the fortunes of the wealthiest, the largest, and the most powerful combinations in the land.

If the market be so limited that the purchaser is compelled to buy certain articles from certain persons, the motive to manufacture the best possible article is removed from the manufacturer, and the temptation to produce the meanest possible article so as to obtain the highest possible profit becomes great, if not irresistible. Where the market is crowded by competition and the price is fixed by quality, he who produces at the lowest cost the best article secures the largest part of the market and the largest profit. He must, therefore, study carefully, so as to make the best article with the highest skill and at the lowest cost. The least cost of production necessarily means the highest cost of wage, because the greatest skill produces not only the best article, but the most of it. Therefore, under that very competition which I have supposed, there must result in the end the highest human skill to which is paid the best attainable wage, so that the same amount of labor may produce the utmost value of product. This produces necessarily the highest human development, for success depends upon skill and brain. He goes to the wall who is not competent for the business he has undertaken ; and so it is found to be true in all of those products which have no protection by legislation. If you can select an industry where the price paid depends upon the highest human capacity, you will find that he succeeds best who has the greatest skill, and so on down from the artist of highest renown to the artisan in the factories.

The rule is universally true. The more protection is given—that is, the more competition is removed—and the more limited becomes the option of the purchaser, especially where the product is a necessary of life, the less honesty, brain, and skill are required to sell the protected article; and so high tariffs make adulterated products. Not only do they make adulterated products inside of the barrier, but they cause competition with these adulterated fabrics by undervalued importations. Honest goods, made by honest manufacturers and imported by honest importers, are excluded by high duties, except in certain rare emergencies, and consequently the only competition with the adulterated domestic article becomes the undervalued imported article introduced through fraud and perjury; so that in this very Congress we have seen the majority, under the lead of its most distinguished Repre-

sentative on the floor, pass a bill depriving importers of trial by jury, and taking away from the courts of the United States, as to importers, the right to ascertain the facts by judicial processes; and this is justified upon the ground that the bulk of the importers are dishonest, and that the statements concerning importations are untrue. It cannot be, in a community so inextricably inter-involved as we are, that a large class of manufacturers can produce adulterated goods, and a large class of importers can habitually, through perjury, import undervalued goods, without commercial morality being generally impaired. It is obviously not unnatural that thinkers like Mr. Gladstone should look upon protective tariffs as capable of producing immoral trade.

Senator Morrill, who is always frank as well as able, says:

"Americans prefers to make a home market for all of their agricultural products, and not to depend upon uncertain and elusive foreign markets. Every shipload of wheat or corn exported not only impoverishes the fertility of the land whence it was taken, but tends to reduce both the price abroad and at home."

Exports of agricultural products necessarily render possible the sale of the surplus remaining after the wants of home consumption have been supplied. It is an economic law, now thoroughly understood, that the value of the surplus fixes the value of the entire product, and therefore the value of that surplus sold abroad fixes the price which is paid at home. If no market can be found for that surplus, then, of course, the value of the entire product would be greatly diminished. Is it improper to submit to Senator Morrill the inquiry, What would have become of the agricultural products of America if there had been no foreign market in which the surplus could have been sold? But for the foreign market taking that annual surplus, it is not too much to say that we should have been a bankrupt nation. How it is possible to reach a state of mind that looks upon the possibility of preserving by exportation of our surplus the value at fairly-remunerative prices of our agricultural products as an evil, is an insoluble mystery. If our farmers could not have sold that surplus abroad, what would be their condition to-day? and how could it be possible that the fact that we raise more than we use tends to poverty?

A nation, like a man, can only grow rich by producing more than it uses, and accumulating year by year the value of that yearly surplus. If, also, there had been subtracted from the wealth of America all imports which were purchased by the agricultural surplus sent abroad, our industrial interests would be

destroyed. There can be no greater delusion than that of a possible "home market" in which everything produced in America is sold and in which everything needed for America is produced here and sold here. The very existence of our industries depends upon commerce—that is, upon the power to import what we need and to pay for it by what we export; what we export being that surplus of our product which remains after our wants are supplied. He who buys must first have something to sell, and sell it; and his capacity to buy is precisely measured by what he obtains for that which he sells. Every import into America is, in effect, the product of American sweat; and, if purchased at a fair price, it has also in it an element of American profit.

The farmer produces his wheat, and if he sells it at a profit, he puts the money thus obtained into English products; and if he purchases those products at a fair price when he imports them, they represent his sweat and skill in the production of his wheat, his skill and profit in the sale of his wheat, and his skill and profit as a trader in the purchase of the foreign product; so that when that product is brought to America and sold, it is as much his product—the product of American sweat—as a bushel of wheat produced by the same farmer on the same land and sold in New York, instead of being sent to Liverpool for sale. Every exaction in the shape of transportation, commissions, or insurance placed upon that wheat retards commerce, injures the wheat-grower, and adds to the price of the wheat to the consumer; and every exaction put upon that into which he puts his money before it goes into the open market in America, in the shape of freight, commission, insurance, and duty, also adds to the cost to the consumer, impairs the profit that can be made out of the transaction, and renders the whole transaction more cumbersome, uncertain, and troublesome. Therefore it is to the true interest of those who produce these exportations that the exactions shall be as few, as small, and as simple as possible; for in the end all of these burdens come out of the ultimate consumers—and the ultimate consumers are the laborers, who have produced the respective articles which by our mode of purchase and sale are bartered for each other.

It is astounding to hear intelligent men speak of the possibility of our agricultural products being consumed at home. In round numbers we are sending 28 per cent. of our breadstuffs abroad—that is, after feeding every mouth in America, there is

28 per cent. of our breadstuffs left unused. At present our industrial capacity is much greater than our industrial needs. Every industry needs a larger market. We produce now more than we can consume. We are being strangled by the limitations put upon our market. We cannot, therefore, profitably increase the workmen and their families who produce these manufactured products. Yet before our agricultural products can be consumed at home there must be an increase of American population of about nineteen millions, and every bread-winner of those nineteen millions must go to work at something which does not produce breadstuffs. This, of course, shows the utter absurdity of a home market consuming our products. If we feed the nineteen millions of additional mouths which are necessary to consume that product, at what are we to put them ?—for already we overproduce.

But our growth is largely agricultural. It is not true that the laborers who come among us from abroad are largely skilled laborers. Hence our agricultural products increase more rapidly, probably, than the fabrics of our looms and factories; and this increased production must find a market elsewhere; and when it finds that market, the amount of money realized by the sale in that market is substantially spent here; for while it may be invested in a foreign product, that foreign product represents the American wheat, and gives capacity to the foreign workman to buy that American wheat. Therefore, economically it is true, and historically it is proved, that the larger our exportations the larger necessarily our importations, the higher are the prices of domestic products here, and the more prosperous are all our industries. When we sell most abroad and buy most abroad, we have in America more money to buy at home, and the period is a period of prosperity and growth; and the years in which we have been prosperous can be selected by turning to the statistical reports and taking from them the years of large foreign commerce.

The mere repetition, in season and out of season, of the assertion that wages depend upon the tariff has been accepted by many as proof that it is true, when the fact stares them in the face that the rate of wages does not bear any perceptible relation to the tariff. That it has some effect is true; that this effect, so far as it goes, is deleterious I have not any doubt; but the other causes are so numerous and so potent that as yet they seem to control. All the European countries have a high tariff except Great Britain.

The wages in every part of Europe are lower than they are in Great Britain. Since Great Britain changed her economic system her wages have constantly increased, and they continue to increase. Now, if these statements contain the whole of the case, it would seem to follow that the high tariff reduces the wages in continental Europe, and free trade increases them in Great Britain. But this is not the whole case. The burdens of taxation, which are very great in all continental Europe, must ultimately come out of labor. The inheritance of centuries of misgovernment is class distinction, heavy taxation, poverty, and low wages ; and also deterioration of manhood, retardation of industrial skill, inaptness in industrial labor, so that the wage-worker produces less and is worth less as a worker ; the exactions are greater, and his condition in life is deplorable. An Englishman produces in fifty-six hours more than his brother Frenchman or Italian in seventy-two hours ; is worth that much more ; and he produces not only more, but a better article, and his employer has a larger capital and a greater capacity for business, and so assures to his product a wider market. Producing a better article at a lower cost, vendible in a wider market, it follows that he is worth more. His employer also can afford to pay more, because the exactions required of him by his government are less.

When we come to this continent, we find precisely the same condition of affairs. Canada, the United States, and Mexico have protective tariffs. These three countries occupy a continent, and the wages of the laborers differ, not only in each of the several countries, but in different portions of the respective countries. The average rate of wages paid in Maine is $257 a year, while in Connecticut it is $385 a year; in Vermont, $303, and in Massachusetts, $364. These four States, lying close together, under precisely the same protective system, inhabited by exactly the same race and type of people, would, by the rules propounded by our protection friends, pay the same rate of wages ; and yet the facts show that the laborer obtains in each of these States a different amount from that which his brother-workman does in either of the others. And this appears to be true as to the cities as well as the States. I take the following figures from the speech of my friend and colleague, the Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, delivered in the House on May 16, 1888 : In Lynn, Mass., the rate per capita is $469, while in Lowell it is $294.20; and in Chicago it is $436. St. Louis pays per capita $424, while in Philadelphia the

rate is $340. In Lawrence, Mass., the rate is $331, while in New Orleans it is $391, and in Dubuque, Ia., $461. This disparity marks the relative wages of every section of the country.

The rule as to the relation between the wages of the workman and the cost of the product is that, as the skill of the laborer increases, the cost of the product decreases, and the relative proportion of wage to cost increases. In a new country, where land is low and labor is scarce, where all the avenues of life are practically opened to the industrious, the frugal, and the sober, labor is necessarily high ; it is in great demand. It does not like to work for wages paid by another, but seeks employment for itself. And so the new countries pay high wages, and our new West, without any protection by means of the tariff against the rich, prosperous, and successful East, prospers. Where a country is thickly populated ; where the industries are carefully separated ; where labor is plentiful ; where the skill required for certain industries renders labor comparatively unprofitable in other industries ; where the avenues of life open to the laborer are comparatively few, except to the unusually vigorous, aggressive, and able, there labor must combine to take care of itself : the relation of employer and employee created is entirely different from that relation in the far West ; and the wage of the laborer is affected by all these conditions.

But here, again, the truth which lies at the bottom is that the more readily the product of his labor can be sold, the better the article is, and the higher its price, the more will the laborer obtain for his labor. He needs the widest possible market in which that product can be sold, and the more the market is limited his wage becomes reduced. So, also, the larger the competition consistent with a fair profit, the better it is for him; for if his employer has no competitor, then he is the sole controller of the wage which he shall pay. If he controls the market in which the fabric is to be sold, he controls the price at which the fabric is to be sold, and he can control also the price which he will pay for the material contained therein and for the labor necessary to turn that material into the finished fabric. Therefore, whatever may be the interest of the employer, it is clearly to the interest of the laborer that there shall be no trammel put upon the purchase of the material with which he has to work and no limit to the market in which his product is to be sold.

In passing, I desire to put on record the proof that the statement constantly made that a large proportion of the immigration from abroad is of mechanics and skilled workmen is not true. Mr. Powers, a correspondent of one of the Chicago dailies, has taken the trouble to put in tabular form the occupations of the immigrants to America for the ten years from 1877 to 1886, inclusive, from which I have gathered this : In the ten years from 1877 to 1886 there arrived in this country 4,255,295 immigrants, of whom somewhat more than one-half were women and children. Of the remaining 2,120,582, there were only 35,581, or less than 2 per cent., operatives in the textiles, metals, and other protected industries, excluding the miners, of whom there were 38,570, being also less than 2 per cent. That is, of mechanics and skilled workmen there were only 2 per cent. in the immigration of ten years. These were, as a rule, those with whom life had gone well at home. They were of numbers just sufficient to be used either as a menace or a substitute for striking operatives.

It is, therefore, scarcely fair to say that the immigration of laborers from Europe demonstrates that in our protected industries we pay better wages than abroad. During that period we received 2,046,431 laborers who had to work in the unprotected industries. Of these, 1,553,702 were house servants, tillers of the soil, and common day-laborers. The number of workmen engaged in any vocation which could by any fairness at all be brought within the protective power of our present tariff system does not equal the number of laborers required to produce that surplus which we must sell abroad. Whatever effect protection has in increasing the rate of wages in the industries protected operates on a number of laborers no greater than those required to create the products sold abroad.

Is it wise, then, to adopt a system, even if it does increase the wages of so small a percentage of our workmen, when that increase must necessarily be paid out of the labor of the workmen in industries not within the scope of this protection? Upon the theory of the Protectionist, the wage of the laborer in the protected industries is increased, because the home market is preserved to him, because the article which he produces can be sold at a price which it would not otherwise receive if open competition were allowed. Out of that increased price is paid his increased wage. This increased price is paid by persons who work in unprotected in-

dustries, so that in the ultimate analysis the increased wage of these comparatively few laborers is paid by taxing the labor of those who work in unprotected industries. It is estimated by the best statisticians that 7 per cent. is a liberal estimate of those working for gain who can be affected by our present high tariff. Some have made the estimate as low as 5 per cent. For myself, I do not believe that the wages of any employees have been increased by the protective system, and that, as a rule, its effect has been to give to the employers in these protected industries such control of their labor as has enabled them to fix the price of it; and that the solution of the problem of the relations of labor and capital is to render the commerce of the country as nearly free as the necessities of the government will permit.

From January 1, 1884, to January 1, 1890, we exported of domestic products the enormous sum of $4,304,086,830. Not a dollar of this product could find a purchaser in America; not one pound or yard of the enormous amount for which we obtained this sum could be disposed of in the famous "home market." It is, therefore, absolutely certain that not only would we have lost this sum of over $4,000,000,000, but a very much larger amount, because of the depreciation of the price of our agricultural and manufacturing products for which we found a market at home. It is not too much to say that we could have doubled this surplus if we had been able to find a market in which to sell it; and it is not too much to say that there were markets for us in which there were buyers who had something to sell which we wanted, but which we could not buy because of the burdens imposed by our tariff, and, therefore, that our sales were limited, not by our capacity to produce, but by our capacity to sell and purchase under our tariff. How great the disaster would have been if we had been totally excluded from the foreign markets, if "no ship-loads of wheat" had been carried, and no cotton exported, and no manufactures sent abroad, cannot be measured. The conception of an exclusive "home market," under the circumstances which surround us, is one of those mysterious delusions which cannot be accounted for. In addition, during this period we exported the sum of $81,345,984 of foreign merchandise, which passed through our hands and on which we obtained commission, and perhaps insurance and warehouse fees. The cost of merely handling this commerce amounts to a sum so large that

the loss of it would produce a panic. A single item, the freight on the ocean, is nearly $180,000,000 a year, most of which we pay to foreigners under our absurd and antiquated navigation laws. The annual tribute that America pays for permitting its commerce to be transported in foreign bottoms is $150,000,000, or more.

The venerable Senator is unconsciously accurate when he says, in speaking of American competition and of our system of tariff, that "it follows that the British workmen have derived and still derive an immense benefit from the system of American protection." This is indubitably true; a large part of our statutes seems to have been framed with an eye to the protection of the foreign manufacturer.

During the fiscal year 1888–89 we imported $172,134,716 worth of articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry, upon which the duty alone was $15,363,625. We imported of articles wholly or partially manufactured for use in manufacture or mechanical arts $84,354,509, on which we paid a duty of $22,195,095. This aggregate sum of $256,489,225 was paid for material absolutely needed by our manufacturers. This material cannot be raised in America or produced here, and its importation is a necessity. This enormous sum is that which we are compelled to pay for the necessary material which our workmen must use in the manufactures in which they are employed. And the duty, $37,558,720, is a direct protection paid to the foreign manufacturer and workman to help them exclude our workmen from the markets of the world. It is just that much more added to the cost of the American product, and that much additional burden put upon the American manufacturer so as to render him that much less capable of paying better wages to his workmen and making better goods out of his material. This is the annual tribute paid in this single instance by the American workman to the foreign workman under the plea of "protection to American labor." It does not affect competition in the foreign market alone, but it gives such an advantage to the foreign workman as to render it possible for him to compete in our home market. This is illustrated by the continual increase of the value of woollen products imported. Every year the amount in value of imported finished woollen fabrics increases. It is because, in spite of the enormous duties upon them, the foreign workman obtains his material upon such terms that he can suc-

cessfully compete with the American workman in our own markets. During the fiscal year 1887–88 we imported of finished woollen fabrics $47,158,048; during the fiscal year 1888–89 we imported $52,681,482—an increase of something over $5,500,000. Every yard of this finished product ought to have been manufactured in America, and would have been if we had such a revision of our tariff system as is needed. Every dollar of the wages and profit in this large sum ought to go to American workmen and American manufacturers. It is now absolutely clear that this reform is pressing upon us; and yet it is resisted with all the power of the combinations which maintain the system of protection.

One of the most eminent statisticians has asked the pertinent question, "How much have the iron and steel consumed in the United States cost our consumers in excess of the cost of the same materials to consumers supplied in Great Britain?" Who are the consumers of iron and steel material? To whom must the foreign pig-iron or ore be handed for work? It is the American workmen who use these materials in the construction of all manner of manufactures, and the cost of the material, if unreasonably larger here than abroad, must ultimately be paid out of the wages or profits. For as the aggregate cost of the article must not so largely exceed the cost of the competing article as to be driven out of the market, whatever is unduly paid for the material must be taken out of the wage of the workman or the profit of the manufacturer; and as the manufacturer and workman are both Americans, this loss, upon whomsoever it falls, falls upon an American, and the gain, whoever gets it, goes to a foreign competitor. He answers the question by a calculation which no one can substantially correct or deny—that the added cost for this last ten years, that the increased cost to the American consumer over what the foreign consumer had to pay, is $700,000,000, or an average of $70,000,000 a year. This is protection which the American protective system gives to the foreign workman over the American workman.

The true protection of the iron and steel interests in the United States, as concluded by this eminent economist, undoubtedly is the immediate removal of all duties on ore, and the reduction of duties on crude iron and steel, with the speedy purpose of wiping out all duties on pig-iron, so that the American manufacturer may obtain his crude material upon exactly the same terms as his foreign competitor. With this done, well may Mr. Bent, of Penn-

sylvania, exclaim : "Then the American manufacturer can take the markets of the world." For, even with the enormous burden imposed by this unwise system, we have been able to enter into the fields of foreign competition ; and this feat, done in spite of the tariff, is actually claimed by the distinguished Secretary of State and the venerable Senator as the fruits of the tariff system. It is, indeed, a mystery that the tariff is needed to give to the American workman the exclusive possession of the home market by excluding therefrom the foreign competitor, and yet produces the power to carry his products to Canada, pay the Canadian impost, and undersell the Canadian and foreign workman. If we can compete successfully in the numerous articles mentioned by both of these distinguished gentlemen with foreign competitors in foreign markets, why is it that we cannot compete with them here, where we have every advantage, and have, in addition, the advantage of the necessary freight our competitors must pay ? It is giving away the whole argument of protection when it is demonstrated that we are able to compete in the foreign markets on equal terms. But the terms are not equal, for we pay more for the material ; we are hampered in the choice of that material ; we are burdened with trammels; we cannot buy when and where and how we please. Yet, whenever the home market is not sufficient to take all our products, we are compelled to make a better article, to rely upon the skill, ingenuity, and industry of the workman and the manufacturer ; and then we do make a superior article at a cheaper price, and demonstrate our ability to retain our home market and conquer our share of the foreign market.

When the tariff is prohibitory, or when the American market furnishes a full demand for all the supply, the tendency is to make the finished product a poor and adulterated fabric ; but when that American market is not sufficient with its demands to answer the full supply, then the tendency is to do what the Senator admits we are able to do—that is, to make an article "superior to and cheaper than similar articles produced abroad." But if we are able to do this, if we are able to produce articles which are "both superior to and cheaper than articles produced abroad," for what reason should we then have any protective tariff ? Common honesty, fair play, equality between the citizens, demand, if this be true, that every temptation shall be given for the production of an article that is at once "superior to and

cheaper than " its competing article ; and if we are able to produce this, then any system which tends to prevent the production of such an article is unwise, if not immoral, and ought at once to be changed. We agree with the Senator that we are capable of accomplishing this result. We have no doubt that, by removing the trammels upon the introduction of the foreign material needed, giving at once to the American workman equal advantages with his foreign competitor, this could be said of all American manufactures, and it would be demonstrated that the protective system was a system which inured only to the benefit, and that temporarily, of the monopolies created by it or of the classes who were immediately its beneficiaries.

It is constantly claimed that the wealth and prosperity of America have been produced by this system ; and yet when it is charged that it creates private fortunes, the charge is indignantly denied, and it is alleged that of the great fortunes of America only one out of fifty has been produced by it—that is, that great fortunes in America can be made in the proportion of forty-nine to one outside of the industries protected by the tariff ; that the profits which arise from other business, not within the scope of its protection, give to the followers of those pursuits fortunes in the proportion of forty-nine to one given by the tariff. And while it is also claimed that this tariff is necessary to the manufacturing States, it is with equal vehemence alleged that it does not make the manufacturing States, by its protective duties, as rich as those agricultural States which have no immediate benefit from it. It is a system, therefore, that directly benefits nobody, —not even those who are immediately protected,—but that indirectly, by some occult and mysterious power, it greatly benefits those who are not protected by it. If those States whose industries are not protected by the tariff, and those persons whose pursuits are not protected by its provisions, grow wealthy, why have a system which does not give equal advantage to those who must labor under its provisions ?

A great American once said that the richest legacy bequeathed by our Revolutionary forefathers was absolute free trade between the States ; that with our race free institutions were certain to come, and that with thirteen colonies it was, beyond peradventure, impossible to create a government much different from that created by the Constitution. But with the opinion then prevalent

of the wisdom of a protective tariff, it was, indeed, a marvellous prescience which inserted into that Constitution the provision which absolutely prohibited tariffs between the States. It is from this provision that a large part of our marvellous growth has come. We are the recipients, also, of the fugitives from the tax-gatherers abroad. Men have brought their families here, not merely that they might live under freer institutions, but that they might escape the exactions which standing armies, class distinctions, and monarchical government require of the poor and the laboring. With free trade between our States, with low taxes, and the enormous immigration which the tax-collector has driven from Europe to our shores, we have grown beyond all precedent.

We will continue to grow; we will extend our borders by annexation or otherwise; we will obtain new lands; we will see erected new cities; we will receive into our federation new States;—and no temporary economic system, no matter how oppressive and false, can do more than retard this development. But that system which was so beneficent between the States; that system which enabled Chicago to grow against the competition of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; which is now permitting Denver, Kansas City, Wichita, San Francisco, also to to grow; that system which gives unhampered trade to 95 per cent. of our product; which permits this to be bought and sold, to be transported from the producer to the consumer and handled by the middlemen of America without trammel by legislation, without custom-houses, delays, vexations, and annoyances,—will give to us added wealth and increased power.

In the meantime the annoyances, the embarrassments, the burdens, of our present tariff will become better known and more grievously felt. Restlessness has begun; dissatisfaction is wide-spread; inquiry is abroad among the people; power cannot always be purchased by corrupting the ballot-box; and we will see victory, and that not very far off. Then what will be required of those who have believed that the day would come will be moderation, prudence, conservative change; not revolution, but reformation. This will give to American industries and to American commerce their just share of the markets of the world and the peaceful domination of the seas; it will destroy the lobby at Washington and restore to the people the right to select their representatives in Congress.

W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE DEFAMATION OF CHARLOTTE BRONTÉ.

IN THE first edition of Mrs. Gaskell's "Life of Charlotte Brontë" she declares that the shadow cast upon the hitherto-peaceful family in the Haworth parsonage by Branwell's intrigue with his employer's wife had much to do with the morbid strain of melancholy that tinged his sister's life and letters.

"All her life was labor and pain," writes a school friend, "and she never threw down the burden for the sake of present pleasure."

In 1877 appeared "Charlotte Brontë, a Monograph," by T. Wemyss Reid, claiming as authority Miss Brontë's hitherto-unpublished letters to Ellen Nussey, her life-long confidante. According to this writer, "Currer Bell's" two terms in the Brussels ("Villette") pension of M. and Mme. Héger were "the turning-point in her career, and its true history and meaning are to be found in 'Villette,' the masterwork of her mind, and the revelation of the most vivid passages in her own heart's history. . . . Her spirit, if not her heart, had been captured and held captive in the Belgian city."

Confession to this effect is eliminated from a sentence written by Charlotte to her friend. The sisters were recalled from Brussels by the death of their aunt. Emily assumed the place of the deceased as housekeeper, and Charlotte went back to prosecute the studies which were to enable her to carry out the cherished project of opening a school at Haworth. Years afterward she writes: "I returned to Brussels against my conscience, prompted by what seemed then an irresistible impulse. I was punished for my selfish folly by a total withdrawal, for more than two years, of happiness and peace of mind."

"The truth must be told," says Mr. Reid. "I see nothing in it which affects her fame and honor. . . . With that heart-history weighing upon her she began to write again, stirred by deeper thoughts," etc.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, in 1887, goes a step further. Agreeing with Mr. Reid that Charlotte's true life is written between the lines in "Villette," he oracularly advises those who thus read "to hold their tongues about their discoveries, real or supposed, and their surmises, however shrewd or keen." He likewise quotes the passage from Charlotte's letter to Miss Nussey, given above, and proceeds to divulge his discovery or surmise:

"Brussels was" (during this second sojourn) "a disappointing failure. It was not what she hoped it would be when, against the voice of conscience, she returned alone after her aunt's death. Madame Héger became estranged. Miss Brontë got on better with the husband. In fact, although her shyness stood in the way of her wishes, she was one of those women whose sympathies go out easier [*sic*] to men than to those of their own sex, and whose intellects work better in male than in female company.

"Madame Héger was also, besides being a woman, as determined a Roman Catholic as was Charlotte a fierce Protestant. . . . Madame, in the opinion of her pupil-teacher, was an idolator; and what Miss Brontë was in Madame Héger's —*it is better only guessing!*"

If a half-truth be the worst of libels, the passage I italicize should suffice to blacken the "fame" and destroy the "honor" of her whose partisan Mr. Reid professes to be, while giving the theme upon which Mr. Birrell plays such flippant vari-

ations. More honorable, because more outspoken, than his fellow-monographist, Mr. Birrell "puts a name to" the man. In what the true artist protests against as an unwarrantable assumption and violation of the laws and etiquette of the guild, he asserts that, in her greatest book, the author turned her still-raw heart inside out to the touch of the curious and the biting breath of the critic. Forgetful of the minor fact that Charlotte, as Jane Eyre, had already married Rochester, Reid and Birrell identify her as Lucy Snowe, and show her to be in love with Paul Emmanuel, the *alter ego* of Madame Héger's husband. Back of the heroic daughter and loving wife we have honored in the great novelist, lies an ugly story that changes the radiance of genius into the flame flickering above a shallow, shameful grave.

Lest we should still hug our doubt of this monstrous thing, we are next confronted with an English letter in a late number of *The Critic*, upon "The Home of Charlotte Brontë," signed "L. B. Walford." She affirms:

"Paul Emmanuel is still alive, and but recently delivered up, among other curiosities, a number of essays composed both by Charlotte and Emily Brontë while under his charge at Brussels, and corrected and emended by him as their master. These essays are upon no account to get into print, and it is easy to discern why. Although Charlotte's letters to her preceptor are, it is feared, by this time destroyed, no letter could breathe more transparently and more unconsciously the emotions by which that proud yet tender spirit was torn in twain than does one of the short papers which I saw the other day at Ilkley. The elaborate epistle in which Monsieur Héger detailed his reasons for turning a deaf ear to all petitions on the subject was not required by me, after one brief perusal of the little essay. The refusal breathes a high and chivalrous tone, and with the motive one can find no fault, but, apart from publicity, it is sad to think that neither letters nor essays were treasured for their own sakes by the Brussels schoolmaster. It almost makes one's blood boil to think of that warm, imaginative, hungry and thirsty girlish heart, beating against its bars, underrated and misunderstood by the sprightly, amiable, but withal undiscerning and self-opinionated man who was its ideal. . . . He is a bright, vain, handsome octogenarian, charming and delighting to charm, eager to talk, and as eager for an audience as exacting of homage and subservience as in the days when schoolgirls trembled at his glance. Imagine him fifty years ago, and you can hardly go wrong in imagining a very fascinating personage; then recollect that fifty years ago or thereabouts the little Yorkshire nursery governess took her first flight to Brussels, and there beheld Paul Emmanuel—*et voilà tout!*"

Herein is mystery! That which a brief perusal of one little essay betrayed to our letter-writer was a sealed book to the bright, vain Frenchman. What, then, were the reasons detailed in an elaborate epistle for refusing to surrender to print and the public the essays emended and preserved (ignorantly) by him? Let us conjudicially the proofs in support of the theory rolled, like an unctuous morsel, under the tongue of each of our latter-day biographers.

1. Charlotte's frank confession, already quoted. Put we side by side with this an extract from another letter to Ellen Nussey, written soon after Charlotte's return. "If I *could* leave home, I should not be at Haworth. Life is passing away, and I am doing nothing, earning nothing! When I am able to leave home, I shall be quite past the prime of life, my faculties will be wasted, and my few acquirements in a great measure forgotten. . . . When I consult my conscience, it affirms that I am right in staying at home, and bitter are its upbraidings when I yield to an eager desire for release."

The divine unrest of soul and imagination; the anguished beat against the bars of the caged eagle; the smothered seed "in the cold earth, quickening at heart and longing for the air"—need we look farther than these for explanation of the "total withdrawal of happiness and peace of mind"?

Or, if the vulgar requisition for a lover in the case must be honored, was M. Héger the only man she met in Brussels? Knowing the shy, proud spirit as some of us do, it is easier to believe that "one dear, fatal name" was never breathed except in prayer than that she bewailed in print her unrequited affection for another woman's husband.

There are still souls so pure, and unhackneyed by sophistical cant of elective affinities, that they see little difference between the "emotions by which this proud and tender spirit was torn in twain," and the passion that led her dying brother to "stuff his pockets" with a married woman's love-letters.

2. Mr. Reid details the tedious stages of the travail that produced "Villette" —caused, he asserts, by afflictive memories. Yet he transcribes this passage: "I have sometimes desponded and almost despaired because there was no one to whom to read a line, or of whom to ask a counsel. 'Jane Eyre' was not written under such circumstances, nor were two-thirds of 'Shirley.'" Mrs. Gaskell says: "The pen laid down when there were three sisters, alive and loving, was taken up when one alone remained." Charlotte named the chapter that began that last third of "Shirley," "The Valley of the Shadow of Death." Why conjure other shades to haunt it?

3. M. Héger was Paul Emmanuel. "Lucy Snowe is the truest picture of the real Charlotte Brontë." Charlotte's merry allusions in her letters to "the little man whom none of you like" do not mar the unities of the hypothesis that she loved M. Héger, returned to Brussels for his sake, was convicted and sent home "suddenly" by his wife, whom Charlotte "paid off" by writing her up as Madame Beck. Why, then, does Mr. Reid brand as "bitter and shameful words when applied to one of the truest and purest of women," and Birrell as "nauseous and malignant hypocrisy," the critique of the *Quarterly Review* upon "Jane Eyre"? "If we ascribe the book to a woman at all, we have no alternative but to ascribe it to one who has, for some sufficient reason, long forfeited the society of her own sex."

This woman, who, thirty-six years ago, laid down for all time the pen that was seldom wielded for self-defence, once wrote a letter to a reviewer who called himself friendly. I copy it entire without comment, *apropos* to the query whether she was in love with M. Héger:

"To G. H. LEWES, Esq.:

"I can be on my guard against my enemies, but GOD deliver me from friends!—CURRER BELL."

MARION HARLAND.

II.

LYMAN BEECHER AND INFANT DAMNATION.

I ASK leave to correct a statement of Mr. C. K. Tuckerman concerning my father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January, 1890. It occurs in an account of a sermon which he alleges he heard my father deliver The statement is that, after describing the horrors of hell, etc., the preacher spoke of a mother who had failed to have her child baptized. The child was killed through the carelessness of a nurse, and my father is represented as saying: "That child, who might have been an angel in heaven, is now, through the negligence of its parents in the matter of baptism, a tenant of hell"; whereupon one man is said to have marched out of the church.

This statement represents my father as believing and teaching (1) that an infant is regenerated and fitted for heaven by baptism; (2) that if not baptized it becomes a tenant of hell. It also represents (3) that apparently but one man dissented from those statements; and (4) that the congregation disapproved of his dissent and sympathized with the preacher.

If Mr. Tuckerman had represented himself as having heard Dr. Channing renounce Unitarianism, and teach orthodoxy to his people with their unanimous applause, it could not be more incredible or contrary to fact than these allegations concerning my father. His position on this question of infant damnation was as well known as that of Dr. Channing on Unitarianism. Soon after his settlement in Boston, in 1826, my father became satisfied that efforts were being extensively made to check the progress of orthodoxy by alleging that its advocates held and taught the damnation of infants. To meet this allegation, he published in 1827 the following statement in a note to his sermon on the government of God:

"I am aware that Calvinists are represented as believing and teaching the monstrous doctrine that infants are damned, and that hell is doubtless paved with their bones. But, having passed the age of fifty, and been conversant for thirty years with the most approved Calvinistic writers, and personally acquainted with many of the most distinguished Calvinistic divines in New England and in the

Middle and Southern and Western States, I must say that I have never seen nor heard of any book which contains such a sentiment, nor a man, minister, nor layman who believed or taught it. And I feel authorized to say that Calvinists, as a body, are as far from teaching the doctrine of infant damnation as any of those who falsely accuse them. And I would earnestly and affectionately recommend to all persons who have been accustomed to propagate the slander that they commit to memory without delay the Ninth Commandment, which is, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.' "

This statement, made early in the second year of his ministry, excited universal attention and emotion. His own congregation were unanimous in their approval of it. It repudiates as a slander the charge that he or any orthodox minister taught the doctrine of infant damnation. Is it not absurd and morally improbable that my father should in a sermon contradict his emphatic public declarations? Is it not absurd to suppose that his people, who unanimously agreed with him in rejecting infant damnation, approved of such a public declaration of it? Is it not absurd to suppose that he contradicted his well-known denial of baptismal regeneration in the case of infants, and taught it on this occasion only as an introduction to the doctrine of infant damnation, which he had always denied and recently publicly denounced in a most emphatic manner as an unmitigated slander?

These erroneous statements have been corrected by some American religious papers. But the circulation of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is not limited to such papers or to this nation. I ask you, therefore, to correct the errors of Mr. Tuckerman as widely as its circulation of them extends.

EDWARD BEECHER.

THE writer of the article entitled "By-gone Days in Boston," in the January number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, has received letters from individuals personally unknown to him with reference to the anecdote he relates of the Rev. Lyman Beecher. One correspondent writes: "The orthodox Congregationalists of that day did not believe in baptismal regeneration or infant damnation. They were as much opposed to these views as they were to Unitarianism." Another writes: "About the neglect of infant baptism is there not a mistake somehow? The Congregationalists, to whom Dr. Lyman Beecher belonged, never attached such importance to the ceremony of infant baptism as that anecdote implies. The Roman Catholics and Episcopalians regard the ceremony as all-important, but it seems to me well-nigh impossible that any orthodox minister could have used such an illustration with such an implication. Moreover, I have the best of reasons for saying that Lyman Beecher believed in the salvation of all infants. I have been intimately acquainted with some of his sons, who have borne most positive testimony to discussions with him and papers read by him on this subject. Is not your memory at fault in this anecdote? Has it not confused Dr. Beecher with some Episcopal or Roman Catholic doctor?"

REPLY: No; but, in consequence of what follows, the writer may have confused what he heard from the pulpit on the occasion referred to with what he heard from others. He listened to discourses from Dr. Lyman Beecher on several occasions when expressions were made use of by that worthy and distinguished clergyman which were generally held to be "extremely injudicious," even by members of his own church. In recording an incident which occurred during the writer's boyhood days, of many years ago, a confusion of place and time—not of the language quoted from the pulpit—is not unlikely. This view is confirmed by the following statement in a letter, just received, from a source entitled to the highest consideration; and it also furnishes a reply to those who maintain that the views of the reverend gentleman were not those which might be inferred from the anecdote in question. This correspondent writes:

"It was my grandfather, Oliver Wolcott,"—an historic personage and Governor of the State of Connecticut,—"who lived a short time in Litchfield, where Mr. Lyman Beecher preached. My impression is that the child baptized was his own, Mr. Beecher's, though that is unlikely; but I have often heard my mother tell the story, and that grandfather never put his foot in that church again. She said the church

door was open, and Governor Wolcott could be seen going down the walk thumping his cane in great indignation."

A lady now eighty years of age adds that this incident has been often told to her, and that it was at the time "in everybody's mouth." This information ought to be conclusive.

May it not be that Mr. Lyman Beecher's extreme theological views on this and kindred subjects became—as was the case with his son, Henry Ward Beecher—materially modified during the later years of his life? If so, this would explain the discrepancy of opinion existing on the subject.

C. K. TUCKERMAN.

III.

CHANGES IN MY BALLOT BILL.

THE measure known as the Ballot-Reform Bill has been approved by both branches of the New York Legislature, and will soon be placed in the hands of the Governor. I am requested by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to point out the changes that were made in it during its progress through the Senate and Assembly. This I will endeavor to do as concisely as possible.

It is well to understand clearly at the outset that the bill is the same now, in all essential features, as it was when first introduced. None of the amendments that have been adopted touch any vital principle. The lines of the so-called Australian system have been followed faithfully from first to last. The only changes are as to matters of detail. One great object of those who have had charge of the measure has been to make the meaning of each provision entirely clear; and they have not hesitated to make changes in the forms of expression, whenever by so doing they could the more surely accomplish that purpose. Only three of the Senate amendments are at all important, and those were made at my own suggestion. One of the three deals with the form of the official ballot.

The New York election laws now require the use of several different kinds of ballot. One ballot is indorsed "State," another "County," and still another "Congress," or "Senate," or "Assembly." Sometimes there are as many as eight or nine of these separate tickets for the voter to use, and as many different ballot-boxes for their reception. This provision in our present law was continued in the ballot-reform measures that were passed by the Legislature of 1888 and 1889. Those bills, however, instead of permitting a separate ticket for each set of party candidates, required the names of all candidates nominated for a particular office to be printed upon the same ticket, those of each party grouped together under the proper party name. For example, under that system, if it had been enacted into a law, the names of Republican and Democratic candidates for all State offices would have been printed upon the State ticket in parallel columns, each column headed by the word or words designating the party by which the candidates therein mentioned were placed in nomination. There would have been, besides the State ticket, several others, such as the county ticket, or the congressional ticket, which would be prepared in the same way. The Massachusetts law upon this subject, instead of requiring separate ballots for the different kinds of offices, prescribes the use of one large ballot, sometimes called the "blanket" ballot, which contains the names of candidates for all the various offices to be filled. While engaged in the preparation of the bill now pending, I became thoroughly convinced that the Massachusetts plan is far less intricate and cumbersome than our own. The result was that the bill as introduced prescribed that there should be but two kinds of ballots—one, called the municipal ballot, to contain the names of all candidates for municipal offices, and the other, called the general ballot, to contain the names of candidates for all offices other than municipal. The names of candidates for each office were to be arranged under the designation of the office.

This last provision as to the arrangement of candidates upon the ticket was altered before the bill passed the Senate. It was thought best to revert to the original scheme of grouping candidates together under party names. The idea was thereupon embodied in the following language, which may be found in section 17 of

the bill: "The names of all candidates shall be placed on the ballot in parallel columns, each column headed by the title of the party represented by the candidates therein named, as stated in the certificates of nomination, so that the candidates of the various parties shall be grouped together under their respective party names. When candidates are nominated otherwise than by convention, committee, or primary meeting, the names shall be placed in a column by themselves, headed by such words as were used in the certificate of nomination to designate their party principle, together with the information that such candidates were not nominated by convention, committee, or primary meeting. There shall be printed in each column the name of but one candidate for each office to be filled. The first column shall contain the titles of the various offices to be filled. The last column shall be left blank in order that the voter may have sufficient space opposite the title of each office to write or paste in the names of any persons not mentioned in the ballot for whom he may wish to vote."

It is evident that the candidates whose names will be printed upon ballots will generally be those nominated by party conventions; and it is equally evident that the great mass of voters will generally vote a straight party ticket. This provision as to the form of the ballot, recognizing existing conditions, makes an arrangement which will enable the average voter to carry out his intentions with the greatest ease and certainty. The plan has the further merit that it aids the illiterate man in fixing the precise location of his party ticket upon the ballot, so that he can vote intelligently without the assistance of the election officers.

The bill as introduced followed the Massachusetts statute in requiring the voter to designate by a mark the candidate of his choice. Governor Hill expressed the opinion, in his last annual message to the Legislature, that an act thus framed would violate a provision of our State constitution. I need not stop to examine the grounds on which this opinion was based. It is sufficient to say that the objection could be fully met by a comparatively unimportant change in the bill. Such a change was, therefore, made and the bill now requires the voter to cross or erase from the ballot the names of all candidates except those for whom he wishes his vote to be counted.

The only other important amendment made to the bill before it passed the Senate was one permitting the use of unofficial ballots when a candidate shall have died before election day; but such unofficial ballot is to contain only the name of the person voted for in place of the deceased candidate. The original draft permitted the use of unofficial ballots at a polling-place, if from any cause the official ballots were not ready for distribution or in case the supply should be exhausted before the closing of the polls. It was urged very strenuously by some persons that the use of unofficial ballots ought also to be allowed whenever a candidate should die or decline the nomination after his name had been printed upon the official ballot. The friends of the bill were willing to concede that some such provision should be made in the event of the death of a candidate; but that is as far as they would go in that direction. They accordingly prepared and offered the amendment above mentioned, which has been incorporated in the bill.

During the debate in the Assembly the enemies of the measure tried to make capital of the fact that the Judiciary Committee had amended it in several particulars. Those amendments, with one exception, were not at all material; and, furthermore, they were accepted by the promoters of the bill. The objectionable amendment was eliminated when the bill was on its final passage. I will merely mention two or three of the more important ones that were allowed to remain.

Section 5 provides that fifty voters may nominate by certificate any candidate for an office to be filled by the electors of a county, district, city, or other division less than the entire State. It was thought best, for obvious reasons, to increase this number in the cases of nominations to be made in the city and county of New York, the county of Kings, and the city of Brooklyn. Consequently the following amendment was adopted: "When the nomination is for an office to be filled by the voters of the city and county of New York, or of the county of Kings, or of the city of Brooklyn, the number of signatures so required shall not be less than three

hundred, and when the nomination is for an office to be filled wholly or in part by the voters of only a portion of the said city and county of New York or of the said city of Brooklyn, less than the whole, such number shall not be less than one hundred." Another of these amendments provides that in the city and county of New York municipal ballots shall contain the names of all candidates other than candidates for the offices of member of Congress, State Senator, and member of Assembly; while still another requires that sample ballots shall be printed and in possession of the county clerk seven days before the day of election, subject to public inspection, in order that mistakes, if any there are, may be discovered and corrected.

Those who are in any degree familiar with the bill will understand from what I have written just what its provisions now are. Whoever examines it critically and impartially must pronounce it to be a very complete and practical measure. I believe the great body of our people are anxious that it should be placed upon the statute-books. They earnestly hope that when it reaches the executive chamber it will not meet the same cruel fate which there befell its unfortunate predecessors.

CHARLES T. SAXTON.

IV.

WHAT AMERICANS READ.

IN A popular novel of the day, a visiting Englishman asks his American hostess, "Do Americans read?" The reply is: "They know how to read, but I never could see that the educated classes read."

It has been said that the trend of a man's thought can be learned by noticing what he reads, and again, that the index to one's real nature is found in the occupations which engage his leisure hours.

What does the average American read, morning and evening, on the train or ferry, by the fireside, at the breakfast- or dinner-table, in the office and counting-room, at the street corners and in public houses? What but daily papers, from Christmas to Easter, and from Easter to Christmas again? Every spare moment is filled with the perusal of papers of some kind. The breakfast-table becomes a silent hour for the family, so that the father may read the news of a great world, and an evening paper claims the later hours of the day. Opportunities for social intercourse, for the cultivation of home friendships, for the exercise of helpful, neighborly influences are all sacrificed at the feet of this huge, inexorable Juggernaut of Newspaper-Reading.

That a man of intelligence and enterprise should acquaint himself with leading current events in his own and foreign countries cannot be denied. It is equally necessary that he should be fully abreast of his own business interests. In a certain sense, a man cannot live successfully in the world and not be of it. If he would hold a place among men of affairs, he must be an integral part of their life, and to this end must be acquainted with the thoughts and events that are occupying the attention of other men. He must also be well informed in his own line of business and in all others which impinge upon it.

Neither is the usefulness of an excellent daily paper, one of the ably-edited publications which are found in our large cities, and of which we have a right to be proud, denied. On the contrary, its office is held in the highest esteem, and the public indebtedness to this faithful public servant can be best reckoned when we compare the present with ante-newspaper days. When used with judgment, its educational power is tremendous. But the grandest agencies may become perverted by abuse. One may well doubt whether the innumerable quick, alert, logical, practical men who devote one or two hours each day to the issues of the daily press are sufficiently compensated for the time so spent. The constant pouring into one's mental hopper of all the good, indifferent, and bad matter which is daily published in newspaper form weakens the mental powers, results in confusion of thought and weakness of memory, and induces a state of mental debility wherein a man loses the power to comprehend and the taste for the more substantial and enduring forms of literature.

Scores of items in the best papers, even, can be omitted from the daily reading without loss. Records of the court-room, startling accidents, gratuitous advertise-

ments of actors and actresses, petty gossip about prominent men and women obtained by interviewing their servants, stories of crime, disease, and death, benefit no one, and, did not the abnormal taste of their readers demand them, would not be published by the best papers.

A single daily, read in the morning or evening, according to one's desire, is sufficient for the mass of readers. That fire in Kansas, which the hoarse-voiced "extra" boys are crying through the streets, will be published with full details in the regular morning or evening paper. Save the time for some more inspiring occupation than the record of horrors of which one could easily afford to be ignorant. If a man steps aside from the ordinary course of his daily life, be the compelling cause a trip to Europe or a run of fever, and is thus forced to forego his usual newspaper reading, it is astonishing how little of real value has been lost. Men have taken each others' lives, been arrested, tried, and convicted; houses have been set on fire; numberless couples have been through the divorce courts; theatres have changed hands; ships have come and gone in the great harbor; stocks have risen and fallen; an epidemic has had its course in the South Sea islands; the King of Spain has been ill and recovered. None of these matters, the reading of which would have consumed hours of valuable time, has affected the human race in general to any noticeable extent.

That prolific and prosperous new-comer, the Sunday newspaper, displaces, to a greater degree than any other paper, by virtue of its size and time of sale, a far better element of mental training or culture than itself. It has a marked influence in detaining at home the weak-willed and intermittent church-goer; and—setting aside all the claims which religion and morality have to the consideration of every honest citizen, and considering only the mental and physical results—it can be said without fear of contradiction that an hour spent in the spiritual atmosphere of a church, listening to the expression of high and uplifting thoughts, affords surer means of inspiration to the better part of a man's nature than the same time devoted to careless, idle, aimless, and omnivorous reading of the interminable products of the Sunday newspaper.

One of the most mischievous results of the habit of immoderate newspaper-reading is the distaste thus acquired for connected, logical argument, and, in general, for solid literature in any department. The reader becomes accustomed to snatching a paragraph here and there, giving a thought to politics, another to business, a third to the newest sensation in the social world; and so strong does the habit of superficial thought become that he no longer has strength to command his mental powers or the desire to read connectedly on any theme. Like the daughters of the horse-leech, his cry is "Give, give." Continual reading of periodical literature is like constant tasting of different sorts of food. The body is not nourished or strengthened, the digestive powers are weakened, and the appetite becomes capricious and unhealthy.

The consideration of what Americans read is, perhaps, of less importance than another—what Americans do not read. A few weeks ago there was riding in a city street-car an elderly gentleman of unusually fine appearance, the expression of whose face indicated a serene mind and noble living and thinking. A passenger's address revealed the fact that he was a physician, and, by his general appearance, he was a busy and prosperous one. He was evidently going from New York to one of the suburbs to attend a social gathering. No sooner was he seated in the car than he produced a small, vest-pocket edition of the "Essays of Elia," and that the genial meditations of that gentle philosopher were profoundly enjoyed was very evident from the benevolent expression which diffused itself over his face. Newsboys' cries of *Journal*, *Sun*, *Herald*, *Times*, and *Tribune* fell unheeded on his ear. The charm of that small volume held him closely throughout the hour's journey, freed him from any cares and anxieties that might belong to his professional life, and wrought an effect that no recital of general news could have brought about.

Many a busy man says: "I have not read a book through in five years. I have no time to read books." The probabilities are that neither has he read carefully a half-dozen important articles in one of our more solid magazines. Lack of time is

the ready excuse; but lack of inclination, resulting from careless reading habits, is very frequently the basis of the complaint. The large majority of American readers leave untouched the important volumes relating to the condition and government of our country; the critical views of thinking men on the exigencies of the Republic and the dangers that threaten the State. They thus reserve, until a period closely approaching a national crisis, that candid consideration of the great questions at issue which cannot be successfully entered into during the heat of a political contest. Unnoticed also are the excellent biographies which are so abundant. Attractive histories, powerful fiction, studies in political economy, the latest discoveries of the scientist, the development of art, and the upheaval and consequent progress in the religious world—all these are sealed treasures to the newspaper devotee.

Closed to him, moreover, are the riches of antiquity, the elegant pages of Virgil and Sophocles, the inspiring, rugged freshness of Æschylus and Homer, the simplicity of Chaucer, the thoughtful imagery of Milton. He eagerly drinks the lees, while the rich, sparkling wine is passed untasted.

The question becomes increasingly important with extended consideration. The citizens of the coming century are now being educated. The natural path of the son lies very close to that of his father. The exaggerated importance which so many attach to newspapers of the day will either decline or increase in the next generation. It has grown astonishingly within the past ten years; it is constantly increasing. Newspaper literature rarely stimulates thought and develops character. If the coming citizen is to be a well-balanced, thoughtful, strong man, his daily mental diet must consist of more substantial material than the ephemeral writings of the day.

Suppose that one-half of all the newsboys of New York were to be fitted out with clearly-printed vest-pocket editions of standard authors, which are now to be had at fabulously low prices, and to offer these for sale to the throng of weary workers on their way home from business. Perhaps a page of rich humor from Dickens, a stirring old border ballad from Scott, an inspiring page from the life of some self-made man, or a suggestive thought from one of Emerson's essays might be as interesting to the mind just released from the confinement in office or factory as the ordinary *pot-pourri* of the day's doings, and it would certainly be more elevating. Possibly the man who starts out for the day tired and dispirited with the hard struggle for existence would be as sensibly helped and fitted for his duties, if, having read the current news the evening before, he regaled himself with some of the choice thoughts of the great men of the world before the plunge into business life.

HELEN MARSHALL NORTH.

V.

WHY "MEMBER OF CONGRESS"?

WHY should a member of the House of Representatives be spoken of as a "Member of Congress"? It is a common custom; but is it certain that it is a good custom? Nothing can be plainer than that a member of the Senate is as much a member of Congress as a member of the lower house; yet a Senator is never so designated, and the absurdity of such a designation is patent. But is it not equally absurd to designate a Representative in this way?

The Constitution of the United States says that "the House of Representatives shall be composed of *members* chosen every second year," that "no person shall be a *Representative* who shall not have attained," etc., that "*Representatives* and direct taxes shall be apportioned," etc., that the "times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and *Representatives* shall be prescribed," etc., etc. It also says that "the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two *Senators* from each State," etc. There is nothing about "Members of Congress" in this venerable instrument except the statement quoted that "the House of Representatives shall be composed of members"; but the word "members" is here used in its ordinary acceptation, and surely no one can quote this expression as a justification of the common phrase, even though in the corresponding article relating to the Senate the word "Senators" (not "members") is employed.

Very possibly the origin of the indefensible phrase may be traced to the partially parallel usage in Great Britain, where members of the House of Commons are universally known as Members of Parliament. In strictness of language, members of the House of Lords are quite as much members of Parliament as those who sit in the Commons; indeed, they are more so, since they derive their right to sit there, not from the accident of an election, but from the circumstance of birth. But in England precedents are the only constitution, and custom is law. That does not make every custom good, especially when it is transported to another country. In connection with this very matter mark how the contraction "M. P." (Member of Parliament) has taken on the character of a substantive; so that it is the commonest thing in the world to say that a man is "an M. P.," or to speak of a group of members of the House of Commons as "those M. P's." There is one thing at least to be thankful for in this country—that is, that we have never acquired the habit of terming a Representative in Congress "an M. C." (though we do sometimes—not very often, fortunately—use the contraction), or of classing a number of them as "those M. C's."

"Congressman" or "Member of Congress" is the common method in the United States of designating an official who is really and constitutionally a Representative. "Congressman" is a bastard word, which, in spite of the fact that it has acquired a place in the dictionaries, has no more right in the language than such a coinage as "Parliamentman." It is wholly without justification or defence, and should be rigidly eschewed by all who are blessed with a feeling of respect for their mother-tongue. "Member of Congress" is hardly more defensible. Let us go back to the good old usage of the fathers, and call the men who sit in the more numerous branch of the Congress of the United States precisely what they are in both law and fact—simply Representatives.

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REFORMS NEEDED IN THE HOUSE.

BY THE HON. THOMAS B. REED, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

IF THE recent changes in the rules and practice of the House of Representatives were matters of mere party triumph or party policy, there would be little occasion ever again to mention the subject; for the acquiescence which has followed the full expression of public opinion would last through this Congress without other sanction. But the changes have been so beneficial that they ought not to be subject to any suspicion of being open to the charges of partisanship, of unfairness, or of destroying the liberty of the individual member. What has been done ought to be preserved intact, because very much more needs to be done before the House becomes a deliberative body capable of satisfactorily doing the business of a great nation, which becomes every day visibly greater.

Whenever any reform is proposed, it has to encounter, first of all, the great controlling force of conservatism. We boast our intellectual power, our inventive faculty, our growth in civilization and knowledge, and our comprehension of human affairs, and yet we are almost as unwilling to step out of the beaten track as the other animals—those which are thought to have no souls. We like to do what we have already done; for we then know all the risks and all the dangers. To do what we have done is also much easier. It takes but little intellect to put your foot in a track already made. Yet this same conservatism is the great safeguard of us all. It keeps us out of many scrapes and much

folly. Nevertheless, the fact that use and wont and our devotion to habits once acquired are so great and needed a preserver, shows most painfully the limitations of the human intellect.

One of the great adjuncts of conservatism—the greatest, perhaps, except inertia—is imagination. A proposed change has to encounter not merely the evils which really and necessarily attend all imperfect human endeavor, but all those which the human imagination can conjure up. Not all that will happen, but all that may happen, has to be passed in review. The objections to a bill which is proposed are all that the human mind can think of, good or bad, while the objections to a bill passed are only those which exist.

If Mr. Carlisle's article in the March REVIEW, able and judicious as it is, should be examined in the light of subsequent events, should be tested by the experience of three months of actual working of the rules he deprecates, it would be found that his objections, all and singular, are to those evils which might have happened, but never have.

There is no quarrel to be had with his description of the small power actually exercised by the Speaker of the British House of Commons ; but there always was in the Speaker's office the power to stop abuses, even of the natural parliamentary privileges of members. When, in 1881, the members of the Home-Rule party for forty-one hours had exercised their undoubted parliamentary privileges of addressing the House and making motions, and had for forty-one hours stopped the business of the country, the Speaker refused longer to entertain motions unquestionably parliamentary, refused even the right of debate, and summarily broke up the obstruction. He did it without the action of the House, with no precedent in his favor, and nothing to sustain him but the common-sense of the English people. Mr. Carlisle did not state that incident, probably because his attention had not been called to it ; but had it been in his mind, he would himself have felt that, if he cited it, he would be citing a parallel which reflected severely on friends. If a British presiding officer, having so little power as he describes, could of his own motion clear off an obstruction which consisted in the repetition of proper parliamentary motions and in demands for the sacred privilege of debate, why could not an American presiding officer without reproach do the same ? and why could not the House, also

without reproach, crystallize its approval of such action into rules ?

In fact, the Speaker of the House of Commons had, up to the incident referred to, exercised little repressive power because little was needed. In that body, in times gone by, men acted with the utmost deference to the wishes of the House. Members even refrained from making speeches when they saw that the House did not want to hear them. Motions were withdrawn if the sense of the House seemed manifestly against them. With such a deference on the part of each member to the wishes of all, there was little call for repression. To a body whose members behaved in that way to each other it was a great shock to be obliged to abridge the right of debate and use the clôture. The Americans had had the clôture in the shape of the previous question from time immemorial, and it seemed to us almost absurd to have so much pother about stopping discussion. For years in American assemblies, when the body harangued had had enough of haranguing they put an end to it, and nobody had any feeling except a sense of relief. How did this happen? How came it that the oldest parliamentary body in the world was the last to enforce the doctrine by its rules that even a deliberative body has to act, as well as deliberate ? It was because obstruction, wanton and unjustifiable, appeared there last. Nobody with sense exhibits a remedy unless there is a disease. The disease came quickest in America, for liberty, with all its delights, has its compensatory disadvantages. Wherever one man is as good as another, he is quite likely to think he is better. Equality not quite digested is apt to give the sensation of superiority, and that leads to wilfulness and the attempt to substitute minorities for majorities. We Americans early realized this, and, by the aid of the previous question, soon made the individual member understand that, while he was equal to any other, he was not equal to all others.

To commend to us the mild and ineffectual fashions of England, and try to transplant the ways of the House of Commons to the House of Representatives, is to forget that manners change with change of skies.

Mr. Carlisle's chief complaint against the new rules is that for the purpose of preventing obstruction they sacrifice the rights and privileges of individual members. Heretofore the individual

member, of his own sweet will, has had the right to move to adjourn, to move to fix a day to adjourn to, to move for a recess, and to make any other motion he saw fit. He could do it even to the extent of stopping public business, and if seconded by one-fifth, or 20 per cent., of the members present, he could set in motion the roll-call, and he and his friends needed to rise in their places but twice in an hour, and the business of 60,000,000 people would be deadlocked, and four-fifths, or 80 per cent., of the members must look on idle, and useless, and paralyzed. Or if, on bill day, he wanted to wear out the day, he could put in the Revised Statutes for reënactment and have them read, and nobody could say him nay. It was the right of the individual member, sacred and holy—a fetich. That this right trampled on the rights of all the other members, individually and collectively, and made dictators out of men whose only superiority consisted in what we will call courage, seems not to move Mr. Carlisle in the least.

One would think that so clear-headed and capable a man would see that taking this tyrannical power from the member can only be done by lodging a power superior in degree and higher in quality with some one else. Whom can that power be lodged with, except one whom he himself, both by quotation and by his own opinion, shows to be the "servant" of the House? Is a man any the less a "servant" because he has tools given him? Is the servant any the less a servant because his master replaces his scythe by a mowing-machine? Whatever power is given to a Speaker of the House is given to him as the servant of the House, to be exercised by him in its interest. And the House has always power to replace him. If he should so misuse his functions that the rights of others were trampled on, another Speaker could be at once chosen to take his place.

The new rule that "no dilatory motion shall be entertained by the Speaker" is no more a new creation of parliamentary law than half the other rules are. Like them, it is but a declaration of power already existing; in this case, of the power which has always resided in the presiding officer as servant of the House. Motions made to block business are only a species of disorder more difficult to deal with, perhaps, because they have the semblance of honest performance, but they are like disorder in quality and substance. The right to walk in the street is guaranteed to

everybody. That is what streets are for. Liberty of speech is a birth-right. Yet, if a party of swashbucklers should lock arms, and with loud and boisterous talk, or even in perfect silence, should sweep all other passengers off the sidewalk, how long would liberty of speech and the right of every citizen to walk the streets protect the band from the police? It is very bad logic which leads men to infer that, because a proceeding is generally virtuous, it can therefore never be vicious.

Credit must, however, be given Mr. Carlisle for his admission that it was "true to a certain extent" that motions had been misused to obstruct, and that, if a proper remedy had been proposed, his friends would have voted for it. By proper remedy he meant "a remedy consistent with the Constitution and the freedom of parliamentary proceedings." Of course he could have told us what that remedy was, and I am sure the country will join the majority of the House in an expression of profound regret that that remedy was not proposed. My own personal regret, however, is much mitigated by the fact that in real life these perfect remedies which avoid all objections and satisfy all objectors never do get proposed. They always remain in that delightful state of vagueness characteristic of such adjectives as "proper," "suitable," and the like.

This idea is somewhat confirmed by the lament which is made over the vote of the House that no appeal need be allowed from the decision of the Speaker that a motion is dilatory. At first blush, especially to a man of no experience in parliamentary affairs, this seems like a hard thing to sustain. A member presumably as free from guile as Nathanael rises and moves to adjourn. The presiding officer refuses to entertain his motion; absolutely will not let him see if the House wants to go home. Thereupon the member says he appeals, and the chair refuses his appeal. The House, longing to abandon public business, looks on helpless and powerless. This certainly seems a hard case. It looks, indeed, like arbitrary power. But, as Mr. Carlisle very truly remarks, "arbitrary power can exist nowhere in a free government." The picture is simply a fancy picture such as dreams are made of.

In real, every-day life, the dilatory motion to adjourn becomes as easily distinguishable from the real motion to adjourn as the sun from a farthing candle. The real danger always will be that the presiding officer, for the very purpose of avoiding even the

semblance of arbitrary power, will delay and let time be wasted long after everybody else sees the dilatory purpose. Whatever is written about dilatory motions must be read in the light of one important fact too often overlooked and too little known. The Constitution puts it in the power of one-fifth to order a vote by yeas and nays. The vote by yeas and nays, intended by the framers of the Constitution simply to show constituencies how their representatives voted, has been prostituted to the use of the filibusters. With three hundred and thirty members in a place so large that it is itself an imperative invitation to confusion, it takes, one time with another, a full half-hour to ascertain the vote. Eight roll-calls will utterly ruin a day. Hence any plan which makes roll-calls inevitable is a sure plan for obstruction.

If the reader will bear this in mind, he will be in a condition to thoroughly appreciate Mr. Carlisle's sorrow over the refusal of the House to secure a right of appeal against the decision of the Speaker that a motion was dilatory. Bear in mind that any motion whatever may be made dilatory and used for obstruction. With a following of 20 per cent.—and such a following can always be had on a party question—all that a man would have to do, if such an appeal were allowed, would be to make a motion, no matter how plainly obstructive, take his appeal, set the roll-call going, and let it go thirty minutes, to be followed by other motions, other appeals, and all the other half-hours necessary to defeat and tire out the majority. Nor need the obstructive member stultify himself by voting to sustain his own appeal. With such a right it would be easy to guarantee that no majority which did not exceed four-fifths could or would be of the slightest use.

Perhaps this contention shows what Mr. Carlisle's idea of a proper measure to suppress obstruction would be—the "remedy consistent with the Constitution and the freedom of parliamentary proceedings"; which is to say, a remedy the disease would be pleased with—a measure to suppress filibustering which would be satisfactory to the filibusters.

One other complaint made by Mr. Carlisle deserves notice, not in the House of Representatives, but in the outside world. He claims that the right of the individual member, and even of the House, has been trampled upon by having bills filed, instead of presented in the open House, and reports referred by the clerk, instead of by the assembly itself. He omits to say that private

bills, petitions, and river-and-harbor bills had long been so referred, to the great saving of the time of the House and to the great satisfaction of members. He omits to say that, so far as reference of bills was concerned, the new rules were but the extension of a practice already tried and found entirely consistent both with the rights of individual members and with the business of the country.

Before the new rules were adopted, the presentation of bills was, in actual practice, one of the very worst specimens of our legislative work. Amid a confusion which could not be controlled—for nobody cared anything about other people's bills—the title was read by the clerk, the Speaker caught what he could of it, while members claimed his attention on both sides of the chair, and with the aid of the clerks disposed of it as well as he could. Naturally there were many misreferences, though they were seldom heard of because there was no chance of correction. At present the bills are handed in, not on the streets and after hours, as Mr. Carlisle has been misinformed, but during the session, and then are referred with deliberation and accuracy. Of course there are still errors, because the titles of the bills may mislead, and the jurisdiction of committees is not always clear; but all important errors are corrected, because the committee that ought to have a bill can demand it, and one that ought not to have it can send it, if the House approves, where it belongs.

So also with reference to the calendars of reports of committees. There are only three calendars—one for public bills carrying property or money, one for public bills which do not carry money or property, and one for private bills. Under the new rules the bills are all handed to the clerk and by him placed on appropriate calendars. Formerly a half-hour or an hour a day was taken out of the public time and out of the public business to do this simple clerical work in the presence and hearing of members. The only mistake which can be made is as to bills carrying money, and if they get on the wrong calendar, any member by a point of order can put them where they belong.

This system has been in operation for over two months, and has saved from three to five hours a week, and four hours are very near a working day. It is not worth while to comment on this. A simple description of what the system is and what it does is ample defence. The House will never go back to the tiresome old

method which was a waste of time, a weariness to members, and a source of confusion and disorder.

While the reforms made by the Fifty-first Congress are valuable almost beyond estimate for the direct good they do, they are no less valuable as a promise of future good. They have broken up in considerable measure the old system, and have relieved men's minds of certain fears which possessed them. Many men who were among the prognosticators of evil, when the new rules were passed, were entirely sincere in the belief that, if the House obtained the right to do what it pleased, extravagance and unreason would run riot. Accustomed to get behind the rules as the sole protection, they forgot that the best protection of a country is liberty and government of the majority. They can now see that facility of action has but increased the sense of responsibility, and that, instead of the rules, the real protectors of the Treasury are the good sense and honesty of the members of the House.

While the new rules have done much to facilitate business, and, so far as they go, are a great improvement on the old methods, there are many things which they have not reached. The House calendar is well served. On this calendar are all bills which do not carry appropriations and do not involve any expenditures on the part of the government. A large class of bills are included in this category ; such as bills which enable our great navigable rivers to be bridged, which regulate the divisions of States into judicial districts, which enable railroads to cross military reservations and the regions devoted to the Indians, and which regulate the course of judicial proceedings. All these things are considered and passed in the morning hour, which, being an hour in name only, can be so expanded that the House can finish any business which it may desire to finish.

All private bills go to the private calendar, and the claims of individuals have now no chance except what they receive during the Fridays which the press of public business permits to be used for their consideration. There is in the House no calendar which seems so hopeless and so unattackable. During thirteen years I have seen many bright and sanguine men propose remedies and offer panaceas, but they have all failed to meet the disease. The trouble lies just here. As a body, these claims can be referred to no court, for they are not legal claims, but rest almost entirely

on the sense of equity of Congress. If a man makes a contract with another and it proves a hard one, the law can only turn him over to the tender mercies of his adversary. If a man makes a hard contract with the government, nobody but Congress can be merciful and compassionate; and when the discussion opens and eloquence begins, it is astonishing to see how hard it will be to predict whether the quality of mercy will be closely strained or whether it will drop like the gentle rain. Three hundred and thirty men, each liable to have acquired renown as an orator in his own country, are not, in Committee of the Whole House, facile or speedy disposers of questions resting upon the broad principles of equity. Perhaps the best practical remedy would be to spend Fridays considering such bills in the House, where there might be full power of debate, but less invitation to oratory.

It would undoubtedly be very unjust to forbid Congress to consider such claims at all, but a constitutional provision forbidding the consideration of any which had been outstanding more than ten years would not only clear off stale claims, but would remove the temptation to waste lives and hopes in chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of congressional justice. Energies which could have made new fortunes have too often been spent in vain pursuit of decisions of Congress which can never be obtained.

The calendar of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union holds in its close embrace all bills which carry money or appropriate the property of the United States. To it go all revenue and all appropriation bills. That committee is substantially the same body as the House, though presided over by a chairman appointed by the Speaker. There is no previous question, though there is power to limit debate. After general debate on the whole bill, there is a five-minute debate on the sections, which practically gives unlimited power of making five-minute speeches. By this system there is much debate, and a great deal of it runs to waste. The same arguments are iterated and reiterated, and the bill stands still. Obstruction is made very easy; and hence in the present House bills which a large majority desired have had to be rescued repeatedly from the Committee of the Whole House in order to pass at all.

This rescue is achieved by the action of the House, founded on the recommendation of the Committee on Rules, which has charge of the order of business. By a resolution the

House takes a bill out of committee and considers it in the House itself, with limitations as to debate and as to time of action. This can be done with bills of large importance when the whole House appreciates the need of action, and when, perhaps, experience has shown the impossibility of dealing with them in committee.

But this system is not applicable to small bills affecting only local interests; and hence some plan ought to be devised either to transfer such bills to the House calendar, and let them be dealt with in the morning hour, or to refuse to require bills with only one item of appropriation to go to the union calendar at all.

While the present House, by its good sense and courage, has cleared off many elements of obstruction, it has not prevented men from wasting time and delaying business. It has, however, prevented its waste by wholesale. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the Constitution itself gives to one-fifth of the members a right that to-day is the greatest cause of delay and waste of time which still remains in the House of Representatives. Under the Constitution the House is obliged, at the request of one-fifth of the members, to record the vote of each Representative. Whenever one-fifth demand it, the yeas and nays must be called. As has been already stated, each one of these calls means a half-hour, and when the State of Wyoming Bill was passed the other day in the House, the better part of the day was consumed in roll-calls; and I venture the prediction that history will never know anything more about it than that the Republicans were for the bill and the Democrats were against it. To make the calculation after the fashion of a railroad report, there were three hours lost for each of three hundred and thirty men, making a dead loss of 990 hours in roll-calls on one bill.

Whether some mechanical contrivance can diminish this waste of time and commend itself alike to the Constitution and the House will soon have to he considered; as also the question whether the present immense hall shall be reduced in its dimensions to the convenience of the human voice. With the large number sure to come with each new decade and each new census, the inconvenience of demanding a majority for a quorum will more and more press itself upon the consideration of the people, and the arguments for a smaller quorum, which were not prevalent when the Constitution was formed, may acquire new force under new circumstances and new necessities.

THOMAS B. REED.

THE HATRED OF ENGLAND.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, LL.D.

THERE is little use in deprecating dislike, especially when you have the ill-luck to be identified with the objects of it. You will probably get at most a hollow disclaimer, and you will run some risk of adding to dislike contempt. Appeals to cousinhood are equally futile, because cousins, and people nearer of kin than cousins, often hate each other very dearly. I know well that there is a bad side to British character, and that there is a dark side to British history, as there must be to every history of adventure and achievement. On that point one can only say that it is one of the strangest phenomena in ethnology if, in a single century, the two branches of the same race have become radically different in character from each other, and the strangest fact in history if, when a race was suddenly cut in two, all the good went to one side and all the evil to the other.

When, however, an antipathy springs from supposed wrongs, it may not be altogether futile to look into its sources. There are practical reasons for allaying Anglophobia, if it can be done. We are always told that a war between the kindred nations is inconceivable. We may hope that it is very unlikely; but there has not only been a good deal of hatred, there has been a good deal of fighting, between kinsmen since Cain and Abel. A leading American journal said the other day that the American people could not help rejoicing in any reverse that might befall England. It may well be so, considering what the journals, which are the only teachers of the masses, every morning and evening tell them; and when you are in a mood to rejoice in a man's misfortunes, you are not very far from being ready to do that which, if he has any pugnacity, will lead to trouble. A war between England and France, which is the subject of constant speculation, would furnish plenty of opportunities for embroilment. Is

there any limit to the affronts which American legislatures and Presidents may offer to Great Britain when they are in urgent need of the Irish vote? Is there no limit to the quiet sufferance of those affronts by a proud and powerful nation? However, apart from the danger of war, on which it is odious to dwell. Anglophobia does mischief in more ways than one. It drives British emigration from American shores to Australia at a time when the self-governing element in this country is in danger of being swamped by alien elements, and stands in need of reën-forcement. It long prevented the British domiciled here from being naturalized, and still estranges their hearts from their adopted country. It stands seriously in the way of any attempt to effect a reunion of the English-speaking race upon this continent. British Canadians love a mother-country which has never wilfully given them cause for complaint, and they take hostility to her as hostility to them.

It is only with genuine Anglophobia that we deal. There are two spurious varieties, about which nothing can or need be said. One is the Anglophobia put on to win the Irish vote. The governments of Russia, Germany, Austria, Spain, France, of all the European countries, in short, in which there are disunionist, rebellious, or ultra-revolutionary forces at work, have in their turn to resort to measures of repression; but it is only in the case of Ireland that the hearts of American politicians are wrung with generous pity for the oppressed, and that they find themselves morally constrained to break through international rules and pass resolutions of sympathy with disaffection and secession. Those against whom the resolutions are directed cannot help seeing this fact. I think we remember that an American politician of mark once explained his vote to the British ambassador, and I have myself heard a politician say that he knew it was wrong to interfere with the domestic affairs of another country, but that when a man had thousands of Irishmen in his constituency he could not help himself. All tyrannies are bad, but of the two would you not prefer a tyranny which forces you to pay a small tea-tax to a tyranny which forces you to do wrong? Surely this subjection of American politics, of the American press, and sometimes even of American taste, to the Irish vote, will some day cut a strange figure in history.

The other kind of factitious Anglophobia is that which is got

up by the Protectionists. Protectionists and their organs always appeal to the patriotism of the people against the admission of British goods. Whether protectionism is the parent of prosperity we do not inquire here. It is certainly not the parent of international amity. It will always be the policy of Protectionists to obtain the support of patriotism by keeping up ill-will against the country whose competition they fear. A great prophet of protectionism in this country whom I used to meet was the bitterest of Anglophobes.

But it is too certain that there is a genuine, as well as a factitious, Anglophobia; and this has its source, to some extent, in traditional versions of historical grievances, with which, if people have any regard for historical justice, it may be possible and not altogether bootless to deal. I had, not long ago, a letter from an American asking me whether it was true, as a history book used in his section of country said, that the British government had counterfeited the greenbacks for the purpose of ruining the credit of the United States. A thorn of this kind may be plucked out. Nor would it seem hopeless to relieve any candid mind of the belief, which I find still prevalent, that the "Alabama" was armed in a British port with the connivance of the British government and manned by the seamen of the Royal Naval Reserve.

It appears ridiculous to suppose that any sane American can now hate the English people or wish them evil on account of anything done by the British monarchy and aristocracy in the last century. You might just as well visit the sins of the Bourbons on the French Republic. And yet the unrevised version of these events enshrined in histories, and especially in the school histories,* does still exercise a malignant influence; for the historian seldom, if ever, points out that the England of these days is not the England of those days, and the child or the uneducated reader goes away with the impression that she is. Colonial dependence was a false relation from the beginning. It had its source in the superstition of personal and indefeasible allegiance which, handed down from the feudal times, possessed the minds of the colonists, as it did the mind of everybody in those days. The separation had to come, but most men whose judgment

* In the tone and sentiment of the school histories, or of such of them as have come into my hands, there has been, as I gratefully acknowledge, what to an Englishman seems a marked change for the better.

is not shaken by the throb of historic war-drums will probably say that it had better have come in a peaceful form. The advantages of Australian democracy, its comparative freedom from the dominion of Tom Paine, Elijah Pogram, Tammany, and people-worship, its comparative moderation and mildness, may certainly be ascribed in part to its not having been born of revolution. That the wrong was not all on one side, Americans who prefer history to rhetoric are beginning to admit. If there were perversity and obstinacy on one side, there was demagogism, eager to foment a quarrel and to bring about a revolution, on the other side. There were also special elements of disaffection, such as the Irish Presbyterians who had fled to America from the tyranny of the State Church of Ireland, and whose feud, it may be supposed, is now buried in the grave of the State Church itself. The action of the government, though neither wise nor just, was lawful: the colonists themselves had just acquiesced in the declaration appended to the repeal of the stamp-duty, and drawn probably by the hand of Burke, that Parliament had in all things supreme power over the colonies. A constitutional remedy was open, as it had been in the case of the stamp-tax, and one unclouded hour of Chatham would have redressed the grievance. Grenville himself, in spite of his pedantic obstinacy, had shown a strong desire to conciliate.

The cause of quarrel was not such as to justify civil war. No government, if it has any sense of dignity or of duty, will allow a constitutional question to be settled by mobs—even Boston mobs—or by insulting its officers, wrecking their houses, and flinging the goods of merchants trading under its flag into the sea. Governments in those days were not so enlightened as they are now: believing in protectionism, they shackled colonial trade, while they gave the colonies what they supposed to be counter-vailing privileges. But that the British government was not tyrannical, or for those times a bad government, that the colonists enjoyed under it the substantial benefits of freedom, is proved by the testimony of the Revolutionary leaders themselves, all of whom, including Samuel Adams and Washington, found it necessary, in order to carry the people with them, to protest that they did not mean separation. It is proved by the immense number of the colonists who, in spite of all the burdens of the government, continued to adhere to it and sacrifice everything to their

loyalty. It is proved by the half-heartedness and feebleness with which, as Washington's letters tell us, the war was carried on, and which strongly contrast with the desperate energy put forth by the Netherlanders in fighting against a real tyranny. These to the well-informed are commonplaces ; but the mass of the people are not well informed : they read the old story and imbibe the old hatred. When shall we have a thoroughly truthful and at the same time readable history of the American Revolution and the period which followed ? The materials for it are fast being provided in a number of biographies and monographs written since the spirit of history has been abroad, such as the admirable series of "American Statesmen," published by Messrs. Houghton. But the history is not yet written. Hildreth was an Abdiel of truthfulness : unluckily Abdiel is dull.

Then there is the supposed behavior of "England" after the war. I feel all along the absurdity of going so far back, but the angry stories about this period also are continually reappearing, and tell on sentiment. England was sore—at least the Tory portion of her was sore; and the North would have been sore, and probably gruff, if the South had succeeded in the Civil War. But George III. was perfectly courteous and generous, though nothing could make him adroit. Pitt and Shelburne were sincerely bent on healing the family quarrel and dividing the family inheritance in a friendly way. Hildreth, though he alone, records that the flags of the great British fleet of sixty sail of the line were half-masted at the death of Washington : one may be permitted to doubt whether, if the Confederates had won, greater honors would have been paid by the North to the memory of Davis or Lee. It is surely possible that victorious Republicans visiting England may not always have borne themselves meekly. Nor had they always a right to expect a cordial welcome. The biographer of Gouverneur Morris complains that Morris, though well received at first by Pitt, was afterwards treated with coldness, and exults in the republican snub which he gave the Duke who was Foreign Minister. But turn the page, and you find Gouverneur Morris trying at Paris to get up a European war against Great Britain, and conferring with Paul Jones about plans for cutting up English commerce in the Indian seas. Moreover, if the bitterness was prolonged, the fault lay partly in the Americans themselves, who, instead of closing the war with an amnesty, drove the van-

quished by thousands into exile, and sent them to tell the tale of their wrongs and stir generous hearts to pity and indignation wherever the English tongue was spoken.

Then we come to 1812. Once more I must say it seems preposterous to go back so far, as though any man of sense would allow himself now to be influenced by things which happened eighty years ago. But the wound still bleeds in the popular histories, which form the sentiments of the people. Industrial and pacific communities are of all communities the most easily touched by military glory, as the line of American Presidents and candidates for the Presidency shows; and, unluckily for England, it happens that she is the only foreign nation of any consequence with whom the American Republic has had a war. The fact is coming to light now, thanks to the candor of American writers, that the War of 1812 had other causes than the orders in council on the impressment of seamen; that Clay and Young America wanted a patriotic war; that they felt sure of taking Canada; and that they hoped to share the expected triumph of Napoleon over the nations of Europe then struggling against him for their independence. Nothing was said at Ghent about impressment. The orders in council were wrong, and were, in fact, withdrawn when it was too late. But it must be remembered that England was fighting almost singlehanded, not only for her own life, but for that of all the nations, and that her sole chance of victory lay in her power of distressing the enemy at sea. America came in to ruin that chance by her exercise of neutral privileges. Randolph, in his frank mood, said about the character of the traffic what will not be easily gainsaid. When I am struggling for my life with a desperado, if you come along the sidewalk in such a way as to cover him from my shot and I push you rudely aside, perhaps I am wrong,—you have a right to use the public sidewalk; but I am not an execrable villain. Americans surely must sometimes feel that, if the common tyrant had succeeded in crushing the liberties of Europe with their help, it would not have been altogether a bright episode in Republican history.

Lastly we come to 1861. I shared Federal feeling, perhaps even Federal passion, during the Civil War, as intensely as was possible for a foreigner. But we ought now to take a reasonable view of the matter. Parties were divided in England much as they were divided here. You had nursed a slave-owning aristo-

cracy, and with that aristocracy the aristocracy on the other side of the water sympathized, while the democracy there sympathized with the democracy here. So it will be as long as political parties and their passions exist. If there were partisans of the South in England, there were Copperheads here, and McClellan ran for President and polled a heavy vote on the platform that the war was a failure. You say we were bound, all of us, to sympathize with a struggle against slavery. But you had declared that it was not against slavery that the war was made. You had declared that the object was not to abolish slavery, but to restore the Union. Your actions corresponded with your words. Congress invited slavery back into the Union with increased guarantees; it showed itself ready, if the South would return, to fix slavery in the Constitution immutably and forever. William Lloyd Garrison saw how much allowance had, after this and other darkenings of the issue, to be made for British hesitation or error.

It is useless to talk of the secession as a rebellion, or to contend that foreign nations ought to have regarded it in that light. It does not belong to that class of events. The South was not an insurgent party, nor did it seek to overthrow or change the Federal government. Two groups of States, radically different in social structure and consequently in political requirements, had been long yoked together in ill-assorted and uneasy union. At last they fell apart. The seceding group became at once *de facto* a nation, with a distinct territory of its own, and a regular government, which through the whole of that territory was perfectly recognized and obeyed. In invading and reannexing the Southern Confederation, the North, though it might only be doing what power has always done, could have no title to general sympathy on any other ground than that it was executing the ban of humanity against slavery; and this title it had expressly disclaimed. William Lloyd Garrison had always been saying, "Part in peace." Might not Englishmen say the same thing without breach of principle or hostility to the American people? Is it absolutely self-evident even now that they were far wrong in what they said, so far as the interest of the free States was concerned? Is it yet proved beyond doubt that the reincorporation of the black States was a gain?

As to breaches of neutrality, I belonged to an association formed expressly to watch against them, and I assert with confi-

dence that the only one for which the British government was otherwise than technically responsible was the failure to detain the "Alabama," for which ample atonement has been made. Even the failure to detain the "Alabama" arose from the sickness of the law officer before whom the papers had been laid, and the vessel escaped without a clearance and unarmed; facts which it would be needless, as it is wearisome, to repeat if the false version of the affair were not still current. The French Emperor invited England to joint intervention. Had she accepted the offer, she might at once have weakened an enemy, made a lasting friend, and enjoyed a most historic revenge. But the offer was at once rejected. By the party journals in England which were on the side of the South most irritating and offensive language was used; but it was answered by the journals of the other party, as well as by the American press. At the time of the American Revolution an enthusiastic Republican proposed that you should give up speaking English and adopt Latin, as the language of Scævola and Brutus. I have sometimes wished that he could have had his way, because then wrangling would have been impossible.

It is not the object here to frame a comparative list of wrongs; otherwise something might be said about American sympathizers with Canadian rebellion and about Fenian raids.

The Fourth-of-July treatment of history is now visibly going out of fashion among the higher class of American writers, and all these things are beginning to be treated with critical veracity and justice. The spirit of science, in fact, is making itself felt in the historical field, and passion is descending from its usurped throne. But a generation at least will probably pass before the popular version will conform itself to the scientific version, and before Americans who read no annals but their own will cease, historically at least, to identify patriotism with hostility to Great Britain. I am not saying that in any of the cases that have been mentioned there was not wrong on the part of the British people, or a section of it; but I say that the wrong has in all cases been more or less overstated; that the provocations or extenuating circumstances have been left out of sight; and, above all, that it is unreasonable to allow your feeling towards the British people of to-day to be affected by the acts of their monarchical and aristocratic government a century ago.

A special source of the Anglophobia in American literature, I have learned to think, is literary rivalry. Probably this feeling has been intensified by the unfair competition to which American writers have been exposed through the absence of international copyright, and which has at the same time had the effect of keeping American literature in thraldom to that of England. I could mention American authors whose writings would be charming to me if the taste of Anglophobia were not always coming, like the taste of garlic in Italian cookery, to offend the palate of the English reader. I was reading, the other day, a work the writer of which had evidently taken his seat in the chair of Matthew Arnold as a calm and cosmopolitan critic. Perhaps he might have been worthy of that chair; but, unhappily, whenever the British character came before him, he bounced off the judgment-seat and became anything but cosmopolitan. In England we have had adverse criticisms of America such as that of Sir Lepel Griffin, which was too rampant to produce a serious effect. We have had caricatures like that by Dickens, who, however, caricatured his own countrymen too. But there is no pervading antipathy to America in British literature; no Americanophobia, if one may coin so uncouth a word. Nor in the English press is there anything corresponding to the anti-British tone—I use a very mild expression—of American journalism. Only in special Tory or Jingo journals do we find vestiges of national ill-feeling.

Then there is social friction. Here I touch a subject of which, as it concerns the social character and manners of Englishmen, an Englishman is a very bad judge. But I suspect something is due to the sensitiveness of Americans who, when they visit England, fancy that English society is prejudiced against them and secretly contemptuous. More than once I have seen bitter allusions to the supposed arrogance of Englishmen in telling an American, by way of compliment, that they should not know him from one of themselves. I am convinced that this, though it might as well have been left unsaid, may have been said from perfectly genuine and perfectly innocent surprise at finding that, where they had been taught to believe some great difference existed, there was really no difference at all. Some Americans seem to be haunted by the belief that Englishmen are always in their own minds disparaging America, and that beneath everything they say, especially in praise of their own country, an insinuation of

that kind lurks, when probably the Englishman is not thinking about America at all.

"Of all the sarse thet I can call to mind,
England *doos* make the most onpleasant kind:
It 's you 're the sinner ollers, she 's the saint;
Wut 's good 's all English, all thet is n't ain't;
Wut profits her is ollers right an' just,
An' ef you don't read Scriptur so, you must;
She 's praised herself ontil she fairly thinks
There ain't no light in Natur when she winks;
Hain't she the Ten Comman'ments in her pus?
Could the world stir 'thout she went, tu, ez nus?
She ain't like other mortals, thet 's a fact:
She never stopped the habus-corpus act;
. . . . . .
She don't put down rebellions, lets 'em breed,
An 's ollers willin' Ireland should secede;
She 's all thet 's honest, honnable, an' fair,
An' when the vartoos died they made her heir."

The writer of these lines, going afterwards to England, would not be prepared to put very kind constructions on anything that Englishmen said or did, and an increase of social friction might well be the result of his visit. However, he did go to England, and has not, it is believed, written anything in the same strain since.

In international courtesy Great Britain can hardly be said, in recent times, to have been wanting. It seems possible even that her civility may at times have appeared to Americans a little overstrained. It must be left to Americans to say whether there has been anything overstrained in the civility towards Great Britain of American legislatures and politicians, or even of American Presidents, when elections were likely to turn on the Irish vote. The American Constitution itself, by submitting treaties to discussion in the Senate after negotiation with the President, gives an opening for breaches of diplomatic courtesy which, when Great Britain is concerned, are seldom allowed to go unimproved. To have, after framing a treaty with the President, to wait in the anteroom of the Senate, and then to be publicly dismissed with contumely, can never be agreeable to a government accustomed to the diplomatic etiquette and amenities of the old world.

Jealousy waits upon success. But of the success of England a great part has been of such a kind that it ought to excite no sort of ill-feeling. You could not hate a nation for achievements in science or literature, for having produced the "Principia," the

"Origin of Species," or the theologians, philosophers, historians, poets, and novelists of England. It is strange to hear people reviling British character while in their book-cases and in the hands of their children are books which, by their influence on those whose intellectual food they form, must cast character in the British mould. Again, Great Britain, thanks largely, no doubt, to her happy insular position, has been the foster-mother of free institutions, both political and judicial. The constitution of every free nation in the world at the present day is clearly traceable to hers as its source, and most of them are direct imitations. I do not say that parliamentary monarchy, or parliamentary government at all, that of which the seat is Washington any more than that of which the seat is Westminster, is likely to be final; I cannot conceive any form of government being final which seems to involve the necessity of party and of pledges, or which bases itself on will, be the will that of a despot or that of the sovereign people. But, at all events, parliamentary government has supplied the universal need as a bridge between that which has been and that which is to be. Nor can we doubt that it embodies principles which hereafter, as advancing science casts out passion from the domain of politics and installs reason in its place, may take a more rational and enduring form. To success in such a field there is no dark shadow, any more than there is to success in the field of science itself.

To success in the field of war and conquest there is a very dark shadow. Not only is it natural that jealousy should wait upon aggrandizement; it is right, because otherwise aggrandizement would have no limit. But remember that in these subjects morality is new-born. Who applauded Chatham more loudly or followed him more ardently in the path of conquest than the people of those British colonies which are now the United States? If England has fought for aggrandizement, as beyond doubt she has, she has also fought for better things—for human liberty against Philip II., for the freedom and independence of the nations against the Bourbon despotism and the tyranny of Napoleon. The notion that she has now a settled policy of aggrandizement, and is always carrying it forward by a union of far-reaching fraud with force, though it constantly appears in the American press, is plainly baseless. A series of despots may, in their dark councils, hand on and continuously carry out a policy like that embodied

in the legendary will of Peter the Great. But how can this be done by a parliamentary government which is changed about every four years, being that of Beaconsfield one day and that of Gladstone and Bright the next, which can hardly exercise even the most necessary forecast, which has constantly to explain its diplomatic action before a public assembly, and is unable to make any preparations for war without going to the House of Commons for supplies and disclosing the grounds of the demand?

Great Britain has in her empire three hundred millions of people, with a standing army of 200,000 British and 130,000 Sepoys; so that she is really by far the least military of all the old-world powers. Read any one of the countless treatises on the defence of her empire, and you will see how far she is from being in a state to cherish projects of aggression. Her colonial dependencies are, in a military point of view, mere sources of weakness. She has a world-wide commerce: she has the carrying trade which American legislation, by discouraging the maritime pursuits in which Americans were once predominant, has thrown into her hands. For the protection of these she is obliged to keep up a large fleet and to occupy and guard coaling-stations, though, after all, experts are perpetually shrieking that the fleet is not nearly large enough for safety, and that the coaling-stations are unguarded. Depend upon it, the counsels of England, whatever they may have been in the days of Henry V. or of Chatham, are now, and must be, counsels of peace and moderation. No one doubts this who has seen anything of English statesmen. There is in Englishmen a spirit of adventure which has marked their whole history and which forms its romance. But this, instead of embodying itself in heroic corsairs, such as Drake, Raleigh, and Cavendish, or their later counterparts in land enterprise who won the Indian Empire, now takes the forms of Gordon, Rajah Brooke, and Livingstone, who have their American comrade in Stanley. The cession of the Ionian Islands by England to Greece is, I believe, an almost unique instance of a perfectly voluntary cession. Over the colonies England has resigned all real power: they are substantially so many independent nations. The only empire, properly so called, which she now has is India.

The Indian Empire is the regular theme of Anglophobists. They never mention it without giving utterance to burning words about the oppression of the Hindoo. For my part, not being a

Jingo, but enjoying the worst possible reputation in that quarter, I will freely confess that, notwithstanding all the grandeur and all the romance of the Indian Empire, which no British heart can help feeling, I believe England would have been better without India. I believe it would have been better for her if, as the wisest of her statesmen and diplomatists counselled her in the early days, she had abjured dominion and confined herself to securities for trade. It is very doubtful whether dominion has added to her wealth, for she draws no tribute, and against the salaries and pensions have to be set the armaments and wars. The Crimean War was really a war for India; so were the wars with China; so is the war in Egypt. Dominion has certainly not added to her strength, for it has destroyed her insular security, making her a continental power on the largest scale in a continent far remote from the centre of her force, with the most aggressive of military monarchies for her neighbors.

England's Indian Empire is not a proof of her special rapacity. It is a gigantic survival from a general era of conquest. France, Holland, or Portugal would have taken it and kept it if she could. France had all but got it into her hands when a young commercial clerk got off his stool and said to the British Governor, "Give me your last reserves and I will save your dominion." The boy had faults, vices; once at least ambition led him into a crime; and yet it is hard for the unregenerate Englishman, perhaps even for the unregenerate Anglo-Saxon, to read that marvellous story and not to feel some pride in belonging to the race of Robert Clive. The break-up, amidst blood, havoc, and confusion, of the Mogul Empire, made conquest from some quarter inevitable, and as a conqueror the Englishman was probably better than the Frenchman or the Dutchman, certainly better than the Portuguese, and very far better than the Afghan or the Mahratta. The first days, before the empire was organized, were bad, though not so bad as they have been painted by the reckless rhetoric of Macaulay, the critical examination of whose essay on Warren Hastings by Sir James Stephen, in his "Story of Nuncomar," it will do everybody good to read.

But now a string of impartial or even adverse witnesses, French, German, Austrian, and American, might be cited to prove that the British Empire in India is by far the greatest effort ever made to render conquest an instrument of civilization.

The country, with its two hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, is held by seventy thousand British soldiers, and, though there have been military mutinies, there has never been a political revolt. Such an empire cannot be merely an empire of force. Under the peace which British rule has imposed, where before raged constant and murderous war, the population has increased immensely, and the pressure of its numbers on the means of subsistence—not British extortion—is the main cause of the ryot's poverty. There has been a similar growth of population in China, followed by a similar pressure on the means of subsistence. There seems to be no doubt that British enterprise and the security afforded to property have vastly developed wealth. Agriculture has been encouraged by the government; railroads have been built; and by the increased facilities of transport local famines, which Anglophobists preposterously ascribe to the British government, have been abated. Evil and criminal customs, such as suttee, have been put down, and a good deal has been done for education. Haughty, cold, and exclusive, unhappily, the conquerors are: the social relation between them and the government is the weak point. Unluckily, the more amiable and sociable temper seldom goes with the power of command. After all, there is no exclusiveness of race like the exclusiveness of Hindoo caste, as any one will see who will read what the Sacred Books say about the relations between the Brahmin and the Sudra. There is no trampling on Indian nationality, for in that vast medley of races and religions, in which conquest has been superposed upon conquest, no such thing as nationality exists. The Hindoo press is free, and abuses the government without stint. Some time ago there appeared in this REVIEW a fierce arraignment of the rulers of India by a Hindoo writer. The answer was the article itself. What conqueror before the British conqueror of India could ever afford to allow the conquered freely to arraign his government? The writer himself and the class cultured like him are products of the empire, and would be crushed like egg-shells in the murderous chaos which would follow if the shelter of the empire were withdrawn. Nor does England selfishly keep Hindostan to herself; its ports are open to the trade of the whole world.

The occupation of Egypt, which forms the latest theme of Anglophobic denunciation, is a consequence of the possession of India. That it was a mistake John Bright had good grounds for

saying; but the object was not, as American journals always say, to collect interest for the bondholder, but to guard the Suez Canal. England did not want to go alone, but France at the last moment refused to go with her. I had a letter the other day from an American friend who was visiting Egypt for the second time. He is a trustworthy observer, and he spoke with rapture of the improvement which British administration had wrought.

One does not like to touch on the weary Irish question. But surely Americans will find difficulty in believing either that John Bright did not know oppression when he saw it, or that he wilfully upheld it. That Irish Catholics had terrible wrongs in former days nobody doubts: French Huguenots and Spanish heretics had more terrible wrongs than theirs at the same time. But what is their political grievance now? They have not named one except the union; and that the union is not a blighting curse seems to be proved by the prosperity of the Protestant North, which stands in exactly the same relation to Great Britain and is under the same laws and institutions as the rest of the island. Surely the Draft Riots, the Molly-Maguire outrages, Tammany, and the Clan-na-Gael must sometimes suggest to American Anglophobists that Irish character is, at all events, a factor in this unhappy problem. That character is just the same in Australia that it is in Ireland and in the United States. The overbreeding of a very amiable, but not very energetic or thrifty, race, on a soil which will not support them, is what no government can prevent; nor can any government, whether in French Canada or in Ireland, annul the effects of ecclesiastical domination on industrial progress. Yet Ireland was making headway under the union when this agitation broke out.

"Amongst the scenes that are now unhappily being enacted in Ireland by certain persons we may lose sight of the great and unquestionable progress of that country. It has achieved material progress in a degree most remarkable for a country with little variety of pursuit. I do not believe there is a laboring population in all Europe—although the condition of the Irish laborer leaves much to desire—which in the course of the last twenty years has made a progress equal to that of the laboring population in Ireland. Let me look at the farming class, which, as you know, may be said almost to constitute the body of the nation, understood as the term is understood in Ireland—let me look at the indication of their surplus wealth. Forty years ago the deposits in the Irish banks, which are the indication of the amount of their free savings, were about five millions. Some fifteen years later than that, I think they had risen to some eleven or twelve millions. There is now, of deposits in the Irish banks, which represent almost wholly the honest earnings and savings of Irish farmers, a sum of nearly thirty millions of money. Of course I don't mean to say that the whole of these are agricultural savings, but an enormous

proportion is of agricultural savings, and, at any rate, you cannot mistake the meaning and the force of the comparison between the thirty millions, in round numbers, of the present day and the five millions which were in the Irish banks forty years ago. If I am to speak of moral progress in Ireland, I say that it has been remarkable, and it is associated with legal progress in regard to every class of legal offences but one. There is still one painful and grievous exception—the exception of the agrarian offences."

Such were the words uttered by Mr. Gladstone nine years ago and cited the other day by Lord Hartington. That Mr. Gladstone, when he spoke thus as Prime Minister, had not considered the Irish question, and was merely repeating without reflection the "classical" version of it, is more than anybody can believe. Americans know what party is when out of power, and how it can not only assail the government, but traduce the country. To suppose that the people of Great Britain will allow the other island to be made the seat of a hostile power is preposterous, and those who abet disunion are only preparing for Ireland the miseries of reconquest. But I am straying beyond my subject and into the most hateful of discussions.

I have said that there is no pervading antipathy to America in British literature or in the British press. I may extend the remark and say that nowhere in Great Britain, except, perhaps, in the mansion of some ultra-aristocrat and ultra-Tory club, would the display of the American flag excite any but kindly feelings. Therefore whatever warrant or dignity hatred may derive from reciprocation is certainly wanting in this case.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

SOAP-BUBBLES OF SOCIALISM.

BY PROFESSOR SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D., F. R. A. S.

THE socialism of our day differs from that of the past in being founded on ideas which pervade every grade of society. No observer of public thought on social problems can fail to notice a feeling among all classes, the thoughtful and the careless, the wise and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, that the results of our industrial system, so far as the general welfare is concerned, are not creditable to our civilization; that society has allowed a favored few to possess themselves of wealth which, under a different system, might have contributed in an important degree to the prosperity of the masses.

In this view Socialists, Anarchists, and labor-reformers are at one with a large body—perhaps with a majority—of the educated community. Divergence begins with the question whether it is politic and practicable to change a system which all admit to be unsatisfactory in some of its results. The attitude of the typical philanthropist toward the Socialist may be expressed thus: "We admit that a system under which one man can gain millions of money through the toil of a hundred thousand barely gaining a subsistence must be wrong. But so long as human nature has such defects as selfishness, indolence, and willingness to shirk all unpleasant duties, so long must we bear our ills. Remove these defects, so that every man shall be ready to do his best for the promotion of the general welfare: then may poverty cease and all be supplied with the necessaries and decencies of life with less labor than is now required to gain a bare subsistence."

This last proposition is the one into which I propose to inquire. If all men were very good and nobody wanted to be richer than his neighbors, while every one was ready to do whatever the combined wisdom of the community decided ought to be done, would the masses really be much better off than they are now? First of all, I ask the reader's attention to a circumstance which

may well make us sceptical as to the affirmative of this question. It is this: if a large body of men believe that any scheme of industrial reorganization would be beneficial, they are at liberty to put that system into operation among themselves and for their own exclusive benefit, and thus to demonstrate what society at large could do in the same way. This fact has been too much forgotten. Reformers have so long called upon the legislative Jove for help as to make us forget that they can put their own shoulders to the wheel as effectively as Jupiter himself can. Under the system which now prevails, dissatisfied men of all callings can form themselves into an association, and distribute among themselves all the products of their labor in what way they deem best. Then those members who belong to the building trades would erect nothing but homes and other buildings for the association; all the clothing made by the tailors, all the shoes made by the shoemakers, all the bread made by the farmers and the bakers, would be divided according to any system that might be adopted. It is true that, at first, the want of capital and land would prove an inconvenience. But the use of the former could be had on very favorable terms if only the enterprise had the elements of success; and as for the latter, fertile land is available in many parts of the world at a nominal cost. Nor need the association put its theories into practice to any greater extent than it finds advantageous. It can confine itself to just such industries as it believes to be most oppressed, can make any contracts it pleases with society at large to exchange services with it, and can sell any of its products it chooses to part with.

To compensate for every disadvantage, such an association would have over society at large the great advantage of being made up of picked men. Our society has the aged, the infirm, the worthless, and the criminal classes to care for. The new society can select the young, the honest, the healthy, and the industrious. Yet we scarcely hear of such an experiment being even tried by the professed Socialists of the time. In thus refraining from any attempt to put their own principles into practice, notwithstanding the facility with which they could do it, they remind us of an architect afraid to erect a building according to his own plans.

Here I may seem to speak too hastily. Numerous and instructive attempts have been made, especially in this country, to put socialistic theories into practical operation. The Shakers are

well known to all, and many of us have heard of such communities as the Economites, the Icarians, and the Brook Farm Community, in some of which every honest and industrious laborer might receive a welcome. But it will be soon enough to discuss their success when we find reformers willing either to join those which exist or to form others on improved models. To come directly to the point: if all America, or all England, or all London should to-morrow organize itself by general consent into a gigantic association for the equitable distribution of all the products of its labor, would the results be any more satisfactory to social reformers and dissatisfied laborers than those of the various communities which have been organized among us? We must admit that, in a certain way, some of the communities in question have been successful. This is true especially of the Shakers, among whom poverty and discomfort are unknown. But their success has been attained through a self-denial, submission to discipline, and suppression of the natural activities of the race to which no ordinary man of any class would submit. But talk of all these communities as we may, the fact remains that they all tend to die out, and that not one Socialist in a thousand would exchange his lot for that of one of their members.

From this general consideration I pass to certain current doctrines on which sympathy with socialism and dissatisfaction with the existing order of things are very largely based. These doctrines may be called fallacies, because they are half-truths, or imperfect truths, so applied as to lead to erroneous general conclusions. I shall state and consider them as clearly as possible in a numbered order.

First fallacy—That the inequality between the rich and the poor in the enjoyment of wealth is continually increasing.

Of course, it is not denied that the inequality in the ownership of wealth is as great as is commonly believed, and is increasing with every generation. What I maintain is that the benefits of this wealth are not so unequally divided as its ownership. To show the fallacy of confounding the two, let us first consider a miser who lives in a garret, sleeps on a mat, eats cold victuals, dresses in rags, and dies worth a million. Measured by the popular standard, he is a rich man. Judged by any rational standard, he is pitiably poor; for if all his earnings had been taken from him as fast as he gathered them, he would have been no

better off in life or in death. Then compare with him a professional man who occupies a rented house, uses rented furniture, lives luxuriously by paying next week for the food he consumes this, and owes his tailor for his last suit of clothes. Measured by the popular standard, this man is a pauper, in spite of his enjoying a large income and a hundred thousand dollars of wealth belonging to a capitalist. This standard is clearly fallacious in his case.

The truth is that the proportion of men who own little or nothing tends to increase, for the very plain reason that it is every year becoming easier to enjoy wealth without owning it. A century ago the man who possessed nothing was poor indeed, because few others had spare houses or beds to share with him. Now for a dollar he can ride over a million dollars' worth of railroad, and for a small percentage on its cost he can live in a house of any ordinary size.

Second fallacy—That the masses have good reason to complain of an unequal and unfair distribution of the wealth actually produced day by day and year by year, through their weekly wages being insufficient to purchase those good things to which they are fairly entitled.

Although this view is very widely held, there is a certain vagueness about it which makes it necessary to give it greater precision. Whether a person has or has not reason to complain is a matter of individual opinion, which it is not possible to settle by any general principle. All I propose to do is to show that there is much less reason to complain than is commonly supposed. Another difficulty arises from the vagueness of the current ideas associated with wealth. Let us compare two laboring men, one of whom is a good, intelligent manager, and lives in a place where the necessaries of life are cheap, while the other is unskilful in the market and the household, and lives where things are dear. The first gets a healthy, comfortable living on wages of one dollar a day; the second is miserable on two dollars. Which is the richer? Many laborers, impressed by the superior dignity attaching to the higher wages, would say the second; but in the name of good sense I must contest that view. The first and greatest object of wages and wealth is to be comfortably housed, fed, and clothed. The man who can succeed in this without an exhausting or injurious amount of labor has fairly attained one of the great ends of human existence, and has the same right to con-

gratulate himself, whether his daily income is fifty cents or fifty dollars.

Now, measured by this standard, the difference between the richest man of the country and the average skilled laborer, though great, is not nearly so great as the difference between their nominal wealth or income leads men to suppose. The case stands thus: the rich man has a much larger house, enabling him to have a bedroom to himself and a parlor in which he can entertain a host of friends. He walks on soft carpets, instead of a bare floor; decorates his walls with costly paintings, instead of cheap photographs; gets the tenderest cut of steak, instead of the round; eats off of fine porcelain, instead of plain crockery; gives dinners to his friends, has a stable full of horses, and crosses the ocean whenever his business permits and his inclination prompts. Have I omitted anything essential? If so, let the reader supply it to his own satisfaction both in quantity and quality.

These are doubtless great advantages: we cannot stop to inquire whether they generally yield more happiness than the outfit and furniture of a tenement, or how often they are more than set off by such a skeleton in the closet as never disturbs the dreams of the poor. More instructive is it to inquire how much the poor would profit if all the wealth of the rich were divided among them. We take a thousand millionaires of New York and its vicinity, if there are so many, and divide their wealth among the hundred thousand poorest families. Then we have a hundred poor families for each millionaire. They take possession of his house, but find the beds so far occupied by his servants, whom they do not wish to displace, that all they can do is to bivouac in the parlor, which will not hold half of them. Half a dozen of the beneficiaries get new suits of clothes; every one gets the hundredth part of a wild duck for dinner, and the fiftieth part of a fine beefsteak. What could they get more? Wealth? Yes; but what wealth? A share in the New York Central Railroad for each man, woman, and child, which would not even gain them admittance to a train until they had bought tickets; a bond of some western road or city; the thousandth part of a warehouse or steamboat. Would not the beneficiaries turn and rend those who had deceived them by the assurance that, when the wealth of the rich was divided among them, they could live better than now?

Perhaps this way of looking at the subject may seem odd. If

so, the oddity consists only in persistently looking at the facts and discarding sentiment. Instead of considering such vague things as wealth, capital, and capitalism, I insist on considering only such grovelling things as houses, beds, and beefsteak. I shall be very glad when we find a world in which popular prices, stirring speeches, and eternal justice will butter our bread; but we have not got it here.

Third fallacy—That there is plenty and to spare of food, raiment, drink, and shelter for all the poor and rich of the land; the only difficulty is, the former cannot get their share because they have not money enough to buy it.

Superficially this is a very natural view, because it accords with our experience from childhood. Every one knows that he who has the money to buy can get almost anything he wants. What conclusion more natural than that if everybody had money, everybody could buy? To learn that there would be scarcity even if every one had the money to buy, because there is not enough to go round, requires a course of thought which, though easy, is entered upon by few. Let us now see how the case stands.

We must, as an example, take some necessary of life with which the masses are insufficiently supplied: let us take clothing. If, during the last fifty years, more clothing has been made than is necessary for the comfort of all, and if during all that time a large body of the people have been insufficiently clad, then one of two things is inevitable: either there has been a constant accumulation of unsold clothing, or a great many men have bought and worn far more than their share. But we all know that in no clothing-house is there any greater accumulation than is necessary to enable customers to find what suits them. Then who wears more than his share? The rich man? No; he only wears one suit at a time. True, he buys at first hand much more than his share; but he only begins to wear it. After the first gloss is off it passes through the hands of his servants, his employees, or the second-hand dealer, to a wearer lower in the social scale, and continues on its course until it is worn out.

If, after all the clothing made gets worn, one-tenth of the people are in rags and another tenth insufficiently clad, what follows? Evidently there is not clothing enough to go round comfortably. And what is true of this is true of all the commodities which the poor cannot get. If all that exists were divided among

the masses to-day, the want would be greater than ever in a few months.

Here we touch upon a point which the social reformer might urge with great force. He might claim that this underproduction of necessaries for the masses shows that an undue proportion of the labor power of the country is devoted to the luxury of the few, and that it would be an excellent thing if the labor now employed in caring for the rich man's fast horses were devoted to the poor man's ill-shod feet. Nothing shows in a stronger light the absence of rational adaptation of means to ends in the socialistic policy than the fact that not only is this claim not made, but all the exertions of labor organizations tend to make the poor man's necessaries scarce and dear, while they leave a large part of the rich man's luxuries untouched. No one ever heard of a bricklayers' strike failing of support because the men were at work on houses for the poor, and for many years the most exacting and effective labor organizations of the country have been those whose members make shoes for the million. But who ever saw a strike among the men who groom the rich man's horses, wait on his table, make his cigars, or import his champagne ?

Fourth fallacy—That the laboring classes are oppressed by the capitalists.

Every one knows that the one great feature of modern law in our own and most other civilized countries is that the laborer, the capitalist, and the nobleman are equal before the law, and that to the first, individually and collectively, is allowed the most extreme liberty of action so long as he does not violently assail the equal liberties of other people. During the recent strike in London the dock laborers were allowed to inflict incalculable damage upon the commerce of London, and entail inconvenience upon a million of its inhabitants, while they were assisted by donations of money, even from Australia, transmitted through the cables and banks of the very men whom they were incommoding.

Fifth fallacy—That the "labor movement," as represented by the organization of skilled labor, is highly philanthropic, and therefore entitled to public sympathy and support.

In calling this a fallacy I wish not to be misunderstood. I am in favor of every movement which will really elevate the masses without pulling others down. I object to calling the labor movement philanthropic, for the simple reason that it is not philan-

thropic at all, but only intended to elevate those who take part in it at the expense of every one else. When its promoters organize a strike, they give not a moment's consideration to the possible sufferings they may inflict on thousands of their fellow-men by the consequent scarcity of the necessaries of life. The greatest objection to it is that it is founded on all the fallacies I have just tried to refute, and especially on one idea which underlies them all—namely, that there is in the country a great mass of wealth which, could the "toiling millions" only get at it, would enable them to live and enjoy themselves at their ease. I hold it the duty of every man who knows better than this to say so, and to do all he can toward showing his fellow-men that the notion is a mere illusion of the fancy.

Every one knows that, so far as the public is concerned, one great object of a labor-union is to prevent the competition of non-union laborers, and to limit the number of youths who shall be allowed to learn a trade. The cry of "scab" against every workman who does not belong to a union, and the organized efforts to prevent his finding employment, are so familiar to all as to need no description. The wonder is that clergymen, professors, and journalists can call it philanthropy when they see a strong man step between a willing employer and a poor laborer, and use every means to reduce the latter to starvation. Yet worse is the second object. If there is any one right of man which appeals to the universal conscience, it is that of developing his powers and faculties; and if there is one duty universally recognized, it is that of helping him to do it by every means in our power. And yet we tolerate powerful organizations which, in all our great cities, ruthlessly deny to the great mass of the growing children of the poor the privilege of learning a trade; nay, we do more,—we call these unions philanthropic and their cause sacred.

If the positions I have taken in the preceding exposition are correct, then the policy towards which popular theories tend would make the condition of the masses worse rather than better. My own doctrine is very simple. We must reject the theory that everything the masses want to eat, drink, and wear should be made scarce and dear, and adopt the policy of making it cheap and plentiful. For example, we ought to get all the work we can out of the criminal classes, because we shall thus increase the supply of the necessaries of life. We cannot comfortably house

the poor until we build more and better tenement-houses. To do this, we must begin by teaching the building trades to a larger number of the unemployed youths of our cities. We must also discourage the eight-hour system, because if we diminish the building of houses by 20 per cent., we shall certainly find it much harder to house the poor of the next generation.

The difference between the views I have set forth and those I have contested may be fairly summed up thus: from the standpoint which I have contested, the problem of improving the condition of the masses is not one of production, but of distribution. The majority think that enough and to spare is produced for all, but the only difficulty is that the masses do not get their share. Perhaps they do not; I have not claimed that they do, for the simple reason that I do not know how to decide what their share is on any principles which they are ready to accept. But it is also held that, if they did get more, all could have enough. I think not, and ask the reader's courteous consideration of the views here set forth in support of that opinion.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH SILVER?

BY THE HON. ROGER Q. MILLS, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM TEXAS.

THE function of money, whether of gold, silver, paper, or other material, is to measure the value of things to be exchanged, to aid in effecting exchange, and to pay debts. The value of everything to be exchanged is fixed by the amount of money in actual circulation. This is not the amount in the country, but that part of it which is used in transacting the daily business of the country. We now have in the United States over two thousand one hundred millions of dollars. Over seven hundred millions of this is locked up in the vaults of the Treasury. It has no more influence upon the exchanges of the country than if it were buried in the earth. A very large part of the fourteen hundred millions outside the Treasury never enters the markets, and exerts no influence on the prices of articles seeking exchange. If the amount of actual circulation is small compared with the business to be done, prices will be low; if the condition is reversed, they will be high.

Before we decide that our circulation shall be increased by adding silver to the present volume, we must determine whether it will promote the general prosperity to have high prices. Some persons are easily alarmed by the danger of inflation; but the increase of the circulation by any addition of gold and silver cannot produce inflation. It is permanent, not vacillating. It is not, like paper money, suspended in the air—money which sooner or later must collapse and bring disaster to the whole country. But a paper circulation is never dangerous when it is interchangeable with gold and silver over every counter and at the will of every holder. It is this interchangeability that anchors it sure and steadfast. It is only dangerous when its anchor-hold on gold and silver slips, and the balloon ascends in the air, taking the business of the country with it. Sooner or later it must come down, and bring sacrifices in its train. The business of the country follows its downward movement, and only realizes a sense of security when it touches the bed-rock of gold and silver.

It is as rational to fear the inflation of food and clothing as of gold and silver. Like all other products of labor, they have a commercial value fixed by the unerring law of demand and supply The paper which is made the representative of a dollar has no value except that given to it by legislation, and that is confined within the jurisdiction of the country where it is made. On the contrary, the value of gold and silver is fixed by the demand and supply of the world, and is the same all over the world, when not interfered with by legislation. There can, therefore, be no danger to the country in any increase of either or both of the precious metals.

There is a class in all countries which is interested in keeping the volume of money of all kinds below the demands of business, because that makes the price of money high and the price of labor and its products low. This is a comparatively small class, who live on fixed incomes, who do not engage in business, but, like drones, live on the labor of others. But every person who lives by labor in any department, who is carrying on any kind of business, large or small, is aided by every increase in the gold and silver circulation of the country. Every addition to the volume increases the supply, lowers the price of money, and raises the price of labor and its products. As prices of commodities rise, exchanges become active and all branches of business become prosperous. Then idle money comes from its hiding-places, enters the channels of circulation, and actively seeks investment. Its owners, like all other persons, desire to make profit, and when they see prices rising they buy to-day to sell for the higher price of to-morrow.

This demand is not confined to the things already produced, but it causes the making of more. It stimulates production, transportation, and consumption, and it infuses new life into every department of business. It makes more demand for the employment of labor; that increases the wages of labor, and that, again, increases the distribution of the wealth created by labor; and that increased distribution enables each one of the many millions of toilers to satisfy more of his own wants by his own labor; and in purchasing the things that satisfy his wants he, in turn, gives more employment to his fellow-laborers.

High prices are a centrifugal force that throws out and distributes the wealth of the country among the laborers who pro-

duce it. Low prices are a centripetal force that concentrates the wealth of the country in the coffers of the large capitalists who live on bonds and stocks and fixed incomes. High prices build more railroads, erect and operate more factories, establish more banking-houses, build more hotels, move and sell more goods, feed more mouths, and clothe more backs. High prices make it easier to pay taxes to national, State, and local governments; for the demands of government are for so many dollars for annual support, and if increased prices bring excess of revenue, the tax-rate will be reduced. High prices lessen the burden of debt, and make easier the payment of principal and interest; and this is one of the most important features of the subject.

A vast volume of the business of the world is done on credit. The national debts exceed thirty thousand millions of dollars. No one can tell the amount of private debts, but it must be much in excess of that sum, large as it is. If sixty thousand millions be taken as the public and private debts of the world, the annual interest at 5 per cent. would require the sum of three thousand millions, and to pay it would require the labor of ten millions of men working 300 days in each year at one dollar per day. The burden of the principal of the debt is made to rest more lightly upon the country when prices are high and money is cheap. It requires less labor and property to pay at high, and more at low, prices.

Now let us reverse the condition, decrease the circulation, and lower prices, and see what the effects will be on the business of the country. When prices are low, it is because there is little demand for the products of labor, and the decreased demand is the result of the want of money with which to purchase and pay. Those who have money hoarded will not buy to sell again in a falling market. If the things cannot be sold, then production will be limited or stopped altogether. This throws labor out of employment, not only in production, but in transportation. The millions who live by labor can buy but little because they have little with which to pay. The car of progress slows up and the hum of industry grows faint. No one will invest in that which will be worth less to-morrow than it is to-day. As there is little demand for the products of labor, the production must decrease to conform to the decreased demand. Employment must be restricted, wages must be reduced, and transportation and every

form of exchange must shrink with a shrinking circulation. There must be less employment on the farm, less employment in the factories and forests, less employment in the mines, less employment on the lines of transportation, less employment of merchants and middlemen, less increase and distribution of the things which are necessary to the comfort and subsistence of the human family.

When prices are so low that products cannot pay the cost of transportation to the consumer and be sold for enough to pay the cost of expenses, then a farmer in Kansas may freeze for want of coal to burn, and at the same time a miner in Pennsylvania may starve for want of bread to eat. The miner would be glad to exchange his coal for corn, and the farmer his corn for coal; but the low prices of the products make it impossible to overcome the obstructions in the way of exchange. If it were in the power of the government or of the man to restrict the wants of the body for food, clothing, and shelter, then we might accommodate ourselves to the restricted condition of the circulation without enduring the privations and sufferings which it entails; but that is not within the range of human power.

These things are indispensable to human existence, and we must have them or perish. If from want of sufficient employment we are not able to obtain a sufficient amount of the necessaries of life to make us comfortable, but only enough for a meagre subsistence, then we may continue to exist, but it will be an existence in daily contact and companionship with hunger and want. The things that satisfy human want must be procured by labor, and transported from producer to consumer by the vehicles of exchange. Labor without exchange is insufficient, because no one can satisfy all his own wants by his own labor. He must have the means of reaching his fellow-laborers and exchanging services with them. He must have railroads, steamships, steamboats, wagons, drays, merchants, bankers, bills of exchange, gold, and silver. The more of these agencies of commerce a country has, the easier will be its exchanges; and the fewer it has, the slower, the more expensive and difficult the exchange becomes.

If it is wise statesmanship to decrease the volume of money, it is equally wise to decrease the railroads, steamships, and all other agencies of commercial exchange. If it is wise to stop the coin-

age of silver, it is wise to stop building railroads, organizing banks, and issuing bills of exchange. The converse is equally true: if it is good policy to construct more railroads, build more steamships, organize more banks and clearing-houses, and make exchanges cheaper, quicker, and easier, then it is good policy to coin more gold and silver. All of these instruments of exchange stand upon the same footing; and there can be no more wisdom in fixing a limit to the money of the world than there can be in prescribing a limit to the employment of its labor, the movement of its products, or the multiplication of its vehicles of exchange. Money is a more subtle and potent factor in exchange than either of the others. Without it the value of each commodity to be exchanged would have to be measured by another commodity, and the adjustment would have to be made between new parties every time the article changed hands. Money, therefore, levels a vast field of obstructions over which commerce is to move, and, having done that, it enters the list with other agencies and powerfully aids in carrying and distributing throughout the world the products of labor, and delivering to each one at his own door the things that his wants demand.

If these positions are true,—and they cannot be assailed,—why should we keep our mints closed against the coinage of silver? Why should we not open the doors to the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver? They have both been the money of all civilized peoples in all ages of the world. And they have been the money of the world because they are perfectly adapted to the work which money alone can do. No other metals have ever been discovered by man that can supply their places. After thousands of years they still retain their places without a challenge. Some nations have one for their standard; some have the other; but both are used in every country on the globe where civilization has a seat. England has gold for her standard, but she has a large stock of silver for subsidiary coinage, which is in daily use among her people. India has the silver standard, but she uses gold, too, to a limited extent; and as the English population of India increases, doubtless the use of gold will increase with it.

Different countries fix the relative value of the two metals at different ratios. England has one ratio; France another; the United States yet another. All these are so many obstructions to exchange, and, therefore, hindrances to the

prosperity of all. If the peoples who are carrying on the vast exchanges of the world would, by agreement, fix the relative values of silver and gold at 15 or 15.50 or 16 to 1, these values would remain fixed and invariable throughout the world. But, unfortunately for the welfare of mankind, those who own the money of the world and who desire to keep it as dear, and labor and its products as cheap, as possible, have now, and have had in the past, too strong a hold on the governments of the world to permit that to be done, if it is possible for them to prevent it.

After the opening of the gold mines of California and Australia, with the large amount of gold they poured into the markets of the world, this same class demanded the closing of the mints against that metal, and wished to make the money of the world stand upon silver because it was the scarcer metal. Belgium made silver the single standard in 1850, and the German states and Austria in 1857. The movement for the demonetization of gold was arrested by the opposition of France. In the course of a decade the two metals changed positions, and the financial philosophers of the world changed with them. By 1865 gold had declined, and silver was the metal of the larger production, and the movement was set on foot to close the mints against it to prevent the consequent rise in the prices of labor and its products. In that year the Latin Union was formed, and Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland declared for the gold standard. In 1873 Germany and the United States joined the crusade; the next year they were followed by the Scandinavian states; and by 1875 the mints of France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Spain, and the United States were closed to silver. This cut off a large part of the demand for its consumption, at a time when the mines were pouring an extraordinarily large product upon the market. Any one could foresee the result: silver must fall and gold must rise. The labor of the world was paralyzed in order to raise the price of gold to the small, but powerful, class who lived on incomes.

As there is no prospect that we shall at any time in the near future have the aid of any of the European powers to accomplish this beneficent reform, it becomes necessary for us to examine the subject closely and ascertain if we cannot, without their coöperation, put the silver of the world into its monetary circula-

tion. The mints of the commercial world being practically closed against silver and the annual output still being large, its price is greatly reduced below the standard of 1870, when it began to decline. The demand for its consumption in the arts and for limited coinage does not keep pace with its production, and it is still declining when it is measured by gold. Whether it is keeping pace in its decline with other commodities, or is decreasing faster, is a mooted question. In each year since 1870 its price has been below that in the preceding year.

How may we bring the two metals together, keep them together, and make them one money throughout the world? We cannot do it by coining at different ratios, with all obstructions removed. Each country by that method will keep the metal which it values the more highly, and lose that which it values lower. If Europe should open her mints to morrow to the unlimited coinage of silver at the values established by her laws, and we should do the same, we should lose all our silver in a short time, and she would lose her gold. This she will not do, and we can safely open our mints to the unlimited coinage of silver at our established ratio as long as she keeps hers closed. Should we open our mints to-morrow to unlimited coinage, silver would rise at once to 15.98 for 1. That being a higher price than it could find elsewhere in the world, it would come here to be coined, and remain here after it was coined. The pure silver contained in our standard dollar is worth, outside of the mint, seventy-two cents; it would then be worth one hundred cents in gold. The cause that has depressed all the products of American labor is the closing the markets of the world against them, and it is precisely the same cause which has depressed the price of silver. The way to restore both is to reopen the markets to both. While we cannot, without the coöperation of other governments, wholly restore them, we can very materially benefit them. In doing so we can restore prosperity to our people, and we should not hesitate to do it.

The world's production of silver for the year 1888 was $142,000,000. For the last fifteen years the average is about $100,000,000. Our part of that product is about $50,000,000, and we coin about half of that amount. The remainder of the world's product depends for its consumption on the limited coinage of other countries and the use of silver in the arts. India takes for her mints about $45,000,000 per annum. That amount, or more,

is consumed in the arts and mints of all other countries. So that if we opened our mints to the unlimited coinage of all silver, we could not get more than $75,000,000, and our annual coinage would come nearer $50,000,000. We should at once remove all restrictions and replenish our circulation. As we cannot induce the commercial people of Europe to join us in establishing a uniform relation, we can, at least, conform to that already established by the chief silver-using countries of Europe. These countries have adopted the relation of 15.50 to 1, and by changing ours from 15.98 to 15.50 we can prevent the exodus of our silver in case the mints of the Latin Union should be reopened, which may be done in the future.

If we should open our mints to unlimited coinage at our present ratio and continue it for some years, and get a large stock of silver on hand, and then the mints in Europe should open at their ratio, we should soon lose our whole stock. An ounce of gold would buy more silver here than it would in Europe, and a large profit could be made by exporting European gold to us and buying silver with it and importing it into Europe. When we began coining silver in 1792, we established the ratio of 15 to 1. The result was that Europe got our gold and we got her silver, because we gave more for silver and she gave more for gold. Gold would pay more debts and buy more commodities in Europe than it would here, and it went there; while silver would pay more debts and buy more commodities here, and it came here. So we had, in fact, a silver-standard country prior to 1834, when, to prevent the exodus of gold, the relative values of the two metals were changed from 15 to 1 to 15.98 to 1, while the silver-using countries of Europe continued to coin at 15.50 to 1.

Instead of retaining both metals in our circulation, as it was intended to do, we got just as far from it as we were before. The only difference was that after 1834 we exchanged our silver for European gold. Our silver dollar soon rose to a premium over the gold dollar, and it was worth four cents more in Europe than it was at home. These coins were all leaving the country, and it was only a question of time when they would all be gone. To prevent this, Congress in 1853 provided for the coinage of fractional silver at the ratio of 14.95 to 1, and then the coinage was limited so that only sixty millions of dollars were coined between 1853 and 1873, while our mines turned out three times that amount during

the same period. If we had permitted our mints to coin without limit all the silver brought to them, as we did the gold, we should have driven away our gold coins as we had done previously to 1834. In order, therefore, to keep some silver in the country to meet the demands of smaller exchanges, the coinage was limited in amount, so that silver could not compete with gold for the circulation, but would occupy toward it a subsidiary position.

During the entire period from 1853 to the passage of the Limited-Coinage Act of February 28, 1878, we had only coined about ninety-five millions of subsidiary silver, while we had coined more than ten times that amount in gold. Since 1878 we have had a limited coinage of silver of two millions per month, from which we have now in the country $426,000,000. During the last thirty-seven years we have taken from our mints more than $800,000,000, the greater part of which had to be exported to foreign countries, instead of being thrown into the volume of our home circulation. Why should we not have had the whole product of our mines added to our stock? Why should we not begin now, and open our mints to the silver of the world? What injury could possibly result from such a measure?

It is said by some that, if we open our mints to unlimited coinage, we shall be flooded with the cheap silver of the whole world. Unfortunately for the country, there is no danger of such a boon. The only cheap silver in the world is the uncoined and unwrought silver—the "raw material" just from the mines. There is not enough of that to submerge us with its incalculable blessings; but there is enough to contribute very materially to our improvement.

Scarcely anything could be a greater boon to our country and to mankind than a cheapening of gold and silver; and this to some extent we have it in our power to accomplish. The average annual supply of gold for the world during the last fifteen years is $104,000,000, and that of silver $100,000,000. If the whole $200,000,000 were added to the monetary circulation of the world, it would not be sufficient to keep pace with the increased production and exchanges of the world. As the increase in the volume of money falls behind the increase in the products of labor to be exchanged by it, it becomes dearer and the products become cheaper. It requires more of the products of labor to pay debts and taxes; the burden of debt and governmental support grows heavier, and the struggle

of the debtor and taxpayer grows harder. As money becomes scarcer, it appreciates in value; it will buy more labor and its products, and the creditor grows richer, while the debtor and laborer grow poorer. If the policy that demands a shrunken circulation is carried to its extreme, and money is made so scarce that labor and its products are depreciated to nothing in value, then the debtor, the laborer, and the whole country with them are dragged down to ruin. If the other extreme is reached,—as can only be done by discarding gold and silver and placing the whole business of the country on the wings of an unlimited volume of paper money,—then all debts are practically confiscated, creditors are ruined, public confidence is destroyed, and all departments of business are paralyzed. The only safe course is to cling to gold and silver—not a part of them, but all of them—and to bind our paper circulation by indissoluble bonds to them, so that it can never get beyond the reach of redemption.

But let us see where that vast volume of silver is that is to be precipitated on us like an avalanche when we open our mints. The coined silver of the world, outside the United States, is of the value in our money of $2,337,000,000, of which amount Mexico has $48,000,000; Japan, $49,000,000; Belgium, $48,000,000; Italy, $20,000,000; Switzerland, $14,000,000; Austria-Hungary, $75,000,000; Spain, $83,000,000; France, $646,000,000, and India, $1,352,000,000. This is the supply with which we are threatened if we open our mints to unlimited coinage. This large stock of silver, when it passes the boundary of its own country, ceases to be money and becomes a commodity. It ceases to carry with it the value given to it by law, and only retains the value given to it by commerce. It is worth to-day seventy-two cents in the dollar in the open markets of the world, while it is worth at home more than one hundred cents to the dollar. The 371¼ grains of fine silver which are required to coin our standard dollar, and into which the imported silver would be coined, are worth here 23.22 grains of fine gold, which is our gold dollar. That is equal to 15.98 grains of silver to 1 grain of gold.

Now, France has 3,250,000,000 francs in silver, which is worth within her jurisdiction $646,695,000 in gold, at her ratio of 15.50 to 1. If that were sent here and coined at our mints at our ratio of 15.98 to 1, it would be worth $627,250,000, which would be at a loss to her of more than $19,000,000. And if

our government should buy it at the market price for silver, seventy-two cents in the dollar, France would realize $478,820,000 for her stock worth at home $646,695,000! She would lose, by "flooding" us with her "cheap" silver, $167,000,000. Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Spain, which coin at the same ratio, would sustain a corresponding loss on their silver. India, which coins at 15 to 1, has a stock of silver worth at home $1,352,000,000, and worth at our ratio $1,269,000,000. If she should attempt to flood us with her silver, it would be at a loss to her of $83,000,000. If we should buy her silver at the market price in gold to-day, it would be at a loss to her of $350,000,000. It is evident from this plain statement that no country whose silver is coined at a ratio higher than 15.98 can export it to us. Japan coins at 16.18 and Mexico at 16.50. They have, together, a stock of silver amounting to $98,000,000, which would be worth in our coin $100,000,000. It is possible that they would get that amount of our gold for their silver. But it is beyond the region of possibility that the coined silver of other countries would come to the United States.

Where, then, are we to get the large importation of silver with which we are threatened? There is a considerable stock in the arts. Its amount cannot even be approximated; but it is far more valuable than the coined silver, and it would be a still greater loss to melt it down and send it to us to be coined into dollars. All of it is worth more than one hundred cents per 371¼ grains, and much of it is five times as valuable. In the arts its value is enhanced by the amount of skilled labor bestowed upon it. That would all be lost in coining it into money.

Then there is no silver that could come to us except from the annual product of the mines. That for the year 1888 was $142,000,000 for the whole world, of which India took $46,000,000; and as she coins at a higher ratio than we do, she will always get what she wants for her annual supply before we get any. For several years her annual average consumption of the world's product has been about $45,000,000. This would leave, in round numbers, $100,000,000 to supply the demand in the arts, and the demand of other countries for subsidiary coinage, before we could be supplied. Our share at best could not exceed $75,000,000, and would be nearer $50,000,000. It would be far better for us and for the world if the amount were doubled. With the whole amount of

gold and silver which we could add to our coinage, we could not have enough to keep abreast of our industrial development.

The only danger that would menace us, if we should open our mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, would be that which menaces us now; and that is such a loss of our silver as occurred after 1850, when silver at our ratio began to rise in value over gold. It left us then, when the mints of Europe were open for silver coinage; and when they open again, the same result will follow, and we shall lose our entire stock of full-weight silver. We should take steps at once to prevent that; and the way to do it is to change our ratio from 15.98 to 15.50, and make it conform to that of the silver countries of Europe. We should coin our standard dollar with the same amount of fine silver that is now contained in two half-dollars, and fractional coins in the same proportion—that is, 347.22 grains of fine silver, or 385.8 grains of standard silver. This is precisely the amount of fine silver in the five-franc piece of the Latin Union. It is the fineness of the rix dollar of the Netherlands, of the five-peseta piece of Spain, of the pesos of the Central American states, of the Argentine Republic, of Bolivia, of Ecuador, of Peru, and of Venezuela. To do this and retain the ratio of 15.50 to 1, we must decrease the fine gold in our dollar to 22.43 grains and the standard weight to 24.90. Having done this, if all the mints were opened in all these countries, there would be no disturbance of our monetary circulation. Our silver would be worth no more in Europe than it is at home, and our gold would be worth no less. The value of each would be precisely the same at home and abroad, and nothing could be accomplished by the importation or exportation of either.

If we open our mints now and coin without limit, or continue to coin with a limit at our present ratio, we shall lose our entire stock of standard silver whenever the European mints shall open. They will then take our silver and we shall take their gold. It may be asked, What objection could there be to such an exchange? The answer is, It would deprive us of the use of a money for small exchanges. It would be giving up a great convenience. It would be a calamity to the world if the whole stock of silver were converted into gold, or that of gold into silver. Gold is adapted to large transactions; silver to small. When values are to be exchanged which amount to thonsands and millions, gold is the convenient money; but for the tens of thousands of small trans-

actions that are daily occurring outside the banking circle silver is the convenient coin. In the growth of our civilization and business, we have found that convenience has forced us to adopt the paper dollar, as well as the metal dollar, and even in the fractional money it is a mooted question if it was not a step backward when we dispensed with the paper half- and quarter-dollar.

There can hardly be a surer test of the civilization of a people than that which is shown in their facilities and conveniences for transacting their daily business. In that respect we are ahead of all others, not only in the amount of trade carried on among ourselves, but in the means which we have created for its easy and expeditious movement. To keep the primacy which we now hold, we must retain all the means now employed and grasp all others within our reach. We must not only keep our present mileage of railroads and telegraphs, but build more; not only keep all our present vehicles of transportation, but increase them. As our population increases and its labor multiplies its products for exchange, all the means for effecting that exchange must keep pace with the national growth; and it is just as essential to the national prosperity that our circulation should increase as it is that railroads, telegraphs, steamships, and wagons should. To close the doors even partially against either gold or silver is a step backward: to throw them wide for both is to advance forward.

It would be an additional convenience to the people, and further increase the facilities for the movement of our products to their markets, if the government should authorize the Treasury Department to receive the bullion and coin of both metals and issue to the depositors, in exchange, coin notes invested with the same money functions as the gold and silver dollars, and redeemable in coin at the pleasure of the holders.

It has been very earnestly argued that, if we open our mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, all our gold coins would leave us. In fact, this was predicted, prior to the act of February 28, 1878, as an inevitable result of a limited coinage of two millions per month. We had in 1877, before we began the limited coinage of silver, $167,000,000 of gold coinage in the United States. Instead of that leaving the country, the Director of the Mint informs us that we have now $622,000,000. We had on the 1st of January, 1878, $65,000,000 of silver coins in the United States, and we now have $426,000,000. Neither has driven the other out.

Gold remains here because it has a higher commercial value than it has elsewhere, and our coined silver remains here because it has a *legal* value higher than the commercial value in the open market elsewhere, and because the mints which give it higher *commercial* value are closed against it.

If our gold leaves the country, it is important to understand what we are to receive in exchange for it. We have seen that it is impossible to obtain the silver of the world, except the raw material, and of that we are the largest exporters at present; but when our mints are opened, we shall cease to export, and the small part we should receive of the product of other countries must be paid for in something that is cheaper here than abroad. But that is not gold. So gold cannot go for silver, either coined, in the arts, or the raw material. Gold is guided in its movements like all other things that have exchangeable value. It goes from the market where it is cheapest to the market where it is dearest. Gold cannot leave us to be exchanged for cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions, for they are cheaper here than in any other country, and could only be imported at a loss.

Then for what can gold be exchanged? Only for such things as can be produced cheaper in other countries than here, or such things as cannot be produced here at all, or if at all, not in sufficient quantities to supply the demand—such as coffee, tea, sugar, and some other products of manufacture. But for these we export cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions, which are cheaper than gold, and which must go to foreign markets or be a total loss to the producers. Gold, by an inexorable law, has remained here with the limited, and by the same law it will remain with the unlimited, coinage of silver.

ROGER Q. MILLS.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN.

BY ANDREW LANG AND MAX O'RELL.

We are asked to describe or define the typical American. It is like one of those difficult drawing-room games which are played with paper and pencils. Candor seems to be the order of the hour, and one may begin by saying that, if we judged Americans by this new sport or pastime, we might be tempted to think them a trifle self-conscious. The French, the Germans, the English, "the cannibal and the very Perusine," as an old author has it, do not trouble themselves about their type. We know what the French think our type is—not John Bull at all, but a long thin man in tweeds, with long pendent whiskers, and an air of respectable dilapidation. That is not quite accurate; and inaccurate, of course, is our traditional Jonathan, with a huge straw hat, with his chair tilted back, with the big knife that restlessly whittles, and the plug of tobacco which is incessantly chewed. Then we have innumerable "types" in modern novels—in Mr. James's, Mr. Howells's, in "Mr. Barnes of New York," in Mr. Edgar Fawcett's romances, and in those of Mr. Saltus. The types have not many things in common, and what foreigner is to decide where natives disagree?

I am not a good person to ask about typical Americans, for I have seen but few, and have never been in the States. Certainly I have met none who wear straw hats, chew tobacco, whittle, spit, tilt their chairs, or dispose their feet on the chimney-piece. And I have never been addressed as "stranger" nor as "Britisher," nor even shot at. Only once have I met an American who was full of strange oaths. It was in 1870, when I chanced twice to visit Lausanne in the course of a week. On the first occasion I stayed at Ouchy, where were many American ladies, dressed with a magnificence that rebuked the dowdy British fair, in her kind

of shirt and kind of skirt. If our women dress deplorably absurdly, as many of them do, perhaps their sisters of the States are now and then inappropriately magnificent. But this is a digression. At Ouchy I met a delightful American gentleman, who had seen the world and the face of war, and who might have been an Austrian, an Englishman, an Italian, or almost anything civilized except a Prussian. But at the Hotel Gibbon, in the same week, I met a party of young American men, who were the very most profane and noisy "tigers" (as Major Pendennis would have said) that one ever encountered. Yet there was something vivacious and exotic in their manner which was curious, if not engaging.

How is a foreigner to know who is the prevalent type—the man of Ouchy or the men of the Hotel Gibbon? And how can he possibly strike an average, or construct a type by posing them, as in a collective photograph? These were strangers; but it is hardly more possible to evolve a type out of one's American friends. One only meets them away from their homes, and a man taken out of his native environment is no longer the same person. He may be animated and curious and critical here, but the reverse of all that in his own country. I remember a young American lady, in France, who was forever talking about the difference between Americans and English. "The difference," some one answered, but very politely, "is that *you* are always thinking about the difference, while we don't trouble ourselves about it." Of course this lady is not a typical American woman; but are these other ladies typical (they are very agreeable) whom one would never guess to be Americans at all—who might be French, or English, or cosmopolitan?

Plainly a foreigner is very much at a loss to describe a typical American. If I were put by the editor to "that extreme and cruel torture of the boot," I could only fashion a type of a particular class of American; not a political, not an industrial, not a sporting, nor agricultural type. He would have to represent the literary, or diplomatic, or vaguely "leisured," or artistic, or publishing classes; and these, of course, are but small minorities of American humanity. Then, when the type was drawn and the picture finished, it would be like one of those sketches which lady novelists make by mixing up a brother of theirs, the curate of the parish, a tutor of Oriel, and the general feminine ideal of man.

It would resemble the portrait of Menodotis, translated by Dr. Garnett from the Greek Anthology:

> "Menodotis's portrait here is kept,
> How odd it is!
> How very like to all the world except
> Menodotis!"

But, if try we must, here goes for the typical American of the educated classes. He is not very like an Englishman; he is rather more like a Frenchman, but still more like an American. You cannot say where he differs in appearance from a Briton; it may be in his necktie, his boots, or the way in which he brushes his hair. He seldom looks as if he lived much in the open air or was fond of field sports. He is much more vivacious than an Englishman, more original in manner, more fertile in ideas, more modern in every way. He is almost too good company; too effervescent for some natives of a slow, foggy climate. He is enviably detached from our infernal politics and social confusions. These are all pretty indifferent to the native of a country which has elbow-room, a militia which shoots, and practically no neighbors. He is usually rather fond of the Irish and their cause, but he never goes to Ireland. He does not mind explaining to you the niceties of baseball; but I have known an elderly Frenchman take more interest than he does in cricket. He seems to me to know a great deal about cookery and delicacies of strange names, American or French; but he has, perhaps, no very high opinion of our poor culinary efforts.

He is not curious, however, in strange mixed juleps and cocktails, and so forth, like the representative American of the stage. He very seldom talks with an English accent, and even when he does, his idioms bewray him. He takes a Platonic interest in poker, but is no gambler. He is much too familiar with English life to be very keenly curious about it, and he never dreams of going to see the lions. He is rather fond of the play, knowing and caring very much more about our authors, actors, pieces, and so forth, than I do, for one. He is kind, courteous, ingenious, obliging, a good fellow, and welcome because he is infinitely more alive than most of us. To bring him into a room full of dejected Britons is like pouring fresh water among the fish in a pail. He is patriotic, but no *Chauviniste*, and is aware that Bunker Hill was but a British defeat. He does not talk about

the War and Mr. Abraham Lincoln. We are sorry when he goes away, and glad when he comes back again, with a new budget of good stories, for, if he has a national trait, it is the swopping of anecdotes. He is not a man that anybody would think of trying to impose on, but he is not demonstratively acute. Never have I seen a robustious American, nor an American who preached, nor an American who told pointless stories.

On the whole, this appears an amiable type; but is this the typical American? It is really impossible to say, when he is taken out of the *milieu* of his business, his home, his furniture, his books, his newspapers, his restaurants, and shops, and theatres, and streets. If any enterprising editor will kindly send me (at his proper expense) from one end of the States to the other, and will show me country and town, and the lakes and rivers, and the Indians, and negroes, and Irish, and Germans, and Jews, and Zuñis, and if he will insure my life against interviewers, and mosquitoes, and "beasts serpentine," then, when I have found some inaccessible paradise of leisure in the southern seas, I will describe at full length, and with no reserve, the typical American. But it will only be the opinion of "a poor islander."

ANDREW LANG.

UNFORTUNATELY, the typical American, as I have said in a lecture, is just what I have always failed to discover in America. Is the reader quite sure that there exists such a being as the typical American? A few days ago I was speaking on this very subject with two eminent Americans. Both seemed inclined to believe in his existence. One was of the opinion that the typical American was taciturn; the other was of the opinion that he was talkative. How should I settle the case?

Now, let us understand each other. The whole civilized world, as it has been remarked before, is composed of only two kinds of men,—men who are gentlemen, and men who are not,—and America is no exception to the rule. In feeling, in behavior, in culture, and in refinement of manners, there is no difference—none whatever—between an American gentleman and a gentleman from France, England, or any European country, including Germany. Good society is good society everywhere; a gentleman is a gentleman everywhere. If, therefore, we wish to discover a typical American, it is not among the gentlemen of this country

that we may hope to find him. I imagine there was a typical American in New England a hundred years ago. This man still exists, but is only typical now *locally*, and is probably as different from a Westerner or a Southerner as I am different from an Englishman or a German—a German especially. Does the reader remember those specimens of composite photographs that appeared in *The Century* magazine some two years ago? The process seems to me exactly that through which the American is now going. As I have said in "Jonathan and His Continent," there are plenty of Americans, but *the* American does not yet exist. He is being evolved, and I shall not attempt to say when he will be finally evolved, or what he will be when evolved.

If my opinion—my modest opinion—is that there is no typical American, I, however, believe that there are some traits which are to be found in almost every American. Need I add once more that I now leave aside American gentlemen, and that I look for these traits among the masses of the people, or, if you prefer it, among men who are not gentlemen?

Nations are like human beings: when they are young, they have the qualities and the defects of children. This childishness has given birth, in this country, to what I have no hesitation in calling the chief American trait—inquisitiveness.

Take American journalism. Does it not live by catering to this national trait? Let an artist, a singer, a painter, a writer, become popular in America: will not your papers immediately inform the public what he or she has for breakfast? When I made my first appearance on an American platform, the public were informed that I wore an irreproachable white necktie and patent-leather boots, and that the front of my shirt had only one buttonhole. Personally, I should have imagined that such details must be very uninteresting, but I suppose they are not. Journalists are like other men of business: they supply the article that is wanted. I remember quite well how a paper in a little Pennsylvania town had a long article on the subject of a light-gray pair of trousers that I wore while walking about the town. There was not much on the subject of the lecture I had given the night before, but my "white pants," it appeared, had attracted a great deal of public attention; and it was only my modesty—my well-known modesty—which prevented me from folding the above-mentioned "white pants," packing them, and sending them, with my compliments,

to the editor of the paper in question, with the view of contributing to the starting of a local museum of curiosities.

I have been asked by American reporters whether I did my literary work in the morning, in the afternoon, or in the evening. I have been asked by others whether I used white or blue paper (*sic*). One said to me that he had been told that M. Jules Claretie, the novelist, who is now director of the Comédie Française, used large-size paper to write his novels on, and small-size paper for his journalistic work; and I really felt sorry to be unable to give him satisfaction.

Look, again, at the advertisements in the papers of this country. Why, you will see that a bootmaker, a hatter, or any other tradesman will publish his portrait by the side of the puffing advertisement of his goods. Will the publication of his portrait help this tradesman to sell his goods? Well, he must think so, or he would not go into the expense of having the block made.

The personalities that are indulged in by your press, the details of private life, some of them most trivial, that are made public every day—all this tends to show that inquisitiveness is an American trait, and, I personally believe, the chief American trait.

This inquisitiveness, which sometimes takes the form of preposterous questions, is the delight of Europeans; but they will prefer the charge against Americans of all classes, and that is where they make a great mistake. They will not, the English especially, distinguish between Americans that are gentlemen and those that are not. In their eyes, they all go in the same bag. And even that good-tempered, good-humored, inquisitive American they misjudge, I believe. They take this inquisitiveness to be an act of rudeness, whereas I think it is, rather, on his part, an act of good-fellowship.

Is not the following little American story, either true to fact or true to fiction, a proof of it?

An American is sitting in a railway car, opposite a woman in mourning, who looks the picture of misery.

"Lost father or mother?" queries the American, reducing his sentence to its simplest expression, according to the wont of his compatriots.

"No, sir."

"Ah! son or daughter, I guess?"

"No, sir; I have lost my husband!"

"Your husband? Ah!—left you comfortable?"

The woman, indignant, leaves her seat and goes away.

Remarks the good-hearted American to his neighbor:

"Rather a stuck-up person, this."

He was not a rude man; he was a good fellow.

I remember having had one day the following bit of conversation with an American in the little smoking-compartment of a Pullman car.

Said my interlocutor:

"Foreigner, I guess?"

"Foreigner," said I.

"Married?"

"Married."

"Going to America on pleasure?"

"Well, yes—a little business connected with it."

"What's your line?"

"H'm—French goods."

"French goods? What kind?"

"The *article de Paris*."

"The what?"

"The *ar-ti-cle de Pa-ris*."

"Oh! the *aart'cle of Purriss*."

"Exactly.—Pray excuse my pronunciation."

The good fellow was floored, but all the same he was a good fellow, a man who wanted to show that he took an interest in me; for, later on, after he had recovered, he poured information and advice into my listening ears.

I have said that inquisitiveness was the chief American trait, and that it arose from the childish character of a man who belongs to a great, successful, but young, nation. Are there not other traits, more or less typical of American manners, arising from the same cause? I believe there are. Generosity, impulsiveness, forgiveness, and—excuse the word—cheek are among them. The American runs wildly after the dollar, but he is lavish of it: he does not love it; he likes it for what it procures; and avarice, which you so commonly find in England and in France, is a vice—an ugly vice—that you very seldom find in an American. He will resent an insult, but very quickly forgets it; and there is no man in the world that can stand good-humored

chaffing as well as he does. He is audacious, simply because he has done such marvellous things in such a short time that he simply believes nothing is impossible to him. His ideas are eccentric, but eccentricity is only an exaggerated form of the activity of mind. He lives on a continent so vast that he can hardly see a limit to it. He has the word "big" carved on the cranium, and is it a wonder that sometimes the word is so deeply carved that it makes a hole or a crack in it ?

I repeat it, I have never discovered the typical American, although I have discovered traits that are characteristic of most Americans ; and, as for American gentlemen, I have never been able to distinguish them from English or French gentlemen. The aristocracy of nature is universal.

Now, if there is no typical American man, I believe there is a typical American woman ; but, as I have not been asked to contribute my mite on the subject, I will abstain from making any remarks upon her.

PAUL BLOUËT (Max O'Rell).

A FEW WORDS ON COLONEL INGERSOLL.

BY FREDERIC WILLIAM FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., ARCHDEACON AND CANON OF WESTMINSTER.

ALTHOUGH the views of Colonel Ingersoll lie immeasurably apart from my own, he will not find in this paper a word of invective or discourtesy. I never saw him, and he is as much a mere name to me as I am to him. I am not writing any formal refutation of his paper. I do not think that it needs any systematic refutation, since I cannot find in it a single proposition which has not been refuted ten thousand times. His paper seems to me to be sweepingly assertive, rather than argumentative. There is very little resemblance between Colonel Ingersoll and St. Paul, but in reading his paper I am reminded of what the heathen critic Longinus unjustly said of the Apostle, that he was προϊστάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτου—"a master in undemonstrated dogma." Theologians have often been accused of laying down the law, but I know no living theologian who would venture to whirl us through such masses of more than disputable propositions with the "airy and fastidious levity" displayed in Colonel Ingersoll's papers, "Why Am I an Agnostic?"

Instead of logic, we have the unlimited enunciation of immense generalities. We are hurried breathlessly from sentence to sentence in which the writer tosses aside the deepest and most permanent convictions of the vast majority of mankind as though they were too absurd even to need an answer. He fulminates, as if they were decisive, objections which from time immemorial the human mind has deliberately set aside as inapplicable or inconclusive, and which it continues, and will continue, to set aside, in every age, with the most superlative indifference. We are driven to meet his assertions with a perpetual protest, an incessant negation. In the course of a few pages he is sure to make a multitude of statements

which it would take a whole volume to argue out, but which it is in reality useless to argue any further. It is useless, because, first, ever since philosophy began, the replies to them have been already urged; secondly, because they rest on premises which are both openly and tacitly repudiated by Christian apologists; thirdly, because they are so ineffectual that there has never been an age, in which thought or literature existed at all, to which they have not been familiar, and yet they have never sufficed to shake the conviction of any large multitude, either of the learned who have sounded them to the very depths, or of the ignorant whom they may perplex, but whose faith refuses to be troubled by the limitations of their intelligence; fourthly, because the infidel so resolutely refuses to accept the axioms and the experiences of the believer that he is felt to be beyond the reach of argument, since there is no common ground on which the two can meet at all; fifthly, because the statements are in themselves sometimes true, or partially true, but are mixed up with inferences to which they do not properly lead, and which seem to Christians to be infinitely false.

A few sentences from the first page of Colonel Ingersoll's first paper will prove, I think, that we have a right to complain of immeasurable assertions mixed up with unexceptionable truisms, in which, however, a false issue appears to be insinuated.

I. He begins by saying:

"*The same rules or laws of probability must govern in religious questions as in others.*"

This is an exceedingly dubious and disputable assertion. The first postulate of revelation is that it appeals to man's *spirit;* and the spirit is a sphere of being which transcends the spheres of the senses and the understanding. If a man denies the very existence of a spiritual intuition, he is like a blind man criticising colors, or a deaf man criticising harmonies. Revelation must be judged by its own criteria. St. Paul draws a marked distinction between the spirit of the world and the spirit which is of God. He claimed to speak, "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the spirit teacheth, interpreting spiritual things to spiritual men." And he adds: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; and *he cannot know them, because they are spiritually discerned.*" He seems then to lay down a rule which is the reverse of Colonel Ingersoll's.

The rules of probability in religious questions may be quite different from, and yet far stronger than, those which prevail in other questions. A man can hardly expect to understand the full force of evidence sufficient indeed for the understanding, but making its ultimate appeal to faculties which he has himself atrophied within him, or of which he repudiates the existence. Coleridge says :

> "The owlet Atheism,
> Sailing on obscene wings athwart the noon,
> Drops his blue-fringed lids, and holds them close,
> And, hooting at the glorious sun in heaven,
> Cries out, 'Where is it?'"

It is not open to agnostics to reply: "The evidences of Christianity are no evidences to us, since they are addressed to elements of being which we no longer possess." For those evidences are largely historical, and appeal to the reason, while they rest upon faith as to their final issues. And it may well be questioned whether any man, except by determined and dangerous choice, can utterly suppress elements which appear to be all but universal in man's essential nature; for, even if he have suppressed them, might he not resuscitate them? Or, if these propositions be disputed, ought he still to draw—and to endeavor to force upon others—inferences which may only be due to his own defective spirituality? Men of science tell us that there are ultra-violet rays of light invisible to the naked eye. Supposing that such rays can never be made apprehensible to *our* individual senses, are we therefore justified in a categorical denial that such rays exist? The truths which agnostics repudiate have been, and are, acknowledged by all except a fraction of the human race. Are the testimony and the judgment of mankind to go for nothing? Are we contemptuously to reject the witness of innumerable multitudes of the good and wise that—with a spiritual reality more convincing to them than the material evidences which converted the apostles—they have seen, and heard, and their hands have handled the Word of Life?

II. "*There is no subject,*" continues the Colonel, "*—and can be none—concerning which any human being is under any obligation to believe without evidence.*"

Certainly there is not. But the obvious insinuation that the truths of Christianity—nay, even the existence of God—are

"without evidence," is one of the immense instances of *petitio principii* in which the Colonel's pages abound. Plato speaks of men who can believe in nothing except what they can eat, or drink, or grasp in both hands. The *sort* of evidence which agnostics choose to claim may or may not be forthcoming, may or may not be rendered impossible by the nature of the case. But the notion that nine hundred and ninety-nine human beings out of every thousand believe in the existence of a God, and that one-third of the world's inhabitants have embraced the faith of Christians, "*without evidence,*" is outrageous and historically absurd. The divine beauty of Christianity itself, and its proved adaptability to the needs of every branch of the human race; the grandeur and predominance of Christendom; the ideal of Christ in its unparalleled and transcendent loveliness; a vast, continuous stream of historic testimony; the triumph of the cross over all the power, splendor, and genius of paganism; the conversion of the barbarian; the remoulding of all civilized society; the slow, yet visible and vast, amelioration which is being unbrokenly assured by the diffusion of truths which the Gospel first brought to light,—these are evidences of overwhelming force to many minds, and yet they constitute but a fraction of the deeper evidence, not only of the *existence* of God, but of the *revelation* of God by thousands of voices which speak to the mind of man as part of the daily and the most divine experience of unnumbered souls.

III. "*Neither is there any intelligent being who can, by any possibility, be flattered by the exercise of ignorant credulity.*"

I cannot go so far as to say that there is *no* being who might not possibly be so flattered; but every one will emphatically admit that GOD is not such a being. Only here, as is incessantly the case, Colonel Ingersoll merely sets up his own man of straw to enjoy the pleasure of knocking him down again. What does he gain by stigmatizing as "*ignorant credulity*" that inspired, inspiring, invincible conviction—the formative principle of noble efforts and self-sacrificing lives—which at this moment, as during all the long millenniums of the past, has been held not only by the ignorant and the credulous, but by those whom all the ages have regarded as the ablest, the wisest, the most learned, the most gifted of mankind?

IV. "*The man who, without prejudice, reads and understands*

the Old and New Testaments will cease to be an orthodox Christian."

What Colonel Ingersoll's definition of *"an orthodox Christian"* would be, I cannot pretend to imagine. Probably he would include under the word "orthodox" a great many views which *many* Christians have held, but which are in no sense a part of Christian faith, nor in any way essential to it. But I stand appalled before the enormous arrogance of assumption which thus looks down on some of the greatest intellects from the whole height of its own inferiority, and brands as "prejudiced" those myriads of students of Holy Writ who probably know ten thousand times more of the Scriptures than Colonel Ingersoll. Is a controversy to be decided by anybody's assertion that we are of necessity "prejudiced," merely because we believe in a God (if that be the Colonel's point), or because we hold unshaken the truths which we daily find to be prolific of blessing, and which are deepened in us by every expansion of our knowledge and every fact of our widening experience?

V. "*The intelligent man who investigates the religion of any country without fear and without prejudice will not and cannot be a believer.*"

Argal, every believer in any religion is either an incompetent idiot or a coward with a dash of prejudice! Such seems to be the only possible inference. If Colonel Ingersoll really takes in the meaning implied by his own words, I should think that he would have recoiled before the exorbitant and unparalleled hardihood of thus branding with fatuity, with craven timidity, or with indolent inability to resist a bias, the majority of mankind, as well as the brightest of human intellects. Surely no human being can be taken in by the show of self-confidence involved in such assertions as this! It is as useless to combat their unsupported obstreperousness as it is to argue with a man who bawls out a proposition in very loud tones and thumps the table to emphasize his own infallibility. We have but to glance at the luminous path in the firmament of human greatness to see thousands of names of men whose intellect (as he would himself be the first to admit) was, in comparison with the Colonel's, as Dhawalaghari to a molehill, who have yet studied each his own form of religion with infinitely greater power than he has done, and have set to their seal that God is true. If such names

as those of Jerome, Augustine, Alfred, Charlemagne, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Copernicus, Kepler, Verulam, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Ray, Newton, and all their starry compeers are now to be sneered at as credulous bigots of a pre-critical and pre-scientific age, are the great men of our own post-scientific age to be equally waved aside as incompetent and superstitious ?

Let the Colonel run through the names of all the truly great and world-famous Americans of his own day, as well as in the history of his country : can he produce even one who shared or shares his views ? We need but think of our own contemporaries. Dr. Whewell was a man whose range of knowledge was absolutely encyclopædic, and who had studied every branch of science and every phase of religion : he was a clergyman and an entire believer. Faraday was, by common consent, the most eminent man of science in his day; and he had the Christian faith of a child. Spottiswoode was president of the Royal Society, and his rare mathematical genius led all the scientists of his day to demand for him a grave, a few years ago, in Westminster Abbey. The dear friend of my college days, Professor Clark Maxwell, whose premature death was mourned by all, stood, by European acknowledgment, in the very front rank of scientific genius; and he was an earnest Christian. Sir Gabriel Stokes is the living president of the Royal Society, and a foremost representative of contemporary science; and he is a sincere and humble Churchman. So is Sir William Dawson, of Canada, who, two years ago, presided over the British Association. Professor Max Müller is almost the founder of the modern science of comparative religion; and not many years ago he delivered in Westminster Abbey an eloquent plea in favor of Christian missions. Colonel Ingersoll perhaps relies on the names of Mr. Darwin and Professors Tyndall and Huxley; but, not to dwell on the fact that their supposed beliefs are the exception, rather than the rule, among men of science, not one of them has ever denied the existence of a God. They would certainly reject a great part of what Colonel Ingersoll asserts.

And if we turn to all the greatest living writers of England and America of this generation, I doubt whether even one of them was or is an "agnostic," much less an atheist. Lord Tennyson and Mr. Browning stand far above all other poets of this genera-

tion in England, as Longfellow, and Holmes, and Lowell, and Whittier do in America. Ruskin and Carlyle in England, Bancroft and Parkman in America, are leading prose writers. Which of all these is an agnostic? And why need we set aside all the theologians? Dr. Lightfoot was a man of immense learning and ability, and is equalled in these respects by his successor, Dr. Westcott, who superadds to those qualities a real spiritual genius: they have investigated the Christian religion and its earliest documents *au fond*, and are in the highest sense of the word "orthodox believers." Are we at once to take Colonel Ingersoll's decision either that they are not "intelligent men," or that they only studied religion with fear and prejudice? He appears to disbelieve in the existence of a God. But M. Renan, whom he will hardly characterize as an ignorant, credulous, or biassed religionist, will tell him that "the progress of reason is fatal only to the false gods. The true God of the universe, the one God whom men adore when they do a good deed, or when they advise their fellow-men aright, is established for all eternity."

I might follow Colonel Ingersoll through page after page of his δόγματα ἀναπόδεικτα, if space permitted; but I think that these his first sentences will suffice to show that we may not unreasonably demur to his statements. In many things which he says it seems to me that he entirely mistakes and misstates the standpoint of Christians. His paper seems to me to be full—if he will pardon the expression—of immeasurable confusions. He speaks with broad contempt of beliefs which are to me, as to thousands—nay to millions—of mankind, dearer than mortal life; yet we reply to him without anger or denunciation, desiring only to indicate why his writings and speeches will leave Christianity exactly where they found it. The truths which made their way through the civilized world in spite of frantic opposition—the truths which prevailed over Judaism with its fifteen hundred years of gorgeous worship and solemn memories—the truths against which a splendid civilization in all the plenitude of its imperial power arrayed itself in vain,—are not likely to be shaken, now that they have been so long, and so passionately, and so beneficially accepted by all that which history reveals as greatest and noblest in the intellect and character of our race. The faith whose fundamental doctrines have seen generations of opponents sink into oblivion has nothing to fear from rhetorical assault. It throve and conquered

not only in spite of thirty legions, but also in spite of all that the flashing wit of Lucian, or the haughty mysticism of Porphyry, or the battering eloquence and keen criticism of Celsus could do against it. Hobbes, Spinoza, Bayle, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the keen sarcasm of Voltaire, the powerful style of Diderot, the English Deists, the French Encyclopædists, the corrosive analysis of the school of Tübingen, the microscopic skepticism of Strauss, the perfumed dreams of Renan—what have they effected? Count over our great statesmen, our great writers, our great travellers, even our great scientists, and the infidels among them can be reckoned on the fingers. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* The argumentative position of Christianity is stronger at this moment than it ever was. All that Colonel Ingersoll has said or can say against it has been said better and said before, and has not produced the slightest appreciable effect upon the judgment of mankind.

I do not use the word "infidel" with the least desire to create any unfair prejudice. The word has always been understood to mean one who does not believe in the existence of God, and this I suppose to be Colonel Ingersoll's position. If he prefers to call himself "an agnostic," let him by all means retain the title. But it is a very vague title. There is *a sense* in which we are all agnostics. We all admit that "what we know is little, what we are ignorant of is immense." Few thoughtful men accept the utterances of those divines who speak of God "as familiarly as they would about a man whom they knew in the next street." We profess no such intimate knowledge of what has taken place "in the inmost council-chambers of the Trinity" as has filled many a futile folio of that kind of theology which, to quote the phrase of Roger Bacon, "*languet et asininat circum male intellecta.*" "He that cometh to God must believe that he is," says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." The former of those truths we know by a conviction which has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, and is interfused with the most essential elements of our being. The second we believe from daily spiritual experience, confirmed by that of generations of the most truthful, the most innocent, and the most noble of mankind. These truths, and those which are enshrined in the Apostle's creed, contain all that is indispensable for Christian communion.

The essential doctrines of the church must be judged by her universal formulæ, not by the opinions of this or that theologian, however eminent, or even of any number of theologians, unless the church has stamped them with the sanction of her formal and distinct acceptance. "Everything in the choir of heaven and the furniture of earth," it has been said, "is a proof of human ignorance." In other words, *omnia exeunt in mysterium*. We cannot advance far in any direction, whether in religion or in science, without finding ourselves face to face with an adamantine wall of impenetrable contradictions. But this consideration has never affected the fundamental beliefs of man. Job profoundly trusted in God; yet he asked: "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" Our beliefs are surrounded by immense and innumerable perplexities; but those perplexities do not distress us, because we know them to be due to the inevitable limitations of our finite understandings. With the wise ancient rabbis we learn to say, "*I do not know.*" Nor is it Christians only who have successfully transcended these difficulties. The Brahmanic religion is famous for its meditative profundity, and no thinkers—not even those of the school of Alexandria—were more deeply impressed with the unimaginable transcendency of the supreme than were the early Hindoo Vedantists. In one of their philosophemes Brahma shoots down a pillar of light between the two conflicting inferior deities, Vishnu and Sheeva. Vishnu wings his way upwards for a thousand years with the speed of lightning, but he finds himself no nearer the summit of that pillar. Sheeva wings his way downwards with the speed of lightning for a thousand years, but he finds himself no nearer to its base. Thus strikingly did they express the unsearchableness of the Divine Essence; and yet they believed therein.

So far as I can see, the arguments on which Colonel Ingersoll mainly relies in his attacks on Christianity, and, indeed, on all forms of religious faith, are, first, the difficulty of conceiving the nature of God; secondly, the existence of evil; thirdly, the impossibility of miracles; and fourthly, the asserted errors and imperfections of the Bible. To answer him fully, argument by argument and point by point, would take volumes, because it is always possible to state an objection in a sentence which it

requires a whole education to refute. I should be perfectly willing to meet each objection separately and point by point. But as this is impossible in the space at my disposal, I will merely glance at the first two.

I. (1) He seems to think that, because certain conceptions are inexplicable, they are therefore inconceivable and non-existent. "*Is it possible for the human mind to conceive of an infinite personality?*" he asks. Why, certainly it is; for human minds innumerable have done so. When we talk of things "inconceivable," "unthinkable," "incomprehensible," we only mean that our faculties are finite and limited. And yet we may believe, and are forced to believe, in the existence of things beyond their range. The *asymptote* is a mathematical line which constantly approaches nearer and nearer to a circle, and which yet never touches it, though it be produced to infinity. What are we to make of "everlasting approximation, yet impossible concourse"? The thing is inconceivable; and yet let Colonel Ingersoll ask any mathematician, and he will tell him that there is such a line as the asymptote, and that you cannot displace the line ever so little without its cutting off an arc of the circle.

(2) Again, the Colonel says: "*Can the human mind imagine a beginningless being?*" and proceeds to show, not the contradiction, but the purely *à-priori* assumption of improbability which arises from such a conception. Does he believe that there is such a thing as *space?* He will hardly be guilty of the absurdity of denying that he does. Well, but space is quite as impossible to conceive as God. "Considered in itself," says Sir William Hamilton, "space is positively inconceivable, either as *absolute* or as *infinite*. It is inconceivable as a whole, either infinitely bounded, or absolutely unbounded; it is unthinkable as a part, either infinitely divisible, or absolutely indivisible." Yet space is an entity. "While, on the hypothesis of their objectivity," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "space and time must be classed as things, we find, on experiment, that to represent them in thought as things is impossible." They are entirely unthinkable as entities, because they have no attributes, and because we cannot assert of them either that they are limited or that they are unlimited. We can, for instance, "form no mental image of unbounded space, and yet are totally unable to imagine bounds beyond which there is no space." Space and time, then,

are wholly incomprehensible ; and "while our belief in their objective reality is insurmountable, we are unable to give any rational account of it."

That is but one passing illustration out of multitudes which might be given, but it is quite sufficient to demonstrate the absolute futility of such arguments against the existence of God, and against any act of creation, as Colonel Ingersoll attempts to draw from the *à-priori* difficulties on which he dwells. We meet with what appear to be direct antinomies in every region of our existence, and they affect neither our primary beliefs nor our daily actions, because we know that they simply arise from the limitations of our imperfect nature, and from the fact that we only see an infinitesimal arc of an immeasurable curve.

II. Passing to another sphere of argument, Colonel Ingersoll seems to assume that the existence of evil disproves the existence of God. He says: "*He who cannot harmonize the cruelties of the Bible with the goodness of Jehovah, cannot harmonize the cruelties of Nature with the goodness and wisdom of a supposed Deity. He will find it impossible to account for pestilence and famine, for earthquake and storm, for slavery, for the triumph of the strong over the weak,*" etc., etc., etc. I say "etc., etc., etc.," simply because any amount of expansion or reiteration makes no difference whatever to the main position. What can Colonel Ingersoll say about the so-called "cruelties of Nature" which was not more forcibly said by St. Paul in the single verse, "We know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now"? and what can he say about the multitudinous miseries of man more decisive than St. Paul's, "And not only so, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves"?

The Apostle, at any rate, felt no sort of disturbance from the multiplication of reams of illustrations which might be founded on his admission. He was perfectly well aware that evil exists as well as good in this world of God. He knew that

> "Dragons were, and serpents are,
> And blind-worms will be";

nor did he attempt for a moment to

> "Skin and film the ulcerous place"

by any rose-pink optimism. He might have shown that this suffering educes heroism in a thousand forms, and serves to the

immense ennoblement of all that is sacred and unselfish in human life. He might have argued that "a world without a contingency or an agony could have had no hero and no saint." He could have proved that, in thousands of unsuspected ways, God educes good out of evil. He might have demonstated, as modern science enables us to demonstrate with still more cogency, that much of the apparent misery and anguish is transitory, and even phantasmal; that many of the seeming forces of destruction are overruled to ends of beneficence; that most of man's disease and anguish is due to his own sin and folly and willfulness, not to God; that the signature of beauty with which God has stamped the whole visible world, alike in the sky and on the earth, alike in the most majestic phenomena of unintelligent creation and in its humblest and most microscopic productions, is a perpetual proof that God is a God of love; that we only have to look up to the soft beneficence of the overarching azure to see that "we were not made in vain"; and that, after we have contemplated nature at her worst, we may still declare that her myriad voices in their mirth and sweetness, her pomp of glorious hues, her revelries of delicious ripeness, her kind smile, her sweet human faces are a perpetual protest against the pessimism of man's blind despair. Even if we had no hope beyond, we could still "climb by these sunbeams to the Father of Lights"; we could still say from the teachings of nature that

> "God is seen God
> In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and the clod.
> And then, looking within and around me, I ever renew
> (With that stoop of the soul, which, in bending, upraises it too)
> The submission of man's nothing-perfect to God's all-complete,
> As by each new obeisance in spirit I climb to his feet."

But St. Paul did not deem it necessary to enter into any of these considerations. One belief was sufficient to make the groaning of all creation and of man no insuperable problem to him—the belief, namely, that there should come the Palingenesia, the restoration of all things; and that alike we ourselves and the unintelligent creation are all waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.

Let me assure Colonel Ingersoll that he will not make a single convert, or pervert, by endless variations of the one fundamental theme that evil exists. The arguments reduce themselves to the

antique and perfectly inefficacious one: "Evil exists; therefore God must be either weak to permit it, or wicked to cause it." A babe in Christ will not be disturbed by such considerations. "*How can the Deist satisfactorily account for the sufferings of women and children?*" asks Colonel Ingersoll. We do not pretend to offer any compact logical solution of the problem of evil. We are not called upon to construct theodicæas; we are called upon to love God and our neighbor, and herein lies for us the path of perfect confidence and perfect peace. The syllogism of faith is differently constructed from the syllogism of doubt, but to our minds it carries its own triumphant demonstration There is nothing new in the reiterated objection. It has already been considered in three whole books of the Old Testament, as well as in many isolated passages.

Colonel Ingersoll is troubled about the martyrs. He says that the believer "*will find it impossible to account for the martyrs—for the burning of the good, the noble, the loving, by the ignorant, the malicious, and the infamous.*" He cannot hate the Inquisition more cordially than I do, but he cannot put the martyrs to a worse use, or one which they would have more indignantly repudiated, than to use their heroic sufferings as an argument for overthrowing the faith for which they died. They would have smiled with infinite pity at the inference which he deduces from their fate. Torture and stake never disturbed for a moment the blissful serenity of their faith in God. Not one of them but would have said: "Though he slay me, yet put I my trust in him." His Spirit was to them as "a moist, whistling wind" amid the roaring furnace, and he let his angel of the dew stand by them in the flames. They experienced the divine paradox of Christianity—joy in the midst of much affliction. We have no right to assume that the primary duty of the Divine Being was to create the greatest amount of immediate comfort; but the sufferers to whose case the Colonel appeals to disprove the existence of God looked on martyrdom as their crown of rejoicing, and would have been the most earnest in proclaiming his immeasurable love.

To turn for one moment only to positive considerations: two things which are about us and within us should be ample to prove the being of a God: the two things which Kant said impressed him with such solemn awe—"the starry heavens above, and the moral law within."

"The starry heavens above." "*It is all very well, gentlemen, but who made all these?*" asked the young Napoleon, pointing to the stars of heaven, as he sat with the French *savans* on the deck of the vessel which was carrying him to Egypt, after they had proved to their own satisfaction that there was no God. To most minds it is a question finally decisive. We take up a book—the poems of Homer or the Vedas of Hindostan. They were written unknown centuries ago. The hands have long been unmortised from the wrists of those who wrote them, and have crumbled into dust, and they themselves have become but a legend and a name, or not even a name: yet you might as well try to persuade us that the material constituents of those books had sprung into existence by the accidental conflux of chance atoms, and that the letters had danced into fortuitous agglomeration and shaped themselves into philosophy and song, as argue, with the atheist, that the wide seas and the everlasting hills, the air we breathe, the liquid crystal that we drink, the blue sky over our heads and the white clouds that float in it, the trees in the illimitable forests and the birds and the beasts that dwell in their shadow, and the sun and the moon and the stars also, and man with his wide thoughts and holy prayers,—that all these things, with all the pomp and prodigality of their beauty, their wonder, and their power, *made themselves;* or—which is the same thing in other words—that they were the fortuitous result of eddying atoms, blind forces, impersonal laws. From the great sun in the heavens to the little wayside flower, freaked with crimson or interlaced with purple lines; from the star Sirius, rushing from us with inconceivable velocity into unknown space, to the feather on a bird or the smallest of the 34,000 eyes of the dragonfly, the whole universe is revealing to us

> "The unambiguous footsteps of a God
> Who gives its lustre to the insect's wing,
> And wheels his chariot in the rolling worlds."

And if we be blind to these sights, deaf to these voices, dead to these appeals, we have a voice within us, still and small, yet louder than the thunder. Conscience not only tells us of the God above us; it is the voice of God within us. It is the "Categoric Imperative" which says to each man: "Thou must," "Thou oughtest." It is "the aboriginal vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its

sanctions and anathemas." It is "the wondrous power which works neither by insinuation, flattery, nor threat; but, merely by holding up the naked law in the soul, extorts for itself reverence, if not always obedience, and before which all appetites are dumb, however secretly they may rebel."

The infidel entangles himself in difficulties incomparably more insoluble than the believer. He is utterly unable to account for the existence of matter or of force. He can give no explanation of the origin of motion; or of the source of life; or of the obvious design which runs through the whole of nature; or of the dawn of consciousness and rational thought; or of the freedom of the will.* But, without entering on any of these subjects, we may say, as Carlyle said of Frederick the Great, that to him "it was flatly inconceivable that intellect and moral emotion could have been put in him by an entity that had none of its own."

F. W. FARRAR.

* These difficulties in the path of the atheist were well enforced in a lecture by DuBois Reymond, the secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

AUDACITY IN WOMEN NOVELISTS.

BY GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

In her paper on "Conversational Immoralities," in The North American Review for April, Mrs. Amelia E. Barr urged forcibly—and with much good sense, as well as delicate feeling—that, since "words are realities" to the mind, and have the power to evoke deeds, the utmost care should be taken to put restrictions upon conversation in order to preserve a tone of purity, not only between men and women, but also among women themselves. Her warning also touched flattery, jealousy, satire, snubbing, and all the cardinal vices of social talk. But it was against conversation tending towards sensualism that her main attack was made; and her plea was especially earnest that the innocence of girls be kept unspotted from dangerous discussions of vice.

No one can deny the wisdom of her counsel and the merit of her aim. But when she falls back on the old idea that maiden innocence can be kept only by ignorance of things about which it is impossible for people to remain ignorant, she takes ground which is not only very debatable, but, in the minds of many sound thinkers, is also dangerous to the true interests of morality. She has been unfortunate if she has not met young women of perfect innocence who, with absolute propriety, purity, and modesty, could discuss with their accepted lovers the problem of "La Traviata." There are many young unmarried women in the United States who have observed and studied widely, who are familiar with the scenes and significance of hospitals; who know that larger field-hospital which includes the sin and suffering of more than half of society; but have never lost the fineness of their feminine nature. On the contrary, those who have seen such women must know that they are quite able to keep the grace and beauty and delicate charm that belong to them by right, yet to add to these a still nobler glory of womanhood. There may at times be peril in the work of young women undertaken as charity

toward the fallen of their sex, whom Mrs. Barr chooses rather to call by a coarser name. But if words have so much influence on the mind, can it be better to describe these "unfortunates" by a rough and coarse word than to use the gentler term?

After all, one must go deeper than the word and the letter, and must build upon the *spirit* of the young woman in order to make her safe from contamination. Decent and gentle words, interpreted by the spirit of a man or woman rightly trained, will be better than vile and contemptuous epithets. But, for the right training there must be clear knowledge, that puts various facts into their due relation. The withholding of knowledge, or, as we may say, ignorance arbitrarily imposed,—for the good, as it is believed, of a class or the mass,—is the basis of all repression, superstition, or benevolent despotism. If it be wise to impose it on young people in order to keep conversation pure, then it must be right to impose it on literature in order to keep that pure, by means of censorship. And if this is to be the ground-plan of women's life and thought, it follows that the utterances of women in books must always be more bounded and guarded than those of men.

Lately the plays of Ibsen have been much talked of among English-speaking folk, and it is to be noted that women especially are interested in them; some regarding Ibsen as the champion of their sex, while others treat him as their foe. Both parties start from the same premise—that Ibsen handles without reserve sundry abuses and defects in society and marriage. Yet they reach opposite conclusions. Who is to decide between them? Is it possible to keep this controversy from the knowledge of the young women? Even if it were possible, it still remains the right of all women to know what is going on that concerns them. But if we forbid them to talk about it, we must likewise forbid them to write. Again quite lately Tolstoï's novel, "The Kreutzer Sonata," has been barred from publication in Russia, because, as it is said, it favors wife-murder in the case of a loveless marriage. Here is a problem, one would say, which is of some interest to women. Murder will out—even if it be only an imaginary crime on paper; and the officially-suppressed book, though it cannot "out," is sure to get around surreptitiously. Yet a New York newspaper of high repute has come forward with an editorial article giving the gist of the book, thereby circulating the supposed harmful theory;

and then has declared that the Russian censor did well to suppress the work. Truly the sympathy diplomatically supposed to exist between Russia and the United States must be spreading apace! The shrewder plan would be—especially since this book is to be discussed editorially—to publish it, see what it is, and then refute its mistakes. If Russian students and young men of other nations are going into training to become the wife-murderers of the future, by means of a book privately circulated and openly considered, fair play demands that young women should have a chance to talk the matter over a little bit before they agree to be married and murdered. The more open the conference as to this matter of detail, the better would be the result for all persons concerned; and probably, as the conversation went on, the less would the young men want to kill the young women.

Meanwhile a number of very capable and generally irreproachable women have solved for themselves the question of free utterance in literature, without waiting for the adjustment of abstract theories or concrete regulations. This is a fact of great importance; especially when we bear in mind that the work of women authors—and in particular those who write fiction—is growing every day more copious and gaining greater influence. It was significant that the three novels of the year 1888 which most aroused the readers of English, and were talked about until the very sound of their titles caused weariness, came from the pens of women. The attention they drew was not the result of impropriety, but of strength, originality, and independence. Yet "Elsmere," "John Ward," and the "African Farm" all showed a boldness which, only a generation ago, would have been thought foreign to the feminine mind and censurable if found there.

More than a little of the fiction produced by women nowadays might, if issued anonymously, pass easily as the work of men. This statement is not made as a compliment or the reverse, but simply as a citation of fact for observers of literature, or psychology, or social metamorphosis. Two or three of the more eminent examples in point, within the last forty years, have been very striking. And I may say here, it is an interesting circumstance that the stories published by Miss Murfree under the style of "Charles Egbert Craddock" were everywhere supposed to be a man's stories until she disclosed her identity; after which the fact that she was known to be a woman seems to have reacted on

the authoress and to have affected her writing. For she then gave free play to an exaggerated sentimentality of description which previously she had curbed. Mrs. Elizabeth Stoddard, in quite another line, is an instance of a woman writing with that sort of vigor which, for want of a more searching and pliable term, we call masculine. There is a certain impartiality which every good novelist must have if he or she would write truthfully and strongly. It is not so much that the author should lose his or her personality in the imaginative representation of life. It is, rather, that he or she should be freed from the narrow bounds of that mere conventional identity to which we are all confined so long as we consent to regard ourselves simply as others regard us—as one of the crowd who must behave and think in a set manner. The author must rise out of this little individuality into the larger one of a free, observant, independent mind—quite untrammelled by personal considerations—before he or she can depict life well in novel or play. If this privilege is to be denied to women, it is clear that their function as authors must be seriously limited. But it is equally clear that they do not intend to submit to such denial.

Mrs. Stoddard's novels have recently been reprinted, and have won deserved recognition and praise after a long delay. But imagine the shock with which an unready public, twenty-five years ago, must have read these remarks by Roxalana, a moral, obedient, and kindly woman, in Mrs. Stoddard's "Temple House":

"I do not see what a profound love has to do with principle or reason. If love was not *a separate power, impregnable to conscience*, human nature would be a feebly-sustained thing. It [love] should exist for itself and by itself; and then, through it, we poor creatures may be exalted in spite of vice and crime."

Or this, from the villain of the story, who sets forth brutally, but beyond contradiction, a considerable part of the truth:

"I love you. Do you know what I mean? Do you understand men, my princess? We are procreators, providers, protectors, but we are lustful, acute, selfish for you women: the best, wisest, most tender hero is also what I say. What would be the form of society, if he were not so? When our functions cease, let us be children again and gentle, fulfilling the charities again, and bridge our way to heaven."

This is far from being the whole truth; yet it is an essential portion of it; and, without a clear perception of this, the finer and lovelier half of the entire truth about human nature cannot be distinctly and completely comprehended. Mrs. Stoddard vividly presents that other half, and it is quite certain that her sym-

pathies are with it, and that her influence is cast without hesitation upon the side of good morals and honest conduct. That she openly recognizes and carefully weighs each element is a proof of her strength and veracity. That it is a woman who thus holds the scales is a circumstance which demands our serious and respectful attention. Yet when Mrs. Stoddard began to publish, it was deemed unfitting for a woman to give to the world with so much candor the results of such clear-sighted observation as hers. It was thought to be audacity; and it is audacity now. Yet there are times when audacity is needed. Another of Mrs. Stoddard's personages, an old serving-women, Chloë, says: "When we want to commit a deadly sin, the most of us are n't a mite afraid; but in the 'How are yous?' and the 'Do come agains,' we are scared." This is the spirit which causes society to take fright at the boldness of some modern women in their books. But the emancipation which is going on should, on the whole, I think, be accepted as the sign of a healthful change.

It is not to be wished that women should affect mannishness in their writing any more than that men should become womanish. There is a ground upon which both can meet on terms of equality, retaining their separate attributes and yet exchanging them to some extent—that is, the ground of their art. Coleridge was, perhaps, the first thinker who brought out distinctly the principle that the highest creative genius in a man must include the feminine quality. At all events, every one now recognizes the truth of this; and therefore we must accept the converse, that the greatest imaginative genius in a woman must include something of the masculine quality. The tenderness, the intuitive comprehension of moods or sentiments, the breadth and intensity of emotion in Robert Browning do not for a moment hide the masculine nature of his mental action; the close-grained, robust muscularity of thought, as we may say, which is one of his greatest traits. Nor did the intellect of Mrs. Browning, though strong and direct beyond that of the average of her sex, and fitted to grapple with severe facts or hard problems, make her any the less truly or obviously a woman in her poetry. George Eliot and George Sand did the work, surely, of men in literature, so far as strength and grasp are concerned. They illustrate that converse of Coleridge's proposition which I have just drawn out. Yet the last and closest analysis would be likely to reveal a preponderant

influence of the writer's sex, even in George Eliot and George Sand. This is quite natural; nor do we want to have the male or the female mind transformed one into the other. Either may include, say, an octave of the other's natural register; just as there are men with high tenor voices and women with deep contralto tones, the *timbre* of which, however, discriminates them. The discrimination cannot be made so easily nor so sharply in literature; but this image will suggest my meaning. In fact, as was remarked before, women's writings may often be mistaken for men's. But I think it has now been shown that the woman in such a case need not lose or in any way discredit her feminine nature.

Every imaginative mind of the best and strongest sort must unite some of the elements of both sexes; as the perfect flower contains alike stamen and pistil. It is from such union in one mind, whether lodged in man or woman, that the richest bloom and most substantial fruitage of poetry and fiction must come. Of course the blending may occur in many different proportions, giving an endless variety of intermixture. But what I am trying to do here is to trace a natural law which affects artistic minds, and to clear away the sand-heaps of prejudice that constantly fall in on the explorer. If the law exist in the noblest types of creative mind and the world's finest literature, we have no right to hinder women from obeying it. And it appears that an increasing number of them recognize the law and the right which it confers. The shock that causes the sand-heaps to tumble in and blind a good many of us comes when women authors choose to deal frankly with sin and vice and crime as a part of the spectacle of life, a very serious and uncompromising element in our existence. The clods of primitive humanity, and the earthy stains of that low estate from which we gradually arose as a race of intelligent beings, still cling to us. It is mortifying and unpleasant to think upon; nor is it flattering to our pride to reflect that brain and soul are joined to a physical nature which has an ugly and depressing side. But as we are all obliged to live under the shadow of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, it will be wise to make the best of our lot, and to throw as much light as possible into the shadow, in the hope of finally dispersing it. Women can aid in doing this quite as well as men, and possibly, in the end, much more efficaciously than men.

Probably a great many aberrations and extravagancies of the feminine mind will occur in the course of the new development which it is taking. These must be expected, and should be met with all available composure. Men have had full swing for their aberrations during a long period, and ought not to be surprised if women use the same privilege. But there is no reason in the nature of things why the books of women, if they are thought to be bad in tendency, should be condemned simply because women wrote them. We do not regard a bad book with any added horror because a man is the author; and, as I have tried to point out, in authorship both sexes come upon a common ground. Neither is a woman's good book any the better because a woman wrote it. The novels of Ouida are full of genius, imagination, and powerful character-drawing; but, in the main, are morbid and unwholesome. It matters nothing to the world, essentially, that they emanate from a woman's mind. A few young women, in the last two or three years, have taken pains to put forth trashy and lascivious novels, which have given the talkers of nonsense a great deal to talk about. But so far as the effect on readers goes, it would make no whit of difference who scribbled these tales, if the talkers of nonsense would refrain from laying stress on the fact that they were scribbled by girls. These young women are trading on their sex. They offer us a mere travesty or mockery of the law that the really strong and honest women of great intellect follow, in writing seriously and sincerely about that very serious, but sometimes *in*sincere, thing, human life and society. Take away from these young women the false importance now foolishly ascribed to the fact of their sex, and you take away all that part of their stock in trade which seems to cast discredit on womanhood. For when they write vicious books, they really lower only themselves, and not their sex collectively.

These are the persons who give to audacity in women novelists a bad meaning. But, on the other side of the account, we have a lengthening list of those women who have been audacious in the good sense. Mrs. Humphry Ward, Margaret Deland, and Olive Schreiner all appear in that list. Many others are included in it; but I will take the liberty of mentioning only Mrs. Amelia E. Barr. If she did not represent, even though unconsciously, the great advance of women in entering upon their right publicly to discuss troublesome evils, she would not have published her paper

on "Conversational Immoralities." Mrs. Barr is throwing light into the shadow; and so are many other thoughtful and worthy women.

We have already drawn far away from the plaintive harp, the twilight, and the patient embroidery days of "The Female Poets of America." We have left behind us the tranquil repose of Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth, Miss Sedgwick, and the Misses Warner (in their several kinds and degrees). We have reached a stage when the diary of Marie Bashkirtseff stirs up a popular interest that shows how eager the world is to have a fuller and freer literary expression of the life and the thinking of women. That diary seems to be a somewhat abnormal affair: still, it throws light; and this is what we want—throwing light into the shadow. Never fear! There will always be mystery enough in our life, without our cultivating it artificially where no mystery need be. The instinctive and vigorous advance of women towards the free and open discussion of matters which are possibly of even more vital moment to them than to any one else appears to me most encouraging. It is in accord with the larger liberty extended to them in all fields of action,—in law, medicine, theology, and business,—and their quiet assumption of freedom in literature is an inevitable result of the gains which they have made in other directions.

The world reveres Shakespeare; but it has no reason to be proud of his grossness; and critics make every effort to remove the blot of it from his fame. It may possibly happen that in the future we shall have some female Shakespeare who will defy decency as much as the greatest of English men poets defied it. That would be a gruesome result of the emancipation of women's minds. Still, we should have to face it. But I do not think it will come. More and more, women are learning what this world is in which they live; and, as they learn, they are inclined to talk and write about it, and to lessen the bestiality and misery they see here. Their influence is for purity; and, notwithstanding the unworthy lapses of some of them who write viciously, the more swiftly their freedom in literature is granted, the speedier will their triumph in the cause of purity be.

Human nature has a higher temperature than a glacier, but it moves just as slowly. We should remember this, when judging this movement of women which has now begun. I believe that,

by the mingling of free feminine thought with the current of literature, we shall be borne on to a most desirable goal. If women express themselves freely in books, they will learn to understand their own nature better than they do now; and men also will understand it better. Shakespeare, with all his comprehensiveness, placed life before us mainly from the masculine point of view. Not until the view of women shall receive a similar illustration can the imaginative genius of humanity reach its greatest development. When the feminine and the masculine shall be thoroughly combined by a general meeting of minds in literature, as they are combined now only in the single minds of certain individuals, we shall get something like a complete expression of life. This result may take for its fulfilment a thousand years. But we may as well begin training the eyes of the race to see it; so that, when it shall become a reality, it may be greeted as giving a prospect of multiplied happiness and of a long-continuing, victorious progress.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

THE MISSISSIPPI FLOODS.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. W. GREELY, CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER, U. S. A.

THERE has been of late quite a widespread inquiry as to whether or not the climatic conditions of the earth are changing, and whether floods, tornadoes, and other destructive meteorological phenomena are not more frequent in this than in former ages.

As regards temperature, which, to most people, goes far toward constituting climate, the question of secular change can only be indefinitely settled, owing to the fact that exact methods of measuring the temperature of the air were wanting until within the past two centuries.

But as to freshets and inundations there is ample evidence to show the severity and frequency of these destructive phenomena, and the universality of their prevalence is, perhaps, best exemplified in the tradition of a general flood, since this myth is common to almost every nation or people.

Floods and inundations have been very serious matters in Europe for several centuries, and during the past generation the question of their origin, progress, and amelioration has engaged the attention of the ablest European engineers. In what may be called a local way, since the catchment basin of the Seine has an area of less than thirty thousand square miles (less than one-fortieth of the area basin of the Mississippi), the problem has been most clearly stated and settled in France by Belgrand and Chateaublanc. The *reboisement*, or reforestation, of the mountain slopes of southeastern France has done much in modifying the torrents therefrom; while the establishment of more than one hundred gauging and rainfall stations enables forecasts to be made with a fair degree of accuracy as to height, time, and duration.

Even were the geological conditions of the Mississippi basin known as definitely as those of the Seine, yet a similar extension

in the United States of gauging and rainfall stations could not be looked for, since a proportionate number would be over four thousand stations, against one hundred and fifteen at present.

It is only within the past thirty years, as the United States have become more densely populated and the demand for rich and arable ground has correspondingly increased, that the problem in question—that of floods—has received any extended and scientific consideration. The elaborate and valuable work of Humphrey and Abbott on the Mississippi River embodies the first systematic efforts to investigate this question scientifically. This investigation, interrupted by the War of the Rebellion, has only been renewed within the past few years. The most competent engineers of the country have had under consideration the question as to what methods, if any, will mitigate or ameliorate these recurring disasters. The methods to be followed and the damages to be averted involve ultimately hundreds of millions of dollars, and the question is one which cannot be treated cursorily, even by the best engineers of the world. The present writer is in no way an engineer, but in the official line of his duties his attention was brought, some sixteen years since, to the manner in which floods form and to the extent to which inundations occur over areas susceptible to damage by these freshets.

The suggested remedies for the amelioration of flood conditions along the Mississippi River have frequently emanated from persons either superficially informed concerning the problem, or who have failed to grasp its enormous import and to comprehend the vast array of physical data bearing on a question concerning the drainage area of a third of the United States.

The oldest and most strongly-urged plan is the so-called reservoir system—that is, the impounding of the spring freshets near the headwaters of the tributaries, particularly of the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, so as to remedy the flood conditions in the lower valley, while at the same time furnishing motive power for industrial purposes or reserving a supply of irrigating water for agricultural purposes. The writer believes that the statements following herein, which are only a résumé of facts, clearly disclose the futility of this method, which has, however, received indorsement in high places.

The present damaging flood renders it, perhaps, a suitable time to present a definite description of some of the characteris-

tic features of the great floods of the Mississippi catchment basin, and to point out some of the fallacies and erroneous opinions which are believed to prevail generally, even among the educated and thoughtful classes of Americans. If this paper serves no other purpose, it is possible that the facts set forth may serve as convincing proof that certain suggested methods for preventing injuries by floods are chimerical and impracticable.

Possibly there is no opinion regarding the causes of floods more general and more firmly fixed in the public mind than that the greater part of the floods of the Mississippi are the result of melting snows near the headwaters of the tributaries in the Rocky Mountain ranges. The general public may be pardoned for this opinion when the idea is gravely and seriously advanced before a congressional committee that the floods of the lower Mississippi can be ameliorated by impounding in artificial basins the waters near the head of the more important tributaries. Still further may the student, even, be misled when so careful and able a writer as Woeikof, in his "*Klima der Erde*," sets forth almost the same opinion. Speaking of the Mississippi, he says:

"The upper river rises under the influence of the melting snow, and the high water which sometimes rises therefrom meets in the lower part of the stream the higher water of the spring rainfalls in the districts of the Ohio, Red, and other rivers."

Let us first examine the question as to what influence, if any, the melting snow exerts on the upper Mississippi and the Missouri.

If the flood water comes from melting snows, it is evident that either the water must reach the rivers during the winter months, which the river stages show is not the case, or the snow must be on the ground at the end of the winter. The following figures show the amount of snow, in inches, at the end of January, February, and March, as deduced from observations for nine consecutive years, over the section of country where the headwaters of the tributaries of the Mississippi are situated:

At the end of January—Dakota, average amounts, from 2 to 13 inches; Colorado, 2 to 7; Montana, 3 to 10; Wyoming, 3 to 4.

At the end of February—Dakota, average amounts, from 1 to 13 inches; Colorado, 3 to 11; Montana, 2 to 8; Wyoming, 1 to 4.

In March, the month when the mean temperatures over these States rise above the freezing-point for the greater part of the day, the snow remaining at the end of the month averages as follows: Dakota, from 1 to 4 inches; Colorado, from 5 to 12;

Montana, from trace to 1 inch; Wyoming, from trace to over 4 inches.

It must not be considered that these figures indicate the presence of snow at the end of either January, February, or March over the entire area of these States. It is an exception when the greater part of the territory is covered with snow for any considerable number of days. As a rule, snow disappears over the greater part of the Rocky Mountain region nearly as rapidly as it falls. The considerable amount of snow (5 to 12 inches) noted in Colorado, the most southerly of the States named, depends on the fact that the observations include measurements made on Pike's Peak summit and at other elevated stations in the mountain regions, where the snowfall is heaviest and whence the floods are supposed to proceed. But even there at the end of March the amount of snow, if melted all at once, would barely equal an inch of water.

"If, then, the snow does not melt and flow into the streams, what becomes of it?" some person will ask. This question is easily answered by any one who has lived in either of the States named, and who has noticed the rapidity with which the dry, cold air, even when far below the freezing-point, absorbs by evaporation the small amount of snow as it falls.

Save in a very few localities, the snowfalls of the Rocky Mountain region are comparatively trivial. The entire amount of snow which annually falls in Nebraska and Wyoming varies, on the average, from one to two feet; and in Dakota and Montana from one and a half to two and a half feet. This is based on the supposition that the entire precipitation from December to February inclusive is in the form of snow, which is not strictly true; so that the average amount of snow for the whole of the Rocky Mountain region does not exceed one and a half feet annually.

The little influence exerted by snowfalls upon the upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers is shown by the fact that at St. Paul the Mississippi, usually frozen until about March 20, remains until that time at or near its lowest stage for the year—three feet or less above the lowest water ever known. The Mississippi at that point is frequently closed until the early part of April, and during the few days when the river is open in March—which occurs in connection with rains—the river rises only about five feet above extreme low water. As far south as

Yankton, on the Missouri, that river remains frozen up, as a rule, until the middle of March, and during the latter part of that month, even taking into account occasional high water caused by ice gorges, the average stage of the river is less than a foot and a half above the lowest monthly stage—in December—and is not quite six feet above extreme low water.

The flood water, then, of the upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers comes from the heavy rainfalls during the months of April, May, and June, especially during the last two months, when the entire upper Mississippi valley and the lower portion of the Missouri valley have average rainfalls ranging from four to seven inches in depth, which would be equal for the whole of these regions to about five feet of snow on the level. The heavy rainfall in the lower Missouri valley during March shows its effect immediately on the St. Louis gauge, the river rising slowly from 10.0 in January, to 12.4 in February, and 17.1 feet in March, which latter point, however, is 13 feet below the freshet line.

It is now necessary, for a proper elucidation of the subject, to note clearly what portion of the entire Mississippi catchment basin is subject to floods, and whether these inundations are periodical or accidental; meaning by these terms that inundations are periodical when they recur almost annually, while those caused by extraordinary meteorological conditions are accidental.

There is no fairer test by which to estimate the flood stage of a river than by determining the level at which the water injures material interests extensively. This point, technically known to the Signal Service as the "danger-line," was fixed by the writer in 1874 for the Mississippi and its tributaries. In examining the records for periods ranging, according to the station, from eight to nineteen years, it is evident that floods in the whole Missouri valley and in the upper Mississippi valley, as far south as St. Louis, are accidental. At St. Louis the average number of days of flood water annually is but three. At Omaha flood conditions obtain about seven days a year on the average.

The valleys of the Tennessee and the Arkansas are subject to floods which may also be called accidental, since they only occur one year in three, with an average annual number of three flood days at Chattanooga, Tenn., and five at Little Rock, Ark.

The valleys of the Cumberland and of the Red River present debatable conditions, since at Nashville, Tenn., and Shreveport,

La., floods occur every other year, and the water remains above the danger-line, on an average, eight or nine days annually.

The Ohio, except near its mouth, is also doubtful ground, since flood water occurs for a week or more at Cincinnati every other year, and every third year prevails for more than two weeks.

This, then, confines the periodical floods, which recur three years out of every four, to the Ohio below Louisville and the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf, while the maximum flood phases obtain in the central Mississippi valley from Helena to Red River.

It is now important to determine closely and accurately the time of the year when floods occur; and in so doing one naturally treats them in sequence of time, since, fortunately, the accidental floods, as well as the highest river stage in non-flood years, fall for the upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers long after the crest of the flood wave has passed down the lower Mississippi.

The Arkansas freshet, one of the earlier, is a double wave, the maximum of February being often followed by a second rise in May. The February rise comes from the heavy rains in the lower valley, and is rarely prolonged late enough to seriously affect the Mississippi flood, while the May rise, augmented by the outflow from the central and upper Arkansas valley, only serves to check the slowly-receding Mississippi.

In the Cumberland, Ohio, and Tennessee the annual flood, as shown by the mean stage of these rivers for many years, comes in February. This annual freshet results from the heavy spring rains in Tennessee and the Ohio valley. The bulk of the crest of this wave passes Cairo into the Mississippi in late March and early April, being supplemented by the February freshet of the Arkansas and the March flood of the Red River. The Mississippi has its highest stage in March, except between Helena and Red River Landing, where in severe flood years, such as 1862, 1882, and 1890, it has its highest water during April. This peculiarity is due to the overflow (above Helena on the west and Vicksburg on the east side) into the St. Francis, Yazoo, and other smaller basins, which water returns to the main river, from Helena southward, in time to again swell the slowly-falling flood of March.

The figures and measurements regarding the relations of river outflow to rainfall, on which the whole question of floods eventually turns, have been drawn from a very valuable and full report upon this subject made by Professor Thomas Russell, of the

Signal Service, which forms a part of the annual report of the Chief Signal Officer for 1889. The river outflows were taken by Professor Russell from the measurements and calculations made by and under the supervision of the Mississippi and Missouri river commissions. The work done by these commissions has been of the highest possible character, and the results may be depended upon as being the most accurate possible, the outflow probably being in error not exceeding 5 per cent.

Let us examine the greatest of the Mississippi floods prior to the one from which the lower valley is now suffering—the flood of 1882. It is found by analysis that of the water which during the entire year 1882 passed Red River Landing 11.6 per cent. came from the upper Mississippi valley (that is, above the mouth of the Missouri), 19.5 per cent. from the Missouri valley, 33.5 per cent. from the Ohio valley, and 35.4 per cent. from the valley of the lower Mississippi, including the outflow from the Arkansas and Red rivers. But the great flood of the lower Mississippi came in 1882, as in this year, during the months of February and March, so that it is more strictly in order to consider the amounts of river outflow during January, February, and March of that year (1882). We find that from the Missouri valley above the mouth of the Platte the outflow amounted to 2.18 cubic miles during these three months, and from the valley below to 1.50 cubic miles, making for the entire Missouri valley 3.68 cubic miles—an amount which we shall see is inconsiderable as regards the discharge from the Ohio and the amount contributed by the lower Mississippi valley. The upper Mississippi valley contributed during this time 6.56 cubic miles, making for these two great valleys 10.24 cubic miles. During the same time the Ohio valley gave an outflow aggregating 50.48 cubic miles, or five times the amount which flowed from the valleys just named.

To prove clearly the unimportance of the Missouri and upper Mississippi rivers in connection with the great floods of the central and lower Mississippi valleys, the following data relative to the great floods of 1874, 1882, and the present year are important:

In the case of the great flood of 1874 the Missouri and upper Mississippi rivers remained at or below their average stage until June, thus contributing a small and unimportant amount of water to the flood stages of the lower Mississippi during April.

In 1882 the flood periods (that is, the periods during which the lower Mississippi was above the danger-line) were as follows: At Cairo, from January 13 to April 4, eighty-one days; Memphis, from January 24 to March 30, sixty-five days; Helena, from January 1 to April 23, one hundred and fifteen days; Vicksburg, from January 22 to July 2, one hundred and sixty-two days; New Orleans, from February 11 to May 12, ninety-two days; and Paducah, Ky., from January 16 to March 20, sixty-four days.

This indicates that the flood period of the lower Mississippi ran from the middle of January to about the 1st of April at Paducah, Ky., and Cairo, at the northern end of the river; and from the middle of February until about the middle of May at New Orleans, in the lower portion of the river. It is evident, then, that any flood water to aggravate the period must have passed Cairo by the 1st of April, 1882. The Mississippi, however, was frozen at St. Paul until the 27th of March; the Missouri, frozen at Yankton until the 14th of March, remained about four feet below the average stage until early in May both at that point and at Omaha.

The flood water in that year came from the following directions: from the Cumberland, as shown by twenty-two consecutive flood days, January 11 to February 2, at Nashville; from the Tennessee, as shown by nine flood days during January at Chattanooga; from the upper Ohio, as shown by twenty-eight flood days, scattered through the months of January, February, and March, at Cincinnati, with water at a very high stage for the remaining sixty-two days of the period. The Arkansas was not a serious factor in the problem, as only six flood days in February prevailed at Little Rock, but the heavy local rains in the St. Francis bottom and the Yazoo basin coincided with the enormous floods flowing from the Ohio River, thus serving not only to prolong the flood between Memphis and Red River Landing, but also to actually increase it. For the valley of the Mississippi below the Red River the situation was aggravated by a serious flood from the Red River, as shown by thirty-three freshet days at Shreveport from the 16th of February to the 19th of March, 1882.

In reviewing the floods of the present year, it is equally apparent that the Missouri and upper Mississippi rivers did not produce the existing flood conditions. The Mississippi River was frozen at St. Paul at the end of March, and at Davenport, Ia., as

late as the 15th of March. At the end of the month the upper Missouri was also frozen, and, as far as is known, the river everywhere showed a very low stage. The outflow of these rivers is, however, definitely fixed by the stage of the river at St. Louis, which during March, 1890, was about seven feet below the average stage for the month. The Arkansas at Little Rock has not risen to flood stage, nor has the Red River at Shreveport. In short, the flood is due to the freshets from the Ohio and its important tributaries, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, with superadded rainfalls in the central Mississippi valley.

The first flood days at Cairo in January, while largely due to rainfall in the catchment basin of the Ohio, came, however, from precipitation in unexpected localities, the southern parts of Illinois, Indiana, and extreme southern Missouri, where the rainfall was the greatest ever known for January, exceeding ten inches at eight stations covering a large area of country.

These unusual conditions caused the lower Ohio and the Mississippi to rise above or to the danger-line, and just as the effects were passing away the usual freshets set in by the middle of February in the upper Ohio, and near the end of the month for the Cumberland and Tennessee. During February the precipitation in the Ohio valley was somewhat in excess of the average; yet it was about 10 per cent. less than the rainfall of the flood month of February, 1882. During March, however, the rainfall has been excessive over the catchment basin of the Ohio valley as a whole; at least twenty-four cubic miles of rain has fallen, which is nearly 50 per cent. greater than the amount which fell in 1882. Fortunately, this great excess was somewhat offset by the rainfall in the upper Mississippi valley being about 2.25 cubic miles less than for March, 1882; while the rainfall for the lower Mississippi, from Helena southward, was deficient to the extent of about an inch at Vicksburg, increasing to a deficiency of over eleven inches at New Orleans for January, February, and March.

The total rainfall in the Ohio and upper Mississippi valleys during January, February, and March, 1882, aggregated eighty cubic miles of water; during the corresponding months in this year, to seventy-nine cubic miles. In 1890 the excess during March was five cubic miles over that for March, 1882; so that flood conditions may be expected to last later than in that year.

But some one will say: "If the 3.68 cubic miles for the Missouri and the 6.56 for the upper Mississippi valley, during January, February, and March, 1882, had been impounded, the floods would not have occurred." That this is not the case is shown by the discharge at Columbus, Ky., which in the first three months of 1882 was as follows: January, 21.87; February, 23.02; March, 22.92 cubic miles; aggregating 67.81 cubic miles. We find, moreover, by the measurements at Hayes's Landing, near Vicksburg, Miss., that the discharges during the three months named were: January, 16.76; February, 15.96; March, 17.42; amounting to only 50.14 cubic miles. But it is to be borne in mind that the distance from Columbus to Hayes's Landing is about three hundred and fifty miles, and that it is not strictly accurate to compare the outflows for identically the same days, owing to the slow progress of the freshet wave down the Mississippi. Allowing for the movement of the freshet wave, the discharge at Hayes's Landing from January 6 to April 6 was found to be almost identical with that for the even months. It appears, then, that 17.67 cubic miles less water passed Hayes's Landing, Miss., during the months of January, February, and March, 1882, than passed the gauge at Columbus, Ky. This amount must again be increased by part of the rainfall and river outflow between Columbus and Hayes's Landing.

The additional drainage area between Columbus, Ky., and Hayes's Landing, Miss., comprises 71,000 square miles, over which the rainfall in 1882 was as follows: January, 7.64 cubic miles; February, 10.48; March, 3.40; aggregating 21.52 cubic miles.

As only 30 per cent. of the rainfall in this area became river outflow, it is then evident that (neglecting the small amount of rainfall in the Yazoo basin) during the three months mentioned 23.87 cubic miles of water passed over the levees between Columbus, Ky., and Hayes's Landing, Miss., reaching the river at Vicksburg through the Yazoo bottom, or the Red River by the Tensas basin. During this period the water passing Hayes's Landing, Miss., amounted to 50.14 cubic miles. In other words, the Mississippi River channel bank-full at that point from January to March, inclusive, in 1882, was able to carry off less than 70 per cent. of the water flowing from above.

This fact brings out in bold relief the first and most important problem to be solved—that is, to increase the carrying capac-

ity of the Mississippi River at and north of Hayes's Landing 46 per cent. above what it was in 1882. Outlets at Lake Borgne and by the Atchafalaya may or may not relieve the river below the Red River. The most zealous advocates of these outlets will hardly claim such an effect on the river above Vicksburg.

It is not reasonable to assume that any supporter of the impounding theory would maintain the possibility of storing up any considerable water during the winter months, when the headwaters of the Mississippi and Missouri are frozen; but if we allow that half the amount flowing through these rivers during January, February, and March could be diverted into reservoirs, it would reduce the water passing Columbus by 5.12 cubic miles. This reduction, however, would not have any material effect upon the conditions at Columbus, since we find that, deducting the 5.12 cubic miles from the Missouri and upper Mississippi valley, there are yet 18.75 cubic miles of water which failed to reach Hayes's Landing, but inundated the entire alluvial grounds in the Yazoo bottom and from the St. Francis to the lower part of the Tensas basin.

In order, then, to reduce the volume of the Mississippi so that the discharge of flood waters at Columbus should just equal the quantity passing Hayes's Landing in 1882, and thus stop all overflow and inundation between these points, it would be necessary to impound not only 50 per cent. of the water from the Missouri and upper Mississippi, but also 18.75 cubic miles of water from the Ohio. The amount from the Ohio alone would cover an area of 19,000 square miles—half the area of Kentucky —to the depth of five feet. A reservoir or a series of reservoirs capable of containing this amount of water is impracticable; and if otherwise, no doubt exists that the presence of such enormous reservoirs would be a standing menace to the public safety at one season, and, more important, to the public health during the greater portion of the year when flood conditions do not obtain.

In short, it appears evident from the above figures, if calculations of this kind can be depended upon,—and every one must admit that engineering problems are based on calculations of this character,—that the impounding of waters by reservoirs is entirely out of the question as regards the Missouri, the upper Mississippi, and the Ohio rivers.

The writer sums up here the points which he has endeavored to make clear: (1) that the freshets of the Mississippi River and its important tributaries are not due to the melting of winter snows; (2) that since the upper Mississippi valley freshet occurs as late as April and the floods of the Missouri occur in June and July, and, further, as both of these rivers are at a low stage during February and March, they cannot and do not materially contribute to the floods of the lower Mississippi, which occur in late March and early April; (3) that if all the water in the upper Mississippi and lower Missouri rivers was impounded, leaving St. Louis a city on a dry creek, the floods on the lower Mississippi River would none the less continue; (4) that the floods in the central Mississippi valley, between Cairo and Red River Landing, could not be materially ameliorated by increasing the number of outlets into the Gulf below Red River Landing, since, as the outflow measurements show, the Mississippi River is unable to carry bank-full the flood which pours by Vicksburg in freshet years; (5) that the floods in the Mississippi valley below the mouth of the Red River are, in a measure, distinctive floods, and that their treatment must be individual, as they are somewhat independent of the central Mississippi valley, where the flood periods are much prolonged beyond their prevalence in the delta region. In fact, any method which increases the flow of the river or the rapid discharge of water from the Mississippi valley above Vicksburg must inure to the disadvantage of the delta country. On the other hand, the augmenting of the flow of water in the delta country can only incidentally and slightly ameliorate the flood conditions of the central Mississippi region.

As regards the delta country, in years of severe flood it always receives from the Red and the Mississippi more water than the river channel can carry. During the flood months of 1882 the river outflows at Red River Landing and Carrollton, respectively, were as follows: March, 25.53 and 16.42 cubic miles; April, 24.69 and 15.34; May, 21.54 and 14.80 cubic miles. In other words, to allow all the flood waters of 1882 to pass New Orleans would have required an increase of 54 per cent. in the river outflow at that point. This excludes 10.94 cubic miles of discharge through the Atchafalaya; but if half of this were forced into the Mississippi, it would necessitate an increase of 66 per cent. at Carrollton over the discharge of 1882.

Another point of interest is the question whether the floods are increasing in frequency and severity. Cincinnati, Cairo, and Helena appear to answer this question in the affirmative; but it should be remembered that the levee system might cause a seeming rise at the latter two places. It is problematical whether such a change alone has increased the number of flood days at Cairo from an average of twenty-two in the ten years from 1871 to 1880 to more than forty days for the ten years 1880 to 1890, and at Helena from forty-nine to seventy days for corresponding periods. At Cincinnati, however, the river, while changed in thirty years, has not been restrained by levees, so that flood conditions are less affected by physical modifications of the local terrain. It seems possible, if not probable, that the increase of flood days at Cincinnati from seven days for seventeen years, from 1858 to 1874, to eleven days from 1874 to 1890, is not accidental, but, rather, due to changed physical conditions. The meteorological record at Portsmouth, in the Ohio valley above Cincinnati, indicates that the average rainfall for the first period, 1858 to 1874, is substantially the same as from 1874 to 1890. As this article is intended to avoid theories and hold fast to facts, the question of causes will not be here pursued.

A. W. Greely.

WHY CITIES ARE BADLY GOVERNED.

BY THE HON. J. SLOAT FASSETT, OF THE NEW YORK SENATE.

ONE of the most serious, and therefore one of the most interesting, political problems of the day is the problem of the successful administration of municipal affairs. The unmistakable tendency of our people to congregate in large towns and cities, and the marked increase of a civic as against a rustic population, accentuate the importance of the question. With due reservations, it may be safely asserted, in a broad way, that up to this time in this country our municipal governments have been and are failures. Not absolute failures, to be sure, for many of the objects for which governments exist are in a way attained : great public works are constructed; great public institutions maintained; great public enterprises undertaken; many crimes are punished and some prevented ; disorderly and dangerous classes are generally kept within reasonable limits ; sanitary measures are fairly well enforced ; and men and women may venture from their homes after nightfall without being certain of assault or molestation.

But all these things, together with the thousand and one other things that go to make up all there is of the conduct and control of a city, are accomplished at such an enormous expense, and are accompanied with so much of waste and extravagance, of robbery and scandal ; it costs so much to secure so little ; the results are so entirely incommensurate with the force expended, especially in our larger cities, and in comparison with our other divisional administrations,—that it is not unfair to say, bluntly, that our city governments are failures.

Our town and county affairs are generally handled with a careful economy that amounts at times to parsimony. Our State governments are usually administered with excellent economy.

In the administration of our national affairs our experience has been, in the one question of economy at least, highly satisfactory. For it is true—at least true enough to be stated as a general proposition—that each decade has witnessed a diminished waste in the collection and expenditure of each one thousand dollars of revenue, and this, too, while we have been rapidly increasing in population and wealth.

But our experiment in self-government in all our large cities presents quite a different picture. Why this difference? The people are the same. They read the same newspapers and periodicals. Their general intelligence and morality are the same. The amount of time which they devote to political questions is the same. Why are the results of their political efforts so widely different? Why are nation and State, which are relatively remote, better governed than cities, which are our immediate homes? It is suggested that the large affairs of the State and nation appeal more forcibly to men's imagination along the lines of patriotism and tradition, and hence with the same effort a more lively interest is created in them; and that, on the principle that the less is always subordinated to the greater, local elections and local tickets and local interests are either lost sight of entirely, or traded and slaughtered in an absorbing zeal for the wider issues.

There is undoubtedly some truth in this suggestion. Our people are divided into two great parties, primarily on lines growing out of differences of opinion on wide-reaching national questions, such, for instance, as the tariff; and, secondly, on lines growing out of State issues, such as high or low license or ballot reform. Because a man belongs to a given political party on account of his convictions on the question of the tariff, or of excise, or of ballot reform, it does not follow that he should, in a city election, where those issues have no bearing, vote for the candidate of the party whose national platform he indorses, rather than for the man whose success will be most sure to lead to a proper administration of the business affairs of the community. In other words, while the terms "Republican" and "Democrat" have great significance in national politics, and properly so, they should have no such significance as differentiating terms in municipal elections. This line of argument points directly to a popular remedy for civic evils—to wit, the absolute separation of local from general elections; an object which is to be attained in one of

two ways : either by having spring and fall elections, or by having general and local elections in alternate years.

Again, fault is found with the usual framework of government, which is substantially the same in all our cities—viz., a mayor elected at large, several executive or administrative boards or departments, either nominated by the mayor or by the mayor and common council, and a council of aldermen elected by wards. These officers are chosen on the majority plan. Many propositions are advanced looking to more or less radical changes in this general scheme, out of which it is expected great benefits will flow.

One suggestion is that all officers elected by the people should be elected in a manner to provide for minority representation, and that there should also be minority representation in all executive and administrative departments. This is founded on the belief that such a change would introduce an element of healthful opposition and aggressive criticism that would act as a wholesome preventive of present evils. Opposed to this is the theory that utterly repudiates divided responsibility, and wants all power to be yoked with complete responsibility. This theory embraces also most strenuous objection to the present persistent interference in the affairs of cities by State legislatures, and insists that most local corruption springs from such interference, because of the habit of dependence upon others which such interference superinduces. This theory culminates in the doctrine of absolute home rule, and embraces the idea that, corrupt as most of our large city governments are generally admitted to be, they would ultimately, if confined exclusively to their own resources, work out their own salvation. This doctrine of home rule almost necessarily includes reprehension of charter-tinkering and proposals for its prevention, some of which proposals may be thus briefly summarized :

First—There ought to be imbedded in the organic law itself a series of articles as general charters for cities of different grades, assuming, of course, that such provisions could be framed broad enough to cover all cases, and at the same time plastic enough to meet all emergencies.

Second—Such general charters for cities of different grades should be enacted in the form of general statutes, to be amended only by a very heavy majority of the legislative houses.

Another suggestion attributes all local troubles to the tempta-

tions offered by our present system of voting to an unscrupulous use of power, patronage, and money, and pleads for a new form of ballot.

Very likely not one of the foregoing suggestions or theories has within its scope the whole truth. It may be doubted if all combined explain much more than the superficial difficulties. Of course methods which are intrinsically bad or false of necessity lead to false and bad results. But, on the other hand, the very best of methods, if badly administered, will hardly prove more satisfactory. Is not the radical difficulty, after all, general apathy and practical indifference to and ignorance of all the administrative affairs of cities? If so, how shall the public be aroused? How shall active interest and intelligent interference be made to replace torpid inertia?

Bad government in cities consists generally in wrong uses of money and shows itself in the expense account. The usual motive for faulty administration in city affairs is plunder of the city's moneys. But suppose it is shown that the monetary arrangements in certain cities are so complicated that only a few men understand them, and none but experienced men can hope to successfully master their details. Men usually take no interest in what they do not understand, and are unwilling to devote very much effort to understand what, for the time being, appears remote from their own personal interests. So that where you have a maximum of complication in the fiscal affairs of any given city, you are sure to have the minimum of public interest in the same, as well as the minimum of probability of the summary detection and punishment of improper administration. Is not the first reform to be desired one of book-keeping? Is not the trouble in the counting-room rather than at the counter? If mischief grows out of apathy, and apathy out of ignorance, and ignorance out of confusion, is it not manifest that simplification is the first reform?

There are thirty-two chartered cities in the State of New York, ranging in population from eight thousand to a million and a half. There are no two of them whose charters are alike. There are no two of them that have the same methods of book-keeping. There are no two of them that pursue precisely the same course in the assessment and valuation of property for the purpose of taxation. And if there are any of them that pursue the same policy with

reference to the ownership of plants for furnishing their people with light, with water, with pavements, with sewers, it is entirely from accident, rather than from design. Nor do any charters direct how the city accounts are to be kept. As a matter of fact, the Legislature has not and never has had anything that could be called a policy in regard to the charters which it has granted to the various municipalities of the State. None of the cities of the State are under any obligation to report their financial condition to any central State authority, so that there is no place to which an inquirer may resort to obtain thorough-going, reliable information with reference to the receipts and expenditures of any of the cities of the State.

The more carefully one considers the figures which are available with reference to the cost of municipal government in this and other States, the greater one's curiosity becomes to know why it costs so much more in one locality than in another; why the economic equation in the administration of the affairs of cities with the same population, and the same relative extent of territory, and the same wealth, should not be identical. There being all the differences which have been set out above in the methods of administration, it will be seen at once that there is almost no basis for a scientific comparison upon which to base remedial legislation.

It was in the hope that some good work could be done toward bringing order out of chaos, and regularity out of confusion, and simplicity out of intricacy, that there was introduced in the Senate of this State on January 20, 1890, a resolution which, among other things, directed the standing Committee on Cities to undertake and prosecute, during the term of the present Senate, a general inquiry concerning the government of cities, as well as concerning the condition of the laws relating thereto and the actual methods and conditions of administration of any city or any department or bureau of any city in the State of New York, with power, of itself or by any sub-committee which it might appoint, to summon witnesses and to examine them under oath, send for books and papers, and hold meetings at such times and places as to such committee might seem requisite and proper. The committee was also authorized to employ counsel and such accountants, auditors, and assistants as it might deem requisite to a thorough prosecution of the inquest provided for.

The first work of the committee was to bring together all the general acts relating to the government of cities from each of the States of the Union, and to collate all the different provisions of the constitutions of the several States bearing upon the question of municipal government. The next labor undertaken by the committee was the collation of the various acts affecting the government of cities which have been passed by the Legislature of the State of New York during the years 1880 to 1889 inclusive. The result of this digest is somewhat startling, for it shows that in these ten years, exclusive of enabling acts, no less than 1,284 different laws have been enacted, changing or amending the charters of thirty cities of this State. New York city leads the van with 390 amendments. Brooklyn follows next with 195. Then comes Buffalo with 146. Middletown closes the procession with only one. These figures illustrate (and this is the first time they have ever been published) the enormous amount of local charter-tinkering that the Legislature is called upon to undertake from year to year; and it is only fair to estimate that very many of the amendments proposed perish between the time of introduction and the adjournment of the Legislature.

The next business of the committee was to send to the mayor of each of the cities of the State a letter accompanied by a list of forty-four interrogatories, which were confined to questions touching the general framework of the city government, the method of raising revenues, and the management and control and the expenditure of them. These interrogatories, however, were not sent to the mayor of the city of New York, for the reason that that city differs so widely in many important particulars from all other cities in the State. The committee determined to prosecute a special inquiry into the administration of the governmental affairs of the city of New York. What the committee has thus far done in New York is too recent to require statement here. The city and county being coterminous, the investigation was begun by an examination into the affairs of the sheriff's office, as the result of which there are pending at Albany proposals looking toward the abolition of imprisonment for debt and a complete remodelling of the sheriff's office. It is too early to predict all the changes which may result from the committee's work, but it purposes, among other things, to make a close examination into

the entire fiscal system of the city, with a view to unifying and simplifying the methods of accounts.

It is also the hope of the committee that, as a result of its labors generally, there may be placed upon our statute-books provisions for uniform charters for cities of a similar grade. Possibly, if such a course seems feasible, an amendment to the Constitution to the same effect will be proposed; also, propositions for legislation which shall result in the unifying and simplifying of methods of administration and of accounts in the various cities of the State, as well as legislation which shall require annual reports from the fiscal officers of the different cities to be made to the State comptroller or some other State officer.

So far as I am aware, this is the first effort which has been made by any State legislature to investigate with systematic thoroughness all of the conditions of municipal administration, looking not only to the formulation of general charters, as has been done in other States, but going further, and compelling a uniform system of administration and accounting. Whatever the result of the inquiry may be, it is the purpose of the Senate Committee, so far as lies in its power, to make its work a thorough and serious contribution toward the solution of the most difficult administrative and economic problem which confronts our country.

J. S. FASSETT.

THE TARIFF ON TRIAL.

BY SIR RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT, K.C.M.G., AND THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

IN ATTEMPTING to compress within the compass of a few pages anything like a complete statement of the effect of the protective system upon a country like Canada, perhaps the most important thing to keep steadily in mind is this simple proposition: that a good or a bad fiscal system is, after all, only one of many factors affecting a nation's progress.

For instance, no man who knows any thing of the nature and character of the respective populations, and of their environments, can ever suppose that the very best fiscal system that could be devised would induce a quiet, contented, frugal, unambitious people like the French *habitans* of the lower St. Lawrence to apply themselves to the accumulation of what is ordinarily called wealth with anything like the energy and success with which a keen and pushing people like the former natives of New England are certain to pursue that end in the teeth of every obstacle,—and that without prejudice to the question whether, after all, in the long run, the great mass of the population might not come ultimately to enjoy quite as much happiness, and possibly quite as much material comfort, in the one case as in the other.

All, therefore, that I can pretend to do within the limits of this article is to point out certain results which have followed the introduction of the protective system into Canada, and which, in my judgment, are due largely, if not solely, to its influence.

And here I may observe that, in forming an opinion of the effects of protection in Canada, it is necessary to remember that Canada is a country which is by nature and circumstances singularly ill fitted for the successful operation of a protective system, presenting therein a most complete contrast to the United States, in the case of which the conditions are literally and exactly reversed.

The most hasty glance at the map of North America, and the most superficial acquaintance with the circumstances of the two countries, will suffice to establish this point. Canada is a very thinly-peopled country, extending, it is true, over an immense area, and possessing great latent resources; but it is also one in which the several groups of fertile and inhabitated, or habitable, country all lie substantially within the same zone (*i. e.*, the northern part of the north temperate zone); all produce much the same articles; all need to import many things from abroad; all are separated from each other by great tracts of barren and worthless territory; all are rather competitors than customers of each other; and all would naturally prefer to trade with their neighbor to the south, or with countries across the ocean, than with their own people. To all this must be added the fact that the population, besides being scattered, is so small that it is quite impossible to carry on many lines of manufacture (except at a ruinous cost to the consumer) in so contracted a market.

In the United States, on the contrary, we have the complete opposite. There we have a very large nation, nearly equal in mere numbers to any two first-class European kingdoms, or, rather, we have a group of over forty nations (if we look to the area they occupy and to their general position), lying for the most part very close to each other, with no desert interval between; capable of producing within their own territory well-nigh every article it is possible to conceive or need; extending not merely from one ocean to the other, bnt embracing every variety of climate from the arctic to the tropical; in fact, forming pretty much a complete world among themselves, and enjoying absolute and complete free trade the one with the other. In such a country, if anywhere, the evils of protection ought to be reduced to a minimum; nay, it would be a perfectly fair argument for the advocates of free trade to allege that the prosperity of the United States was due to the perfect system of free trade they have wisely established among themselves, and not to the shackles they have allowed to be placed on their natural liberties in dealing with foreign nations.

In any case it is perfectly clear that the success (if success it be) of the protective system in such a country affords no guarantee that it would prove of advantage to one like Canada, though there is not the shadow of a doubt that the main reason which

influenced the majority of the Canadian electorate in adopting it was the example of the United States.

This preliminary question being disposed of, it becomes my duty to point out how and to what extent protection has affected the political and social well-being of the people of Canada. Looking at the matter from a politico-economical stand-point, the first and most obvious effect has been this : up to the date of the introduction of the protection theory of taxation—to wit, that it is possible by the imposition of certain taxes to increase the collective wealth of the nation—the people of Canada had, on the whole, been a frugally-minded people, submitting, indeed, to a good deal of unnecessary expenditure, but doing so grumblingly and with a strong and deep-rooted conviction that all taxes were at best a necessary evil, and that it was the plain duty of a government to be economical if it could, and to impose as few taxes as possible.

One of the most remarkable, and in many ways one of the most important, results of the protectionist propaganda which was preached very successfully in Canada in 1877 and 1878, and which was actually reduced to practice in 1879, was that the good old wholesome dislike to taxation (and, consequently, to undue an extravagant expenditure) was for the time being completely rooted up from the minds of the majority. As very often happens, the indirect and secondary result of a false theory is not the least mischievous. In this case it has practically removed all check on expenditure by the government.

Once imbue the minds of a large section of the people with the idea that wealth can be created by imposing taxes, and it is obvious that they have no longer any reason for opposing the imposition of new taxation, and that when the government wants money it need only profess that it desires to encourage new industries, to find a ready excuse for refilling its coffers. The present government of Canada have not been slow to learn and profit by this lesson.

Under a system of taxation for purposes of revenue only, the total expenditure of Canada for the year 1874 was $23,316,316. In 1878, under the same system, it had increased to $23,519,301, being an increase of barely $203,000 in *four* years, in spite of the fact that a very large sum of money had been expended in the interval upon public works. Under a system of taxation for protection, the total expenditure of Canada for the year 1889 was

$36,917,834, having increased by an amount of $13,398,531 in *eleven* years. So in 1878 the actual taxation of Canada was $17,841,938, though, as there was a deficit in that year, the necessary taxation might be placed at $19,000,000. In 1889 the actual taxation was $30,613,522, being an increase of $11,613,522, taking the necessary taxation (so called) of 1878 as a basis.

This, however, is very far indeed from representing the real amount of taxes taken out of the pockets of the people. As every intelligent advocate of protection knows, under a protective system the public *must* be taxed, *in rerum naturâ*, to a very much greater extent than is represented by the sum paid into the treasury. It is not possible to estimate this with absolute accuracy, but enough is known as to the effects of protection in Canada to make it certain that the sum thus taken out of the pockets of the general public is not less than 50 per cent. (probably much more) of the revenue received by the government from taxes. Of this amount there is no doubt that a large portion is absolutely wasted (*i. e.*, expended in making good the loss incurred in carrying on manufactures under disadvantageous conditions), but a large part finds its way into the pockets of a favored few, for whose benefit, under the protective system, the community at large are subjected to this extra taxation.

What all this means as regards the question of extravagant expenditure may best be understood by comparing the actual taxation and expenditure of Canada and the United States, during a period before the latter were finally committed to the protective theory or were hampered with the results of their great civil war. The comparison is instructive in more ways than one, and to make it more complete I will take, first, a single year and then a decade.

In 1845 the population of the United States was (by estimate)	20,000,000
The taxes of the United States were	$27,531,630
The total expenditure was	$22,935,828
In 1889 the population of Canada was perhaps	4,800,000
The taxes of Canada were	$30,613,522
The total expenditure was	$36,917,854
In the decade from January 1, 1840 to January 1, 1850, the average population of the United States was	20,000,000
The taxes of the United States were	$224,504,499*
The expenditures were	$306,429,957
(Includes Mexican War.)	
In the decade from 1879 to 1889 the average population of Canada was (by estimate)	4,500,000
The taxes of Canada were	$262,812,578
The expenditures were	$320,600,134
(Not including sums on capital account.)	

* Adding $7,000,000 for half year of 1843.

From these last items may be deducted a sum of $40,000,000 paid as subsidies to the several provinces (although in strictness it should be pointed out that the United States have many expenditures for which Canada has no equivalent); but giving Canada the benefit of this, we arrive at this singular result: that the actual taxation of Canada, with a population averaging 4,500,000, during a period of ten years is barely $2,000,000 less than that of the United States on an average population of 20,000,000, and the expenditures are in proportion.

Comment is hardly necessary, nor, indeed, does space permit me to point out the enormous mischiefs which result in a young and poor country from absorbing so large a proportion of the earnings of the people, in defraying the charges of the federal government, as is now being taken in Canada. All that I will now say is that, assuming that 50 per cent. should be added to the nominal amount of the taxes to represent the real sums of taxation on the people, the sum total so taken in Canada between 1879 and 1889 is not less than $393,000,000, and in all probability is very much more.

It is hardly necessary to say that, as the present annual taxation of Canada is $30,613,522, the real taxation, on the above hypothesis, is over $45,000,000 per annum, without taking municipal taxes into account. This means a burden on the people out of all proportion to the benefits they receive from the government, and is a most serious drag on progress.

Unfortunately, there is a yet darker shade to the picture. What the result may have been in other countries I cannot say, but in Canada (over and above the extravagant expenditure above referred to) one most important consequence of the introduction of the protective system has been, at the same time, to make provision for a large and permanent corruption fund to be applied with the effect and the regularity of a machine to debauching the press and the electorate as occasion serves.

It is probable that this result is inherent in the system. Speaking with knowledge, I say deliberately that I can conceive no more effectual method of installing and intrenching corruption in the politics of any country than to give a large number of active, energetic business men, frequently persons possessed of great wealth, and almost always having a large control of money, a direct pecuniary interest in controlling legislation and in sup-

porting any particular political party. Of course they will do it, and there is but one way in which they can do it. Being subsidized, they must subsidize in return. It is quite impossible to pause to point out the innumerable ways in which this corrupt system works for evil at all times and periods ; but I will give one notable example. Shortly before one of our general elections the present Premier of the Dominion, Sir John Macdonald, being pressed for funds, deliberately summoned some eighty or ninety of the principal protected manufacturers in Canada to meet him at the Queen's Hotel in Toronto, and then and there, in good set phrase, told them that, as the government had helped them to enrich themselves at the public expense, they, in return, must help the government to keep in place ; nor did he dismiss them till they had assessed themselves in a large amount for the purpose of providing a fund wherewith to corrupt the electors of the Dominion.

From various causes this practical effect of protection is more easily traced and is probably pushed to greater lengths in Canada than it is in most other countries; but it may fairly be laid down that wherever such things are done, and are known to be done, without involving the instant political ruin of the criminals, government has ceased to be an engine for promoting the well-being of the people, and is at best but a convenient apparatus for dividing the spoil.

One other effect deserves special notice. It is true, no doubt, that there are several causes now at work, all tending to promote the concentration of large fortunes in the hands of a few individuals ; but it is equally true that in Canada this tendency has been very greatly intensified by the operation of the protective system ; and whatever else it has or has not done, it has aided powerfully in the displacement and transference of wealth from one section of the community to the other.

This tendency is manifest most of all in the province of Ontario, by far the wealthiest and most populous province of the whole Dominion, containing very nearly one-half the entire population, and contributing at least three-fifths of the entire revenue. Socially and economically considered, the condition of Ontario prior to the introduction of protection was one of a highly favorable character, and well suited to develop the best qualities of its people. The number of considerable fortunes was, indeed, small,

but the diffusion of wealth and the general well-being of the entire community was very great. In fact, Ontario at that time might have been fairly described as a country mainly occupied by prosperous yeomen owning their own farms, and studded with a very unusual number of small but thriving towns, which ministered to the wants of the agricultural class.

To-day, after eleven years' experience of protection, and largely, though possibly not altogether, in consequence of it, the picture is exactly reversed. There are probably ten times as many large individual fortunes (measured by the Canadian standard). One or two large towns have grown and thriven, and have absorbed into themselves almost the whole increase in the province in which they are situated; but the condition of the vast majority of the once-thriving small towns and villages is that of utter stagnation. What is even more important, the actual selling value of every farm in Ontario (and probably in all Canada, very new settlements excepted) has been seriously depreciated, and a very large number of their proprietors are hopelessly mortgaged; in fact, have been reduced from the status of independent yeomen to a position very much worse than that of ordinary tenants-at-will, inasmuch as they are to all intents and purposes insolvent debtors without any reasonable prospect of extricating themselves from their entanglements. Simultaneously with this reduction in the values of farm lands, and the enormous increase of indebtedness on the part of the farmers, an almost complete stop has been put to the settlement of the province.

Ontario has an area of 180,000 square miles, and though it is not to be pretended that the whole, or even perhaps one-half, of this immense territory is fit for agricultural purposes, it is simply absurd to contend that anything like the whole available area has been occupied, much less brought into cultivation. Nevertheless, while up to the time at which Canada adopted protection the number of persons engaged in agriculture kept steadily growing from year to year at a very respectable rate per annum, during the last decade (if the municipal statistics of Ontario are to be relied on) the rural population has been all but absolutely stationary. Out of the ninety-two constituencies into which Ontario is divided, nine are exclusively urban. Of the remaining eighty-three divisions, fifty-three report that in them the rural

population has positively retrograded during the last ten years, while of the other thirty, hardly half a dozen report a growth of the rural population equal to the natural increase during that interval. This, too, in spite of the fact that a very large number of immigrants are alleged to have settled in the Dominion (principally in Ontario) during that period, and that many thousands of miles of new railroads have been constructed, by which a very large extent of virgin territory has been made accessible for settlement.

The statistics of the other provinces are not sufficiently perfect to allow me to speak with equal positiveness of their condition ; but no man who knows anything of Canada can doubt that, as regards the older provinces at any rate, what is true of Ontario is, *à fortiori*, true of the rural population elsewhere.

Incidentally it may be observed that the smaller towns and villages as a rule report the same state of things ; the population is for the most part stationary or retrograding, and only in a very few instances does the growth exceed the natural increase.

To put the matter briefly, the results of the introduction of the protective system in Canada have been :

1. To remove all check on the expenditure of the government and to encourage a reckless extravagance on their part, which has resulted in an annual expenditure for federal purposes of nearly 50 per cent. more (after making all deductions) for a population of less than *five* millions than the sum required by the United States for the like objects when their population was over *twenty* millions.

2. To systematize and intensify the tendency (always so perilous to the welfare of representative governments) to use corrupt means for the purpose of influencing the press and the electorate, and to make it the direct pecuniary interest of a very active and influential class to provide a regular and large fund for such purposes.

3. To aggravate and accelerate the tendency to accumulate large fortunes in few hands, and at the same time to increase the indebtedness and depreciate the value of the property owned by the mass of the community, more especially in the case of the agricultural class.

4. To favor the growth of a few large towns at the expense of the smaller ones and of the rural population, which latter has

been reduced to an absolutely stationary condition over very large portions of the Dominion, in spite of a large (alleged) immigration and of the fact that much new territory has been thrown open.

These, so far, have been the results in Canada in the period from 1879 to 1890, and if they have been more marked than in other cases, the explanation is to be found in the fact, already alluded to, that for a variety of reasons Canada is singularly ill adapted for carrying out a scheme of protection, and was singularly unwise in allowing herself to be induced to copy the United States.

If it be inquired, further, how it comes to pass that the people of Canada continue to tolerate such a system, the answer is obvious. In the first place, as every man of any practical experience in politics well knows, it is always a matter of great difficulty to overthrow a well-organized system of corruption which has identified itself with a great political party, and has had the wisdom to secure the services of a moiety of the press.

In the next place, the bare issue of protection *versus* free trade, or a tariff for revenue, is never presented alone to the people, but is always complicated by being intermixed with many other questions, perhaps especially in Canada. Then, again, it takes time for the consequences of any great fiscal change to develop themselves, and the proof of much that has been stated above has only been obtained within a recent period.

Lastly, an immense and continuous emigration of those very persons (*i. e.*, of the younger and more enterprising part of the community) who would have been most disposed to assist in overthrowing these corrupt combinations has been going on from Canada with very little cessation for a good many years.

It goes without saying that under such circumstances, the mere fact that a protectionist goverment have remained in power in Canada for a certain term of years affords very little evidence indeed that they have governed in the true interests of the larger portion of the community.

RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT.

THE United Question Clubs of Massachusetts recently addressed to several public men a series of questions based on the articles by Mr. Blaine and Mr. Gladstone in the January number

of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Among the replies received was the following:

As your inquiries all relate to points suggested by the arguments of Mr. Blaine in reply to Mr. Gladstone, permit me to say, in general, that Mr. Blaine's article shows his accustomed ingenuity, by his avoidance of all the real issues between free trade and protection, whether raised by Mr. Gladstone or any one else, and that the whole line of his article reminds me forcibly of the advice of an experienced lawyer, whose aim was simply a present success, without the slightest regard to substantial justice—"Never reply to any of your opponent's real arguments; but raise a new line of discussion, which will cause the jury to forget entirely everything which your opponent has said."

Replying now to your questions, in their order:

1. With reference to Mr. Blaine's statement that navigation is "one interest which England has protected steadily and determinedly, regardless of consistency and regardless of expense," payment made strictly and in good faith for the purpose of mail service alone is not, in my judgment, a matter of protection or in any way connected with a protective policy. I have no very special knowledge as to what percentage of the total tonnage of British steamships receives payment for mail service, but I do know that it is very small. Very few British ships of any kind receive such payments; and, as to the vast majority of British vessels, whether steam or sailing ships, they really suffer by reason of the payments which are made to the few mail vessels by the British government, so far as those payments are at all in excess of the strict commercial value of the mail services rendered. It obvious that if ten steamships are running between the same ports, and one of them receives anything which in fact amounts to a subsidy, this enables that steamship to carry freight at a lower rate than the other nine can afford to do, and so gives to it an unfair advantage, to their great prejudice. So far, therefore, from British payments for mail service amounting to a protection of British navigation, taken as a whole, their effect is the very reverse.

2. Mr. Blaine's statements with regard to steel rails only tend to prove that the duty on these rails could be entirely abolished, without the slightest injury to our domestic manufactures. This country has paid to the domestic manufacturers of steel rails

much more than $200,000,000 in excess of the price which was paid for similar rails used by European railroads. The actual cost to the country at large for thus artificially fostering the steel-rail industry, even after allowing for the advance in price which doubtless would have taken place in England if we had made a larger demand upon its manufacturers, in the absence of a tariff, cannot be estimated at less than $150,000,000. At the lowest rate of interest paid by business men in this country, the annual interest on this sum would suffice to pay all the wages of all the persons employed in the steel-rail mills in the United States from the beginning of their work to the end of the next twenty years.

3. Mr. Blaine's list of articles in which American manufacturers can successfully compete in Canada with English manufacturers is really a complete refutation of his whole argument; because it shows that, even with our heavy duties upon the raw materials of these manufactures, we are, nevertheless, able to compete successfully with England, and, therefore, that there is no need whatever of maintaining high duties upon similar articles imported from abroad, except for the purpose of enabling our domestic manufacturers to have a monopoly of the home market and to charge to American consumers more than they do to Canadian consumers; and, because, moreover, the very nature of these articles shows that the greater the amount of skilled labor put into any article, the greater is the advantage of manufacturers in the United States over English manufacturers of that article. All the articles mentioned by Mr. Blaine as largely exported from America are articles in which a large amount of skilled labor is employed. Although the daily wages are higher in America than in Europe, the actual cost of labor is really much less with us, owing to the superior skill of our workmen. If the duties were taken off the raw materials of these manufactures, we should clearly be in a far better position to compete with Europe.

4. You ask: "Is Mr. Blaine right in assigning as the cause of the panic of 1857 the tariff of 1846, or as the cause of the panic of 1837 the tariff of 1833?" To a certain extent he is; but for precisely the opposite reasons from those which he assigns. Under both of those tariffs a large surplus had accumulated in the Treasury, proving that those tariffs were far too high, as in fact

they were. This surplus, which kept on growing from 1833 to 1837, was undoubtedly the one great cause of the panic of 1837 and of years of subsequent disaster. Money had piled up in the Treasury, for which the Federal government had no honest use, and which it eventually distributed among the States, early in 1837, after having kept it on deposit for some years with the State banks. The State banks used these deposits as a means of inflating the currency and giving an enormous stimulus to land speculation. When the surplus was distributed among the States, in March, 1837, the government was obliged to call it in from the banks; and immediately all the banks went to pieces, and the speculators were ruined. The government succeeded in recovering its funds and distributing them among the States, which, however, had no good use for them, and therefore squandered them in enterprises which proved a total loss; and this caused the second panic of 1839. But the common pretence that the tariff in May, 1837, when the panic took place, was a low tariff, or a revenue tariff, is entirely untrue. On the contrary, the tariff during the whole period from 1832 to the end of the year 1837 was very much higher than the Morrill tariff of 1861, to which Protectionists now attribute all the prosperity of our country. The duties on pig-iron and on most of the leading articles of domestic manufacture were not, in fact, as low as they are now. The panic of 1837, therefore, took place under one of the highest tariffs ever known in the history of our country; and it was in a very large degree caused by the protective system.

The panic of 1857 was not in the least caused by the lowness of the duties under the tariff of 1846. On the contrary, those duties, although much lower than the duties now existing, were so high as to cause again the accumulation of a large surplus in the Treasury, for which the government could find no honest use. The great prosperity of the country led to a renewal of land speculation on a large scale, which ended, as it always does, in blocking the business of the country and undermining banks and trust companies. Meanwhile, masses of gold, which were needed for the circulating medium of the people, were locked up in the sub-treasury; and when confidence was shaken and depositors sought payment in gold, the banks were unable to pay, because the government had locked up the gold. To this extent,

but in no other way, the tariff of 1846 had some influence in aggravating the panic in 1857. *Every* tariff helps to bring about commercial disasters.

5. With regard to the condition of manufacturing and other industries at the close of the protective tariff in England, which was, practically, in 1842, when all protection, except to agriculture, was substantially abandoned, Mr. Blaine's assertion, "that at that moment Great Britain had reason to feel supremely content," is supremely absurd. In 1842 the manufacturers of Great Britain were in desperate straits; the employers making no profits and the workmen starving. Even assuming, as Mr. Blaine does, that the protective tariff extended to 1846 (which is true as to agriculture only), the people of Great Britain were suffering severely in consequence of the failure of crops and the limitation of their general industries, while the people of Ireland were absolutely starving from famine. There never was a moment at which Great Britain had less reason to feel content than at that time.

England renounced her protective system because her people then recovered their senses, after a long period of delusion. Every successive measure looking towards free trade proved highly beneficial to the whole people of the country. Some steps in that direction were taken between 1826 and 1846, but they were slight and small; and, accordingly, England's development as a manufacturing nation was very slow during that period. Her development was rapid after 1846; still more rapid after the further clearing out of the protective duties in 1853; but most rapid of all after the entire destruction of the last shred of protection in 1860.

6. You ask if Mr. Blaine is "right in assuming that, if we had bought our steel rails of Great Britain, it would have been necessary to pay for them in gold." Clearly he is not right. It can never be "necessary" to do anything impossible; and it is and always has been impossible for our country or any other to pay for any very large proportion of its importations in gold. This country is able to pay a larger proportion of gold than any other country for the simple reason that we produce more than any other. But our annual production of gold is not enough to pay for one-tenth part of our present imports. If, therefore, we had bought our steel rails abroad, we should have paid for them in some production of our own country other than gold, which

would have been made by American workmen and paid for at American rates of wages.

7. Your seventh question I pass, as it merely relates to Mr. Blaine's consistency, which he can be left to settle.

8. It is undoubtedly true that before the United States of America had any tariff, and before there were any United States, manufactures had so far developed in these colonies as to compete successfully with the manufactures of Great Britain in several branches. Under the old colonial governments, when the laws of Great Britain were framed, as was supposed, for the especial benefit of British merchants and manufacturers, and when the American colonies were strictly forbidden to do anything which would interfere with their profits, three-fourths of all articles used on American soil were made by Americans at home, while considerable quantities of pig iron were made in America and exported to England.

9. High wages in the United States have probably some influence upon wages in other countries, but comparatively little. Wages cannot advance in any country where the productive power of laborers does not advance. The great reason why wages have advanced in both England and the United States is that the productive power of workmen in both countries has increassd, their standard of living has advanced, and this in turn has given them greater health, strength, skill, and power of combination.

10. As the price of manufactures has declined more rapidly in countries where protection does not exist than in America, where protection does exist, it is very clear that Mr. Blaine is wrong in assuming that protection has brought down prices. He assumes that protection has built up American manufactures; but the fact is that protection has killed more manufactures than it has helped. It is in the very nature of protection that it should do this, and it never can do anything else. No doubt some few branches of industry flourish more largely in this country than they would do in the absence of a tax upon the people to support them; but they only do this by extinguishing other and more valuable industries, and thus compelling people who are deprived of their natural means of living to work in the protected lines of manufacture in order to get a living at all.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

SECRET SESSIONS OF THE SENATE.

THE question whether "executive business," which the Constitution makes it a part of the duty of the Senate to consider, should be transacted openly or secretly, is one that arises at every session. Occasionally—very rarely, it is true—the headstrong obstinacy of a single member compels the Senate to face the question. Such a member was the late Mr. Riddleberger. Again, the subject is revived when the premature disclosure of a matter that ought to have been kept secret is followed by an inquisition to discover the leaky spot in the chamber. If there be no special cause for a discussion of the old question, a resolution offered by one of the Senators who have made the abolition of the secret session an object in life brings it forward for calm debate.

However the question may arise, the course and issue of the discussion are always the same. The Senate refuses to open its doors. It cannot stop a wild and irresponsible member from disregarding its rules and shouting maudlin defiance. It has heretofore been unmoved—let it be said to the credit of its logical sagacity—by the argument that, since it cannot keep secret all that ought to be withheld from public knowledge for a time, it should cease trying to keep anything secret. When the matter is debated as a question of public policy, the movement in favor of open sessions is invariably defeated.

Of course this fact that the Senate has steadily adhered to its old usage does not close the discussion, so far as the general public is concerned. For although the Constitution nowhere, even by implication, gives sanction to the principle that the people have a right to witness the deliberations of Congress, and although the practice of the Senate, unbroken from the beginning until now, excludes the people from the chamber when treaties and nominations to office are under discussion,—in spite, also, of the fact that the Senate has original and final power to decide the matter,—yet if the public welfare demands the abolition of secret sessions, the agitation and the discussion should be continued until the object is accomplished. The Senate must be forced to yield at last. There is a presumption that the practice which has seemed advisable to a body that has at all times, during a full century, contained some of the wisest and most patriotic men in the country, and which still seems advisable to the Senate, is not impolitic. There is a further presumption that, since there has never been the semblance of strictly popular agitation against it, the general public acquiesces in the judgment of the Senate.

Nevertheless, it is worth while to examine the subject further, in order to see what reason there may be for a demand from outside the Senate that the secret sessions be abolished. The reasons in favor of such sessions are familiar to all. Certain negotiations with foreign countries which come before the Senate could never be brought to a satisfactory conclusion if the terms of treaties and conventions were to be made public. In that case, some newspaper may say, the treaty should not be ratified; that which will not bear the full light of day, and withstand

public scrutiny, ought not to be successful. And yet this same paper might think there were good reasons for not submitting to the public its own plans and "features" even for the next week, lest some rival should forestall it.

Moreover, it may be within the knowledge of some of the editors who think that treaties should be discussed in public before ratification that so important a negotiation as the famous Jay treaty would have been impossible if the public had been admitted to the debate. The publication of the treaty after ratification, through the agency of Mr. Mason, of Virginia, raised a political storm about the head of President Washington which has hardly been equalled for violence since that time. It may be, and almost certainly is, the fact that the Senate would do well to test public opinion in reference to certain treaties and conventions before ratifying them. But the certainty that there will be other agreements to the discussion of which the public assuredly should not be admitted is conclusive against the adoption of a general rule against secret sessions, unless it can be shown that the possible failure of important international agreements is a smaller public evil than that which results from the present system.

As for the question of the propriety of discussing nominations to office in private, the presumption is altogether in favor of the practice of the Senate. Considerations of principle rarely enter into discussions of this sort. From the very nature of the case, the arguments must generally concern the personal fitness of the person nominated. It is best on every account that what is to be said upon this subject be not said in the hearing of reporters. If Senator A knows that there is a strong suspicion in the community where lives John Smith, nominated for postmaster of the town, that he is not financially an honest man, it is the Senator's duty to make his fellow-members acquainted with the fact; and the reason should be sufficient to cause the rejection of the nomination, even though the man were really innocent. But it would be unjust to Mr. Smith that the report of his suspected dishonesty should be given to the public. It would render the duty of a Senator extremely difficult and disagreeable if he were to be forced to make such a statement in the hearing of the galleries. If the doors of the Senate were open, probably many Senators would withhold such facts, which it is important for Senators to know, but improper for the people generally to know. Or if one did spread the report, he would do so privately; and thus, unless a law can be made which admits reporters at all times to interviews between Senators, the evil—if it be regarded as such—of secret criticism of the characters of persons nominated to office will still exist.

The same remark may be made in reply to the suggestion that Senators urge for or against certain nominations the principle known as "the courtesy of the Senate." Opening the doors of "executive sessions" will not prevent Senators from appealing to their fellow-members to observe that principle, but the appeals would be made in personal conversations, and not on the floor of the Senate. In short, whatever there now is that is harmful in the secret session would still exist, in a modified form; but Senators who wished to do their duty in preventing unfit appointments, and other Senators who desired to secure the confirmation or rejection of nominations for reasons personal to themselves, would alike be driven to the necessity of active lobbying with their fellow-members.

On the other hand, what reasons can be urged in favor of opening the doors of the Senate when "executive business" is under discussion? If it be admitted that certain proposed agreements with foreign powers stand on much the same footing as domestic legislation, and that it would be to the public advantage to learn public sentiment in regard to them in advance, it may be said also that nothing very injurious to the country is likely to be done under a constitutional provision which requires the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate. Moreover, the Senate may, and probably will, deem it wise, when certain treaties are under discussion, to suspend its rules and throw open its doors.

But with reference to other treaties, which could be made public only at the cost of a defeat of the negotiation, and with reference to all nominations to office without exception, it may be said broadly that no other reason can be urged for abrogating the secret session than a vulgar curiosity. It is—at all events, it may

be—important for the people to know that a nomination has been confirmed or rejected. It is not important for them to know what any Senator said about the man, or how he voted, or why he voted as he did. The country is already too much in the grasp of the idea that politics means the filling and emptying of offices. If there were any reason to think that publicity in the discussion of nominations would result in the consideration of office-filling questions from a higher point of view than the present, there might be an excuse for the curiosity. But that proposition cannot be maintained. The civil-service sentiments of those who "want to know" about what takes place in the Senate are not more elevated than those of the Senators. If there are any persons who think that the necessity of speaking out would restrain Senators from employing frivolous or unworthy arguments in the Senate, and from making unjust personal attacks upon absent and helpless persons, they are answered by the suggestion already made, that there can be no prohibition upon the button-holing of one Senator by another. The harm which is supposed now to be done could be done still.

What has been written thus far may seem to have been based upon an admission that there is a popular desire to learn what takes place in executive session. The existence of such a desire may be doubted. It does not manifest itself, at all events. Still, it might be inferred from the fact that many newspapers are actively, not to say obstreperously, in favor of the abolition of the secret session.

Well, as to these newspapers, it may be said that they wish to know what is going on behind *any* closed door. When they see a guard placed before the entrance to an apartment, they are possessed by an unconquerable desire to penetrate the secret. If they see "private" written upon a paper, that is reason enough for printing it, if print it they can. That is the only reason why so many treaties are published prematurely. Public documents of vastly more importance than some of these treaties are neglected altogether, or summarized in a brief paragraph which dexterously misses the point; but that which is labelled *secret*, and which can be had only by persuading somebody to violate confidence, is eagerly sought after. If all newspapers were like some of those which strive after a reputation for enterprise, the most effective way to insure the secrecy of a treaty would be to hand a copy of it to every reporter. When no one of them could beat his fellows by publishing it first, no one of them would deem it worth while to publish it at all.

As much could not be said for the office-filling part of the "executive business" of the Senate. These same newspapers relish a good bit of personal gossip under all circumstances. Even now the Washington despatches of our daily papers are more than half made up of personalities, which represent a still larger fraction of the labor of collection. What the Washington despatches would be if the secret sessions were made public, and if Senators were to modify in no respect their utterances or their mode of procedure, in deference to spectators of the session, no mortal man could predict. The newspapers which urge a change represent only themselves. They do not represent the public. No doubt they have trained their readers to enjoy personalities, lest they should not have the opportunity further to debase the public taste. At present, we believe, there is hardly a newspaper in the United States which makes a practice of giving a fairly full and connected report of the proceedings of Congress. It would be cruel for the Senate to burden them with the care of the unimportant deliberations of the secret session while they are vainly struggling to make room for an account of the business that is done in public.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

II.

NOT "INGERSOLLISM."

OWING to the limited time at his disposal, the editor was unable to submit to the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott the title selected for that gentleman's article in the April number of THE REVIEW. Dr. Abbott disapproves of the title in the following words:

"This title, 'Flaws in Ingersollism,' assumes that there is a philosophy termed

'Ingersollism,' and that I have undertaken to point out flaws in it. I know of no such philosophy, and, if I did, I should not attempt to indicate its defects. In the article in question I simply attempted to show the reader what is Christianity when separated from the corruptions of a quasi-paganism, leaving the reader to determine whether this Christianity is correctly represented by Mr. Ingersoll in his criticisms upon the Christian faith. I seriously object to being regarded as responsible for that which is involved in the title put upon the article wholly without my knowledge or consent, and, as it seems to me, in very palpable conflict with the opening paragraph of the article itself. LYMAN ABBOTT."

III.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL BISHOP.

IN THE February number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW there appeared an article entitled "The American Bishop of To-Day," by the Rev. Julius H. Ward. In that article the author uses the following language: "The American bishop —and here I mean not the Methodist superintendents who calls themselves bishops . . . "

What he meant to say, as the article shows, was that his American bishop was a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This he could have said in a less offensive manner, but he goes out of his way to make a fling at the episcopate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a branch of the Christian Church which has millions of members and is many times larger than the Protestant Episcopal Church.

If he did not believe in the bishopric of such a large and influential body (which, by the way, is an older episcopal organization in this country than the Protestant Episcopal Church), he might, at least, have omitted all mention of it, for the topic under his consideration did not require such a reference. Even a dignified Roman Catholic writer, treating the practical work of the episcopate of his church in America, would hardly have stepped aside to flaunt in the faces of the Protestant Episcopalians of the land the sneering statement that he did not mean the Protestant Episcopal superintendents who call themselves bishops; yet the Roman Catholic Church utterly denies the validity of the Protestant Episcopal episcopate. In contrast with such a course, the Rev. Mr. Ward, representing a church whose episcopacy is not recognized by the Roman Catholic Church, leaves the legitimate line of his discussion to assert or insinuate that the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church are not bishops, though they call themselves such.

In considering this utterance, we must say that it has a flavor of unfairness even in the manner of putting that which he wishes to affirm. He says, "the Methodist superintendents who call themselves bishops," as though the Methodist Episcopal bishops of the present day assumed the title without authority, and that others did not recognize their right to the appellation; whereas the fact is that the law of the Methodist Episcopal Church calls them bishops, while nearly all the millions of Protestants in the land, except a few like the writer of the article in question, recognize them as regularly-instituted bishops, and even the Roman Catholic Church, the validity of whose episcopate Mr. Ward admits, considers the bishopric of the Methodist Episcopal Church just as genuine as that of the Protestant Episcopal Church or that of the Church of England.

To deny that the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church are true bishops is for the denier to put himself in opposition to all Protestantism outside the Anglican communion, and, there is reason to believe, in opposition to the views and feelings of a very large number belonging to the Anglican bodies. Mr. Ward himself admits that they are superintendents, but sneers at the idea of their being called bishops; but does he not know that our Anglo-Saxon word bishop is from the Greek ἐπίσκοπος (*episcopos*), which is compounded of ἐπί (upon or over) and σκοπός (an inspector), which in turn is from σκοπεῖν (to look at, to view), and hence that *episcopos* or bishop means overseer or superintendent? Indeed, in his article he uses the word overseer as an equivalent of the word bishop. He must, therefore, know that superintendent and bishop are synonymous terms, and, consequently, when he

admits that the chief pastors in the Methodist Episcopal Church are superintendents, he is illogical in refusing to recognize their title as bishops.

He may say they are not true bishops because they have not the apostolical succession through ordination by bishops who are in an unbroken line of actual succession from the Apostles. This demands a moment's attention. If there is such a thing as apostolical succession, who has it? If Mr. Ward says the Methodist Episcopal Church does not possess it, the Roman Church in turn asserts that the Anglican communions do not possess it, and Mr. Ward should settle the question with the venerable Church of Rome before he undertakes to pronounce judgment upon the succession or legitimacy of other bodies.

But is there such an apostolic succession? Some would like to quote the Rev. John Wesley as a good Churchman, and probably Mr. Ward would; but Mr. Wesley said: "The uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable which no man ever did or can prove." Good Anglican writers of this decade also deny it. We do not believe such a succession can be proved, or, if it can be proved, that there is any virtue in it; but if there is such a thing as tactual succession in the Anglican Church, then Methodism has it.

If the clergy, and especially the bishops of the Church of England, had the succession, certainly it was transmitted to the Rev. John Wesley, the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., and the Rev. James Creighton, who were regularly ordained by the bishops of the English Church, and who started the line of ordained Methodist ministers for America; and whatever succession came to Wesley and those who assisted him went from them to those they ordained. But Methodism and Protestantism generally, outside the Anglican bodies, do not believe in any necessity for apostolic succession in order to constitute a valid ministry, and the same view has been held by eminent Anglican authorities.

Mr. Ward may say that the Methodist ordination was not proper, because Mr. Wesley and those who assisted him were presbyters. To say that, however, is to assert that nearly all the Protestant ministers outside the Anglican communions are illegitimately ordained, or, in other words, are not ministers. Doubtless he will admit that the Methodists have presbyterial ordination, for Bishop Seabury, the first Protestant Episcopal bishop in the United States, admitted that long ago; and, by the way, the consecration of Bishop Seabury was not from the regular and lawful English bishops, but irregularly from Scotch non-juring bishops.

But the validity of presbyterial ordination has been admitted even by Church-of-England authorities. Richard Hooker said: "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop," and Saravia, the celebrated Spanish Church-of-England divine and confidential adviser of Hooker, admitted that, in cases of necessity, "a presbyter clearly may ordain presbyters."

Even High-Churchmen must admit the argument of necessity, and Wesley was driven to his act by the law of necessity. The Revolutionary War had extinguished the Church of England in the United States, and so few clergymen were left that the people generally were without the sacraments. John Wesley held "that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain," but he declined to exercise his right until he found that the English bishops would not ordain his ministers to meet the needs of the people of the United States. Then he, assisted by two other presbyters, started a line of ordained ministers for America.

But, beyond the justification of necessity, he had the authority of the New Testament and the Christian Church of primitive times. The best Anglican scholars admit that in New-Testament times bishops and presbyters were one, and that was the judgment of the authorities of the English Church at the time of the Reformation. Dean Stanley says: "It is certain that throughout the first century and for the first years of the second . . . bishop and presbyter were convertible terms"; scholarly and accurate Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, in his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians," says: "It is a fact now generally recognized by theologians of all shades of opinion that, in the language of the New Testament, the same officer of the church is called indifferently 'bishop' (ἐπίσκοπος)

and 'elder,' or presbyter (πρεσβύτερος)," and that the idea that "the officers in the church who were first called apostles came afterward to be designated bishops is baseless"; and the Rev. Edwin Hatch, in his "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," says, that presbyters and bishops were the same order the "weight of evidence has rendered practically indisputable."

The New Testament itself is exceedingly conclusive. The twenty-second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles clearly shows that presbyters and bishops were the same. Paul sent for the "elders," and when they came he charged them, saying: "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." Here the Greek word rendered "overseers" is ἐπισκόπους, which means bishops. In the revised version it is rendered "bishops," and the equivalent word, "overseers," is put in the margin. The Apostle thus recognized the presbyters or elders to be bishops.

As, therefore, the New Testament teaches that presbyters and bishops were the same order, Wesley, as a presbyter, had a right to ordain, and on that ground Methodist orders are valid; and it is worthy of note that the Church of England never challenged his assertion of this right. If he did wrong, why did not the authorities of the state church take him to task? That Wesley ordained ministers for America was a matter that was well known, and yet no bishop, archbishop, or other dignitary of the church called him to account. This silence was a virtual indorsement.

Further, the fact is that Wesley by the very force of circumstances was a bishop in the best sense of the word. He was the head of an organization entirely independent of the Church of England, and over which it had never exercised any control. He was a presbyter superintending presbyters and others who ministered to the religious wants of the people. Being a superintending presbyter, he was a bishop —a true New-Testament bishop; and a New-Testament bishop ought to be good enough for a church which professes to be governed by the teaching of the New Testament. Wesley, under pressure of necessity, asserted his episcopal authority, and even Saravia has said that "in such a state of things a presbyter may be a bishop." Wesley himself declared that he was a bishop. As late as 1785 he said: "I firmly believe I am a scriptural ἐπίσκοπος (*episcopos*), as much as any man in England or in Europe." If he was a bishop, then he gave episcopal ordination, and the Anglican who quotes Mr. Wesley as a good Churchman should be consistent, and accept his statement as well as recognize the ordination which he gave.

Whatever the Rev. John Wesley may have intended for the Methodists in England, it is clear that he intended a new ecclesiastic arrangement for the United States, where the Church of England, through the independence of the colonies, no longer existed. That he proposed a new ecclesiastical organization for the United States is plain from the fact that he, with two other presbyters, making the "canonical number," ordained clergymen for this country and prepared articles of religion, a liturgy, forms of service for the ordination of the clergy, and a discipline for the government of the body.

The highest officer in the new organization he called a superintendent. He believed that bishop meant overseer, but, probably owing to the abuse of the title bishop, he preferred the title superintendent, which was perhaps deemed simpler and more suggestive; but the word does not determine the nature of the office so much as its functions, and no one can doubt that the functions of that superintendency were episcopal. That being the case, the superintendent was a bishop. The "Discipline" of the Methodist Episcopal Church uses both the title bishop and the title general superintendent, so that the one explains the other.

The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church are therefore bishops according to the law of the church and in view of the functions of their office. Their orders and their consecration are regular, even in the judgment of Anglican authorities. They are in the succession, if there is any; but it does not make any difference whether there is or is not an apostolic succession. Like the New Testament bishops, they have no higher clerical order than that of the eldership. They are

presbyter-bishops of the New-Testament kind, and the New-Testament kind ought to satisfy all Christians.

Limited space prevents further remark, but if the Rev. Mr. Ward will fairly study the Methodist Episcopal bishops, who are true bishops, he will find his ideal bishop realized in these men, as they take an active part in all matters which relate to the welfare of society, and in their episcopal work fly not to the confines of a small diocese, but to the uttermost parts of the earth. THOMAS B. NEELY.

IV.

ABUSE OF POLICE POWERS.

THERE has been much discussion concerning the abuse of personal liberty and private property arising from the exercise of those extraordinary rights retained by the government for the protection of the public. Quarantine regulations, and license or prohibitory laws, where the State assumes full control of the individual and the destruction of his effects for the safety of society, may be cited as instances of the evil.

In a narrower and, perhaps, seemingly less important branch of these powers, however, the rights of the people are constantly made the subject of outrage, and little attention is paid to it by the reformers. The press of the country contains daily records of the abuse of authority by police officers.

Two or three friends stand together upon the street corner, after supper, and talk and laugh loudly. A citizen in blue approaches. "Move on; get off that corner," he says; and, upon a remonstrance being made, "Shut up, move on, or I'll pull you in." If his commands are not then obeyed, he blows a whistle and other officers appear: resistance is offered to arrest, clubs are freely used, and the peaceful friends of a moment before are dragged off with bleeding heads to the station-house. If they attempt to escape, the captors use their revolvers. After a night in filthy cells, they are taken before a magistrate and, on the charge of being "drunk and disorderly" and "resisting an officer," are held in bail for trial before a jury.

The records of the press and courts show cases of excess more extreme than this. Policemen are supposed to be keepers of the peace, but they have enlarged their fancied duties until they seem to have quite forgotten that they are merely citizens appointed to maintain order, and pose as regulators of the social economy of the streets, even in the most trifling matters.

It may be interesting, in view of these outrages, to inquire into the exact extent of the power of these officials.

In general, it may be said that every citizen, under the common law, is expected to preserve the peace of the community, and may, without a warrant, make arrests for offences which he sees committed; indeed, if the crime be extreme and is felony under the law, he is bound to arrest the offender, under pain of fine and imprisonment. He may not make any arrests, however, unless he is an actual witness of the offence. A police officer has little more right than the citizen. It is true that, while the law only allows the latter to arrest in ordinary cases, it makes it the duty of the former in every case where he sees an offence committed; and where it is felony that is charged, the right of the officer is higher than that of the citizen, for he may make the arrest without warrant, upon information, and may use his revolver in case the criminal attempts to escape. With these differences, his rights and liabilities are the same as those of the citizen.

The police, however, think that if a man is drunk, or talks loudly, or sings, or presumes to answer the insults addressed to him by them, he must at once be dragged to prison, and, upon the slightest resistance, be beaten with clubs or "blackjacks." The average citizen knows very little concerning the officers' limits of power, and, seeing the order to move on so often enforced by the exhibition of the star and the august "billy," seldom stops to question the legality of the action. This submissiveness on the part of the public has rendered the police, particularly in large cities, arrogant and brutal, and these supposed conservators of the peace are frequent law-breakers.

That a man is under the influence of liquor is not enough to justify interference and found a charge of "drunk and disorderly"; to sustain an accusation, there

must, in addition, be annoyance to others. So creating a disturbance does not consist in unusual noise, but in acts tending to a breach of the peace. In a recent case in New York involving this question, the judge was extremely severe in his charge against a policeman who was sued for damages for having gone beyond his authority, and the jury rendered a verdict for $2,500 in favor of the plaintiff.

Perhaps the most startling example of the evil is in the case of police raids. A complaint, possibly dictated by ill-will, is entered by an officer against some house on his beat. In a night or two an army in blue surrounds the place, and all who are found within the circle are taken in patrol-wagons to the station-house, and their names entered on the books as criminals. After a night's confinement in the cells they are held to bail or fined, according to the personal disposition of the magistrate at the moment. In New York, not long since, all the patrons of a restaurant were thus treated without any warrant whatever; and in Philadelphia, a few months ago, over seventy young girls, pupils of a respectable dancing-school, were taken in patrol-wagons to the police station, at 11 o'clock at night, because some neighbor, animated by spite, had sworn out a warrant against the proprietor For actions like these no condemnation can be too severe; yet they are of such frequent occurrence as to be matters of little remark. With facts of this kind a foreigner might exhibit this so-called free country as a vile despotism.

The legal position may be thus summed up: no policeman has a right to arrest without a written warrant, based upon oath, save for felony seen, or upon accusation of some one who saw it, or for misdemeanor or breach of the peace which he witnesses. To constitute a breach of the peace there must be blows or weapons drawn, or menaces or cries which show the beginning of an affray. Mere singing, laughter, and noises of like character are not offences, and do not justify police interference either by threats or the use of force. No counter-threat of resistance to the officer, if he without cause threaten to use force, will amount to an affray which will justify an arrest; for the offence must arise before he threatens or offers force, and he cannot, by his own menace of illegal violence, provoke an affray to justify an arrest; for in such case he himself creates the breach of the peace. He has no right to interfere at all, and if he does so, the citizen may defend himself from the unlawful attempt to arrest, and, provided he does not go to wicked excess, may kill the officer without being guilty of crime.

The people should be fully protected from the abuse of power on the part of the police, who are, for the most part, ignorant men, of violent passions, placed in positions of seemingly great authority, and often disposed or tempted to outrage the laws and the liberty of the public. If resisted, they are at once the accusers and often the sole witnesses. Their power should be carefully confined to the preservation of the public peace, and any attempt to go beyond this limit should be promptly punished. The correction of the evil is to be found in the exact determination of their authority. Arrests for trivial causes, without warrant, not only tend to create breaches of the peace, but render both the law and its ministers the subject of public contempt. Citizens must be prompt to resent the unlawful attacks of officers, and should pursue offenders by complaints before the appointing powers, by criminal prosecutions, and by civil suits for damages. The law is on their side, and, with determination, much can be done to correct the present evil.

Of so much importance to the founders of the country was the personal liberty of the citizens that they incorporated an amendment in the Constitution to the effect that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation." We have lost sight of much of the wisdom and free spirit of those days; our ancestors would certainly have looked with horror upon such infringements of personal liberty as are now constantly made by police officers. Much of the trouble has arisen from the submissiveness of the citizens to any commands which the officers choose to make, and it is time that these outrages under the guise of police power should be met everywhere with prompt appeals to the law. They are a constant menace to the welfare of the people, and are opposed in every way to the sprit of our free institutions.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS COOPER.

V.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANDERSONVILLE.

WHO was to blame for the sufferings of the Union prisoners at Andersonville? is a question not often intelligently answered. It is common to blame the South as a people for the atrocities, rather than their proper authors. The newspapers of the South did not make the sufferings of Union prisoners a matter of general news, as under similar circumstances would have been done at the North, and hence the Southern people knew but little of them, and they had, in any case, but little influence in determining the character of this prison. In most cases where these cruelties came to their attention, they protested with an earnestness which showed their humanity.

Even Howell Cobb, who was in command of the district in which Andersonville was situated, as early as May 5, 1864, in his inspection report, humanely protested, saying: "There are now in the prison twelve thousand prisoners. . . . The effect of increasing the number within the present area must be a terrific increase of sickness and death during the summer months." Yet in the July following we find 30,000 men within the same area, and the death-rates fully justifying the prediction of Howell Cobb.

On August 5 Colonel D. T. Chandler, assistant adjutant and inspector general of the Confederacy, visited the prison and fairly reported its terrible condition. Not the least among his humane recommendations was one which called for the removal of General John H. Winder, in command of the post, and the substitution, he says, "of some one who will not advocate in cold blood the propriety of leaving the prisoners in their present condition until the number has been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangement suffice for their accommodation."

This humane officer in the same report characterized the prison as "a place of horror difficult to describe, and a reproach to civilization." Colonel Chandler followed his report to Richmond to urge action thereon. The report was there indorsed by Judge Campbell, the Assistant Secretary of War, who emphasized the recommendation for a change in commanders by this indorsement: "The frightful percentum of mortality, steadily increasing, until in the month of July it attained the extent of 62 and 7-10 per thousand, appears to be only a necessary consequence of the *criminal indifference* of the *authorities* charged with their care." This report was also indorsed by R. H. Chilton, assistant adjutant and inspector general, C. S. A., who said: "The condition of Andersonville is a reproach to the Confederates as a nation." Notwithstanding this report and these emphatic indorsements, the only answer made to them was the promotion of General Winder, a short time afterwards, to be commissary-general in command of all the prisons east of the Mississippi. If this was not an indorsement, it was not censure, and under the circumstances was equivalent to commendation.

It has been claimed by Southerners that Federal prisoners were fed as well as their own men. The writer was a prisoner at Andersonville, and by a careful examination, drawn from his own experience and that of his comrades, he believes that the rations averaged less than ten ounces for each man per day. There was so little meat issued (either salt or fresh) that its influence in producing scurvy is not worth discussing. In his report Colonel Chandler recommended that green corn and other anti-scorbutic food (of which he says there was an abundance) be issued to the prisoners. The failure to feed the inmates of Andersonville properly has been attributed to the scarcity of food. Sherman afterwards subsisted his army on a country within a radius of two hundred miles of Andersonville, and it did not suffer from hunger.

The animus of those controlling Southern prisons is shown where there can be no question of ability or want of ability raised. The country around Andersonville (even within a hundred feet of it) was covered by a dense pine forest, and yet the prisoners often ate raw food and thousands perished for want of fire and shelter.

Colonel Chandler says in his report: "No shelter whatever has been provided these unfortunate prisoners of war; they have been permitted to stretch their blankets on such sticks as they can procure. . . . The prisoners are so destitute

of fuel that they are compelled to dig in the filthy marsh for roots with which to cook their food.

The necessity for shelter at Andersonville is shown by the fact that there were 108 rainy days during the year 1864, and that the temperature ranged from ten degrees below the freezing-point to 110 degrees above zero in the shade, as shown by the tables kept by Ambrose E. Spencer, of Americus, Ga.

There was one thing the Confederacy had in abundance—room; and yet Colonel Chandler reported that the prisoners at Andersonville had but six square feet to each man. Measurements made by Dr. A. C. Hamlin, U. S. A., show that at one time the ratio of density at Andersonville was equivalent to six millions of people to a square mile. It is a well-established sanitary maxim that the death-rates of a city are always in keeping with the density of population.

As the Confederate War Department was warned by a high and accredited officer of the probable effect of this overcrowding, it was responsible for what followed, to the extent of its ability to prevent it. The expeditious removal of these prisoners (or most of them) to prevent their recapture by Sherman, after the fall of Atlanta, shows the department's ability in that direction where its interests were concerned.

The location of the prison was, the writer believes, not in itself unhealthy. The water, had it not been contaminated by the sinks of the Confederate guard on the stream flowing through the prison, was fairly good. One consideration which he has never seen mentioned probably influenced its selection: there were absolutely no stones on the ground with which the prisoners could attack the guard.

The reports of the surgeons show them to have been, generally, humane men. Dr. John C. Bates says of his patients: "The clamor was all the while for food." Surgeon G. C. Roy describes the prison as "the most horrible spectacle I ever saw." Humane recommendations were constantly made by them, but the surgeons could do but little for sick prisoners, with Winder in command. One of them has since said: "I had no more influence in obtaining better treatment for the prisoners than the 'man in the moon.'" Everything was devised by the authorities at Richmond.

The percentage of deaths in this prison was 33¾ per cent. of the whole number confined there. In September, 1864, 17 per cent. of its inmates died, and in October 27 per cent. These death-rates were too large to be attributed to ordinary causes. The figures of the United States War Department, on a careful analysis, give the percentage of mortality in Confederate prisons as over 38, while in the Federal prisons it was 13.5. In December, 1864, the Confederate authorities refused to allow the United States government to furnish provisions and medicine for Union prisoners.

In view of all the facts here given, we are forced to the conclusion that the condition of Andersonville was the result of criminal indifference, or of a deliberate design on the part of the Confederates to force the Federal government to accept their conditions of exchange.

This brings us fairly to the consideration of the responsibility for the non-exchange of prisoners during 1863 and 1864. One of the principal agreements in the cartel of 1862, which was in force up to the time of the suspension of exchange, was that all prisoners captured should be exchanged until the party holding the lesser number had exchanged all its prisoners; the balance held by the other party to be paroled with the condition that they should not be used in the military service until declared exchanged by the consent of both parties.

Let us see how these terms were violated by the Confederates. On November 30, 1862, the Confederate War Department authorized the execution of negro soldiers captured in arms. On December 23, 1862, Jefferson Davis, by proclamation, outlawed General Butler and all officers serving under him, making it legal to execute them when captured; also refusing to release by parole any Federal officer until General Butler had been executed. In July, 1863, General Grant paroled 39,000 prisoners, or their equivalents, captured at Vicksburg. In the September following these paroles were declared invalid, and the paroled men were put into the armies of the Confederacy. This action may have been justified by a former decision of General Banks, but Grant did not like an interpretation which took away the

fruits of his victory. On April 17, 1864, we find him instructing General Butler, who had been appointed special agent of exchange, that "no arrangement for the exchange of prisoners will be acceded to that does not fully recognize the validity of these [Vicksburg] paroles . . . and release a sufficient number of Federals to cancel them."

There is no doubt that, when Grant was put in command of all the armies of the United States, he determined to stop an exchange of prisoners which yielded the Confederates all the advantages, while they constantly ignored the conditions of the cartel. His keen eye had detected that the Confederates got good war material in exchange for men who seldom took the field again. In a communication to General Butler he said: "If we keep up this system of exchange, we shall constantly supply the Confederacy with fresh material to fight their battles."

Early in 1864 our government offered to exchange officer for officer and man for man. On August 10, 1864, the Confederates accepted this offer, but made no reply to General Butler's question whether they were ready to exchange border negroes for their own soldiers. In December a parole of the sick began, and thousands of famine-stricken Union prisoners were turned over to our authorities. This exchange justified Robert Ould's satisfaction, as expressed in a letter on a former occasion: "We get rid of a miserable set of wretches, and receive some of the best war material I ever saw."

The proposal to retaliate for the cruel treatment of Union soldiers was not favorably received at the North. Charles Sumner, from his place in the Senate, condemned the principle, while Abraham Lincoln declared that he "never would starve men like that." It is not so clear, however, but that an open announcement of such a policy of retaliation would have been more humane than a secret one. The former might have aided in producing a sentiment which would have compelled better treatment of Union prisoners.

The writer is not able to state to what extent this secret determination on the part of those having charge of Confederate prisoners was carried out, but gives the following copy of an order, showing that retaliation was attempted on defenceless Confederate prisoners in our hands:

OFFICE OF CHIEF COMMISSARY SUBSISTENCE,
DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, HILTON HEAD, S. C., Dec. 19th, 1864.

SIR: The Major-General commanding directs that the following rations be issued to the prisoners of war in our hands, viz.:

One-fourth pound bread.
Ten ounces corn meal.
One-half pint pickles.
One ounce salt (for five days).

The prisoners are allowed to purchase what eatables they may require from sutlers or from traders, and from no one else.

Very Respectfully, Your Ob't Serv't,
H. E. LORD, Captain & C. S., Chief C. S. D. S.

To Lieut. GEO. L. WARREN, 157th N. Y. S. Vols. & A. C. S.
Fort Pulaski, Ga. (Rec'd Dec. 28th, 1864.)

There is nothing to commend in the treatment of Union prisoners by the Confederate government: on the Union side there is reason to condemn the policy of non-exchange of prisoners. How far it was worthy of or justifiable in the government of a great people to play the shuttlecock of diplomacy, while its bravest defenders were dying in hopeless destitution, we will not further discuss.

The prison system of the South is to be traced to three of its prominent public men—first, Jefferson Davis, who retained Winder in his position, notwithstanding the earnest protest of humane men in the South; Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, who declared he was in favor of fighting under the black flag; and Northrop, the Commissary-General of the Confederacy, a man characterized by Confederate Senator Foote as a wicked and heartless wretch.

It is certainly not too much to ask that Northern men will cease to class a brave and generous people, of whom Judge Campbell, Colonel Chandler, and Chilton were conspicuous examples, with unfeeling wretches who murdered defenceless Union prisoners whom Providence had thrown into their hands.

WARREN LEE GOSS.

VI.

OUR PENSION SYSTEM.

IN A recent issue of a journal professedly devoted to the interests of our veteran soldiers, the following editorial paragraph appeared :

"Every man's honorable discharge from the military or naval service during the war should—it must—become his only pension certificate. A man's dishonorable discharge from the service in the war should under no circumstances entitle him to a place on the pension roll."

Here are several fundamental errors.

1. The writer of the paragraph says that "every man's honorable discharge from the military or naval service during the war should—it must—become his *only* pension certificate." This is a broad declaration. It is also the assertion of a new principle in pension legislation—a principle that was never recognized by the law-making power of any government, whether ancient or modern, as the foundation of pension ratings, and which suggests a policy widely different from that in which originated our own beneficent system of pensions. To engraft now such a principle upon that system would be equivalent to the modification, if not to the unrestricted repeal, of all existing legislation on the subject. In fact, it would revolutionize the system itself. The original and true idea of governmental pensions was expressed in the act passed by the American Congress whereby pensions were first authorized and conferred by reason exclusively of "any wound or injury or disease contracted while in the service of the United States, and in the line of duty." This, in the judgment of the early statesmen, was, as it is and ought to be, the solid ground on which a pension certificate should be placed.

Pensions were graded in the beginning, as now, with reference to degrees of disability incurred in the line of duty, the nature and the extent of which were ascertained by medical examinations. Pensions rated upon degrees of disability were not intended as, in any sense, a compensation for services. Services are rendered in pursuance of a contract, apart from the patriotic spirit pervading them, and are paid for *in* the service, now, as in the past; and, excepting the commissioned officers, the title to pay and the amount of compensation alike are determined by no other consideration than length of time in the service. Pensions for disabilities and pay for services are radically different from each other. They have distinct objects, and the difference between them is an essential one. The wounds, or injuries, and the diseases which soldiers incur in the line of duty are set down to the credit of unfitness for manual labor, and require different degrees of *aid* from the government after *discharge* from the service; but the disability affords no adequate index to either the character or the extent of the service itself. A soldier who serves only *a day* may be disabled by disease or by injury to the degree of *total helplessness*, and be pensioned therefor at the *highest* rate; while the soldier who serves four successive *years* may be only slightly disabled by either disease or injury, and, consequently, be entitled to only the *lowest* pensionable rating.

Mere *service*, then, has naught to do with determining the merits of an invalid claim or with either the granting or regulating of invalid pensions. Invalid pensions, which are the foundation of the system, rest upon a wholly different consideration from that of service, and this fact must never be lost sight of in determining the purpose, as well as the extent, of the pension system. The idea of public *aid*, given because of injuries or of diseases, or of other causes of *disability*, should never be divorced from grants of pension. The two things have always been united. They are inseparable. Hence, when a service pension was first created by act of Congress, it rested upon this theory of aid. It was based not upon service alone, but also upon an *age-limit*, which was regarded as a proper ground for pension because closely associated with physical disability, and therefore deserving and needing public care.

If, however, the principle suggested by the fallacious paragraph I am considering were adopted, and "every man's honorable discharge from the military or naval service "should become his *only pension certificate*," our pension system would have to be recast. The change would eliminate all degrees of disability from the schedule of

ratings. It would abolish all existing classifications of pensioners. It would be equivalent, in fact, to the permanent maintenance, in time of peace, of an army of citizen soldiery entitled to well-nigh the same pay per month that was received by the beneficiaries *prior* to discharge from the service. In short, it would create, without discriminative conditions, an establishment that even a monarchical system, with all its restraining power, could not safely tolerate. Proof of *disease* or of *injury* incurred in the line of duty, and not merely an honorable discharge, is, therefore, the only true ground for an invalid pension certificate; and upon that ground rests every such certificate that the government has issued.

2. Again, the writer says that "a man's *dis*honorable discharge from the service in the war should under no circumstances *entitle* him to a place on the pension roll." In this statement I agree with the writer fully, and would add that, from the formation of the government until now, *no* man's "dishonorable discharge from the service in the war" was ever recognized by either a law of Congress or any departmental ruling as *entitling* him to "a place on the pension roll." No applicant's claim for pension was ever decided by any Commissioner of Pensions or by any Secretary of the Interior upon that basis. On the contrary, the records will show that every claim for invalid pension yet *granted* by the government was based, *not* upon the *character* of the soldier or upon the nature of his "*discharge* from the service in the war," but, rather, upon proof of the fact that a pensionable *disability* has been incurred by him in the service and line of duty. The great doctrine underlying this fact is vital to the pension system. It lies at the bottom of the law. To ignore it is to misapprehend at once the origin and the object of the system itself. The obligation of the government to bestow pensions for disabilities is not, nor can it be, affected by any offence which the soldier may have committed, or by any punishment which, in conformity with the articles of war, and in pursuance of the verdict of a court-martial, may have been inflicted upon him in the service. The offence and the punishment are legally related, and they go together. The pension follows the disability as a logical sequence. But punishment and pension cannot be lawfully confounded one with the other. This is the doctrine of invalid pension certificates, and I venture to suggest that the legislation upon which it is based can be neither understood, nor justified, nor equitably enforced upon any other principle. It is the unerring index to the real meaning of the whole thing, furnishing the key to every problem in every invalid pension claim. The only relation which a soldier's *discharge* from the service legally and properly sustains to his claim for *pension* is found in determining one fact which is prerequisite to pension itself—viz., that he is *out of the service* at the date of filing his application. This fact must be established, inasmuch as no man can occupy a pensionable status while *in* the service. The fact of discharge being settled, the claim is thereupon adjudicated in the light of the evidence going to prove the *incurrence* of the alleged *disability* in the line of duty and the pensionable *degree* of said disability.

3. The policy of granting *service* pensions, not indiscriminately, but conditioned upon *age* or upon *indigency*, is clearly established. It has been applied to the veterans of the Revolution, to those of the war of 1812, and to the surviving soldiers of the war with Mexico. It remains to be applied to the veterans of the war for the Union. The time is evidently approaching when the benefits of that policy, based upon the same considerations as those which underlie the service pensions already provided for preceding wars, will be bestowed upon the surviving patriots who followed the national colors between 1861 and 1865. In fact, the precedents already created with reference to service pensions have become parts of our general pension system, and are right in policy and in principle. They will surely be maintained in future legislation, and, crowning the provisions already authorized for the care of invalid soldiers who served in the war for the Union, Congress will in good time enact a judicious statute conferring service pensions upon the survivors of that struggle. All patriots hope to see such a statute passed with the unanimous approval of the people's representatives, thereby completing the system of beneficence which our fathers made and which has grown up with the life of the Republic itself.

The system thus devised should be maintained. It is founded upon equality and justice. It is the offspring of the highest civilization. It is the glory of the nation, and the noblest product of statesmanship and of patriotism. GEORGE BABER.

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MR. BALFOUR'S LAND BILL.

BY CHARLES STEWART PARNELL, M. P.

EARLY in 1880, at the commencement of the movement for an occupying ownership or peasant proprietary in Ireland, and when this project had no friends amongst the Tory party, I was permitted to lay my views in regard to it before the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I then attempted to explain that the question would have to be dealt with in more ways than one, owing to the peculiar position of the large masses of small tenants occupying the congested districts in the west of Ireland; and that no measure for the solution of the land question would be satisfactory or complete which did not have regard to the condition of these small occupiers. This was one of the main reasons urged by us Irish members for denying to the Land Act of 1881 the attributes of finality and completeness which were at the time claimed for it by its friends and authors; and the succeeding years have amply justified us in the position we then took up.

We have again to-day to find fault, and to reject as insufficient and dishonest the Irish Land-Purchase Bill of the present Tory government, which has ostensibly been brought forward for the purpose of settling the land question on the lines laid down by me during my American tour. It is not unreasonable, then, that there should be some curiosity as to the motives which have influenced our attitude upon the present measure, and that we should be asked, "Why do you, whose platform was based upon occupying ownership, reject this bill, which, at least to some extent, appears to carry out your views?"

I have said that the measure is insufficient for its purpose. Pretending to be a great solution of the land question, it will not, at the outside, reach to more than one out of every four of the Irish tenants, and there will be many in this favored minority who have no right or claim to enjoy the benefits of land-purchase at the expense of the state, since they have neither the status of occupying nor of agricultural tenants. According to the method adopted and the scale of prices given, up to the present, under the operation of the previous enactments, it will take, as I stated in debate upon the second reading of the bill,—and my figures and statement were not contradicted,—upwards of one hundred and sixty-six millions of pounds sterling in order to enable all the Irish tenants entitled to do so to become the owners of their holdings. These figures show that an occupying ownership, carried out on such lines and at such prices, is impossible, as the state would never consent to lend the vast sum necessary for the purpose. We therefore hold that, before approaching the purchase question, it is necessary that the Land Act of 1881 should be so amended as to secure the tenant's improvements from the infliction of rent. Under the bill as it stands, the landlord is entitled to ask the tenant to pay him twenty years' purchase on the improvements which the tenant himself has made, as well as a similar rate for the landlord's property. By proceeding as I have suggested, first to secure the tenant's improvements from the infliction of rent, we should materially limit the size of the question and the amount of the sum involved, and render it much more manageable.

Again, I claim that a large area of the land proposed to be sold is held by tenants who, if they purchased, would not rightly come within the description of occupying owners or peasant proprietors. These men each occupy several large farms, and do not reside upon any of them. They use them simply as large grazing runs for cattle, employing no labor and making no outlay upon them. Three-fourths of Connaught is held in this fashion; at least one-third of Munster, and probably one-fourth of Leinster as well. Why, I ask, should such gentlemen graziers absorb much of the money and credit available for the settlement of the Irish land question, while the small and average-sized occupying tenants are left in the lurch, without any chance of obtaining the fee of their holdings? It was not for the advantage of the

graziers and the *gombeen* men that the flag of the land for the people was unfurled at Irishtown in 1879. By eliminating this class we make a further large and material reduction in the size of the question and the amount of money necessary for its solution.

Then, again, another abuse which has crept into the working of these land-purchase measures is that the landlords have in many cases divided their home farms and demesnes among bogus tenants, created out of sons, sons-in-law, bailiffs, and so forth, to whom they have sold at inflated prices. All this shows that the principle of land-purchase has been degraded into land-jobbery, and that the resources which, if husbanded, might have been sufficient for the settlement of the question, are being scandalously misspent, while the question is still left unsolved.

It is conceded on all sides that thirty-three millions of pounds sterling is the utmost extent of the further sum that the British tax-payer is ever likely to be induced to guarantee for land-purchase in Ireland, and that, when this has been exhausted, there will be no further credit for us to look to. It becomes, then, of vital importance that this amount should be husbanded; that it should be used for the purpose of creating an occupying ownership or peasant proprietary for the settlement of that portion of the Irish land question which presses, and that it should not be frittered and jobbed away and wasted in transactions which will not bear the slightest scrutiny.

I have now explained one of my main objections to the measure, that land-purchase has been carried out in such a way as to exhaust the resources available, while covering only one-fourth of the ground; and I have reason to believe that, if these resources were properly used and directed, they would be sufficient for a complete solution.

But this is not the only direction in which the principle of land-purchase is being abused and parodied. The grossest favoritism has been shown in the selection of the estates for whose purchase advances of public money are to be made. The large absentee owners have been favored, while the smaller resident owners have been left out. According to the returns which have been made to Parliament giving an account of sales up to December 31, 1888, we find that five hundred and thirty owners of land sold their estates to their tenants at an expenditure amounting to £3,792,000. Of these five hundred and thirty owners, thirty-

four walked off with £2,251,000, or six out of every one hundred owners who sold got away with 57 per cent. of the whole amount of the purchase money. Here are some of the names of these thirty-four landlords and the amounts that they have received:

The Duke of Abercorn	£267,000	The Duke of Leinster	£244,000
Sir Victor E. Brooke	83,000	The Earl of Normanton	34,000
Sir Thomas Lennard	108,000	Lord Ashbourne	10,000
The Salters' Company	230,000	Mr. Anthony Strong Hussey	53,000
The Fishmongers' Company	118,000	Earl Stanhope	39,000
The Skinners Company	103,000	Lord Castletown	49,000
The Marquis of Waterford	124,000	Lord Kilmaine	53,000
The Marquis of Bath	290,000	Lord Ardilaun	8,000
Mr. George Lane Fox	67,000		

These amounts are taken in round numbers; but some of these landlords have since received a good deal more, as the particulars of sales that have been laid before Parliament only reach as far as December, 1888. Nine of these have taken £1,500,000, or 42 per cent. of the whole.

If, therefore, the provisions of this bill are to be carried out in a similar way to that which has been adopted under the previous acts, by the time that £40,000,000 have been spent, four hundred out of the ten thousand Irish land-owners will have received twenty-four millions out of the forty millions. This is not the manner in which we should like to see the Irish land question settled. If any selection is to be made, I would commence with the smaller resident owners throughout Ireland; and if any owner is to be favored, I would favor the men who have lived in the country, and who, at least, have spent their rents on their estates and among their neighbors.

I now come to an objection which is a very strong one—so strong, indeed, that I should not be surprised if its soundness obtained recognition before the passage of the bill through committee. I refer to the hypothecation, as a counter-guarantee against default upon the part of the new owners, of the amounts paid by Parliament for certain defined local purposes in Ireland in aid of local rates. This comprehends, amongst others, the Imperial contribution for medical comforts to the poor, for education, the maintenance of lunatics, and so forth. Upon all these violent hands are to be laid, if there is any default on the part of the large absentee graziers above alluded to in the payment of their instalments; and the fever-stricken peasant in his unsanitary cottage in Connemara is to go without quinine, while

he continues to pay his rackrent, in order that the happy owner of many large grazing farms may obtain a reduction of 30 per cent., and avoid the payment of even this reduced amount to the state. Again, amongst these Imperial contributions for local purposes are considerable sums of money which have been given in the case of England and Scotland to the county councils recently established by law, to spend as they please. These amounts in the case of Ireland are to be detained as a guarantee to the British tax-payer against possible default on the part of the new owners, while no sort of control over the terms of purchase is to be given either now or hereafter to the Irish local authorities.

I next approach a consideration which has, perhaps, influenced me as largely as anything else in the adoption of our policy in reference to these land-purchase proposals of the government. I allude to the existence of coercion in Ireland, which renders it impossible for the tenants to contract freely with their landlords in arranging the terms of sale. When we agreed to the passage of the Ashbourne Act in 1885, there was no coercion ; there were, on the contrary, public declarations from Lord Salisbury, the present Prime Minister, and Lord Carnarvon, the then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, against any recourse to such procedure. Land-purchase under these circumstances might have had a chance of working fairly to both sides. But the passage of the Coercion Act of 1887, rendering penal all combination and consultation on the part of the tenants, while it also forbids the offering of any advice to them, has changed all this, and the tenant with a load of arrears hanging over his head is helpless, and compelled to take any terms of purchase offered to him by his landlord, who presents a writ of eviction with the one hand and an agreement to purchase with the other. Mr. Joseph R. Cox, M.P., was prosecuted under this act for advising the tenants on an estate where a sale was contemplated not to give more than a certain amount for their holdings, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M.P., and others also, I believe, met with a similar fate.

At the commencement of this article I alluded to some references I made in 1880 to the congested districts in Ireland as an all-important and most necessary part of the question for solution. The method adopted by the bill for dealing with this portion of the subject secures a further waste of the resources available.

These districts are mainly confined to Connaught, and while they constitute the sole areas in that province requiring to be dealt with by the system of land-purchase at all, they also, as I have before said, comprise only about one-fourth in value of the province; the rest consisting of large grazing tracts destitute of inhabitants and houses. For the government measure proposes to devote the public money indifferently to the purchase of grass lands and congested holdings, and, by using a large proportion of the amount to be advanced under the bill for an unnecessary purpose,—viz., the conversion of a number of large graziers into owners,—an insufficient fund will be left for dealing with the congested areas, and this vital part of the question will practically be left untouched.

I should gladly welcome any honest intention on the part of the government to solve this land question. It is of great importance for us to get it out of the way before the time arrives for the larger settlement of home rule. Difficulties about land, if they should arise upon Mr. Gladstone's return to office, will materially hamper him and increase the arduous character of his task. Difficulties between landlord and tenant, if they should arise, will be most embarrassing for the Irish Parliament, and the future executive depending upon that Parliament. By all means settle it now. But this pretended Land-Purchase Bill is no solution. It seizes upon all our available resources, and hypothecates them without our consent. It jobs away the limited number of millions available, which, if husbanded and carefully directed, as I have shown, would go far—very far—toward removing all pressure and difficulty in the future. It selects the large and absentee owners for favored treatment, while it compels the tenant to buy his holding at an inflated price, with a load of arrears around his neck and the pistol of coercion at his head. We cannot be any party to a measure so brought forward and constituted. We shall resist it clause by clause in committee; we shall, if possible, amend it; and we believe that, as the progress of events has justified every vote that we have ever given in the House of Commons on the land question, and every step that we have ever taken to organize the Irish people against oppression, so our action against this most dishonest bill of a dishonest party and government will benefit Ireland and secure the verdict of history.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

THE FEDERAL CONTROL OF ELECTIONS.

BY THE HON. THOMAS B. REED, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

NO FORM of government can be based on systematic injustice; least of all a republic. All governments partake of the imperfections of human nature and fall far short not only of the ideals dreamed of by good men, but even of the intentions of ordinary men. Nevertheless, if perfection be unattainable, it is still the duty of every nation to live up to the principles of simple justice, and at least follow the lights it can clearly see.

Whatever may have been the intentions of our forefathers, the steady growth of our government has been towards a democracy of manhood. One by one the barriers which kept from the suffrage the poor and the unlearned have been swept away, and, in the long run, no majority has been great enough, no interest has been strong enough, to stand up against that general public opinion which continually grows in the direction of larger liberty. That public opinion has never known a refluent wave. What democracy has gained it has always kept. If you suppose that the progress of democracy among white men has been pleasant for those gentlemen who were at ease in their possessions, you have not read history. It is not an agreeable thing in any day or generation to distribute power which any set of men have always had exclusively to themselves among those who never had it before. It lessens one and exalts the other. The "proud Caucasian" of to-day is suffering from the same feelings which rived the hearts of the nobility and gentry of a hundred or two hundred years ago.

We of the North have by no means reached the perfection of self-government. Our apportionments of congressional districts are no means utterly fair; but there is a limitation to injustice beyond which no party dares to go, except in Indiana, where 4,000 majority in the State gives Republicans but three out of thirteen

Congressmen. Our voters are not entirely free from undue influence, but there is a point beyond which no employer dares to go ; and the votes in manufacturing districts show how sturdy is the defiance of most workingmen to even a dictation which is only inferred. Many a man seems to vote against his own and his employer's interest to show that he is in every way his own master. But whichever way he votes, his vote gets counted, and his will, whether it be feeble or sturdy, gets expressed.

It often happens that when debate springs up about the condition of affairs in other parts of the Union, when intimidation with shot-guns and mobs, when systematic falsifications of returns, are made subjects of comment, the errors and shortcomings in the North are dragged in as a justification for all that has happened of illegal action elsewhere. This kind of answer is so common, and so reminds one of the beam and the mote of Scripture, that it is worth analyzing. It is founded on the axiom of geometry that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other. This is undoubtedly true, if you are sure of the first equality. All things are not equal because they have the same names. When an employer intimates to some of his workmen that he cares most for men who look after his interests, and that his interests are with such and such a party, that employer is guilty of intimidation. When the interesting collection of gentlemen in a Southern district go forth to fire guns all night, in order, as the member from that district phrased it in open House, "to let the niggers know there is going to be a fair election the next day," they also are guilty of intimidation. Nevertheless, there is a difference ; especially if there be an honest eye to see it. Murder and catching fish out of season are both crimes; but there are odds in crimes. Is a community where men violate the laws relating to close time debarred from complaining of murder elsewhere when its own families suffer by it ? Must we ourselves reach absolute perfection before we ask others to treat us decently ? Is robbery by violence to be tolerated and approved until we have utterly abolished petty larceny ? The difference between the nation of highest and the nation of lowest civilization is only in degree.

But, after all, have we any right to complain of bad actions in the South ? Why should not the citizens of each State be allowed to manage their own affairs ? If you have any confidence in a

republican form of government, why not show it? Let them wrestle with their problem alone. It is theirs: let them manage it. If it were founded on fact, this would be a powerful appeal to one who believes, as does the writer of this article, in democracy—which is to say, in government by all the people; who believes that no community can permanently enthrone justice; who believes that all the laws of this universe are working towards larger liberty, greater equality, and truer fraternity.

But so far as Federal elections are concerned, this appeal is founded on no fact whatever. When he goes to elect a member of Congress, the man from Mississippi or the man from Maine does not go to the polls as a citizen of Mississippi or of Maine, but as one of the people of the United States. All meet on common ground. They are citizens of one great Republic—one and indivisible. Each one votes for the government of himself and of the other. The member from Mississippi whom the one elects and the member from Maine whom the other sends to Washington must unite in making the laws which govern both. The member from Mississippi has the same right to demand that the member from Maine shall be elected according to the law of the land as he has to demand the same thing of a colleague from his own State.

The object of assembling the Congress together is to declare the will of the people of the United States. How can that will be declared if there be more than twenty men returned to the House who never were elected, whose very presence is a violation of the Constitution of the United States and of the law of the land? Still less will the will of the people be declared if those twenty men shift the control of the House from one party to the other. All free countries are governed by parties. They can never be governed any other way. If, then, fraud changes the very principles on which a country be governed, how can it be justified?

The attempted justification is this: We in the South, inasmuch as you have conferred the right of suffrage on the negro, and inasmuch as he is in the majority in many of our States, are in grave danger of being overwhelmed by mere ignorant numbers. We white people who pay the taxes will never permit these barbarians to rule over us. When we thought it necessary to prevent their domination, we swarmed around their cabins by night; we terrorized them; we showed them by examples that to be a poli-

tician was dangerous—that it led to death even. Those things have in great measure passed away now, and we simply falsify the count; we stuff the ballot-boxes. That makes less trouble and is just as effectual. Finding that their votes do not count, the negroes have lately ceased to vote. Whether clothed in the fervid eloquence of the late Mr. Grady or in the strange language of the Governor of South Carolina, which will be quoted further on, this is the justification.

But this justification does not in the least touch the subject of Federal elections. Every Southern man knows that there is no possibility of negro domination in the United States. No Federal taxes will ever be imposed by the negro. No Federal control is within his power. If all this wrong at the ballot-box be needed to preserve a proper local State government, to keep the Caucasian supreme in the State, not a living soul can dare to say that the same wrong, or any other, is necessary for Caucasian supremacy in the United States. In fact, transferred to the broader arena, the struggle is between the proud Caucasian and the Caucasian who is not so proud. If it be a race question, is there any reason why the white man in the South should have two votes to my one? Is he alone of mortals to eat his cake and have it too? Is he to suppress his negro and have him also? Among all his remedies, he has never proposed to surrender the representation which he owes to the very negro whose vote he refuses. The negro is human enough to be represented, but not human enough to have his vote counted.

Suppose it were a fact that negro domination and barbarism would follow from honest voting in the Southern State elections; suppose it were a fact that disregard of law and complete violation of the rights secured to the negro by the Constitution were absolutely necessary to preserve the civilization of the South: what has that to do with Federal elections? Violation of law and disregard of statutes are not needed to save the United States.

Evidently, then, the question of race supremacy and of good government in the South has nothing whatever to do with that other question which concerns our whole people, whether the Republican party of the United States shall receive and have counted the votes which belong to it by virtue of the Constitution of the country. If you tell us that these are ignorant votes and ought not to be counted, we answer—and the answer is con-

clusive—that ignorance is everywhere, and that the Democratic party never failed to vote its ignorance to the uttermost verge of the law. Why should they, of all partisans, claim that only scholars should vote? Is the high and honorable esteem in which the chief officers of the greatest Democratic city—the city of New York—are now held among men an example of what intelligence will do for a community? If a man thinks the same thing of the Republic that I do, must there be an inquest held over his intelligence before I can have his vote counted with mine in the government of the United States?

Or, to put it more directly, in the language of ex-Governor Bullock, of Georgia, which I find quoted in the Atlanta *Constitution*, "It is now generally admitted with us that there is no more danger to the body politic from an ignorant and vicious black voter than from an illiterate and vicious white voter."

This system of false counting is not indulged in with impunity. Its baleful influence has nowhere more clearly shown itself than in its effects upon the sense of justice of Southern men. Where else on earth would you get such a declaration as came from John P. Finley, of Greenville, Miss., for twelve years treasurer of his county,—a declaration made in the presence of his fellow-citizens, —that he did not consider ballot-box stuffing a crime, but a necessity; that in a case of race supremacy a man who stuffed a ballot-box would not forfeit either his social or business standing; and that ballot-box stuffing, so far as he knew, was looked upon by the best element in the South as a choice between necessary evils? You would search far before you would find the parallel of what Watt K. Johnson said in the same case (Hill *vs.* Catchings). "I would stuff a ballot-box," said he, "if required to do it, to put a good Republican in office, as I would a Democrat, as my object is to have a good honest government."

"Good honest government" by ballot-box stuffing! Think of the moral condition of a community where a man would dare openly to make such an avowal. In saying this there is no purpose to speak unkindly, but only to point out the inevitable effect upon public morals of continued violation of law. No community can encourage systematic disregard of law, even for purposes deemed justifiable, without injury to all other laws and to its own moral sense. It only needs to have the fence broken down in one place to have the bad cattle range through the whole garden.

While this state of things exists in Mississippi, a glance at South Carolina will give even more food for reflection. In that State, by law there was but one registration at the home of the voter (at the polling precinct), which took place in 1882. Since that time all additions to the list have been made at the county seats. Whenever a man moves not merely from county to county, not merely from town to town, not only from precinct to precinct, but whenever he removes from house to house in the same precinct, he must have a new certificate from the supervisor of registration, who, nominally at least, has his office at the county seat. Without this changed certificate, he is disfranchised. If he travels to the county seat and cannot find his supervisor, he has no remedy. Even among the most intelligent and alert politicians it is easy to see what a vast chance there is for misbehavior, and it needs no specification to show how it works in South Carolina among that part of the population which has just struggled to manhood. But in order that the work of government by the minority may be complete, the law decrees that there shall be eight different ballot-boxes, so that those who can read can know where to put their tickets and those who cannot read can exercise their ingenuity. The law also provides that the officials, who alone are present with the voter, shall read to him the inscriptions on the ballot-boxes; but as the Governor provides that all the officials shall be of one party, it is easy to see how valuable this provision is. In order that the negro shall have no advantage from the position of the boxes becoming known, the boxes are shuffled from time to time, and if a ballot gets into a wrong box it cannot be counted. In the Miller and Elliott case, Mr. Elliott's counsel, unable to deny the shifting of ballot-boxes, justifies it on the ground that there is no law against it, and on the further ground that it is in the spirit of the law; which last defence is true.

With this preliminary statement the reader can enter into the grim humor of the reply of the Governor of South Carolina, himself a candidate for reëlection, when the Republicans asked that among the judges of election should be some Republicans. It would seem not unreasonable that one of the great parties to the political contest should have a "sworn official" to see that the voter was correctly told which box to put his vote into, and to see that

the vote was rightly counted. The Governor, however, rose above party, rejected the Republican request, put none but Democrats on guard, and in his reply used, among other similar things, the following words :

"To the eternal honor of our State and the Democratic party, it can now be said that our elections are the freest and fairest in the world, and that not a single citizen of hers, no matter what his rank, color, or condition, can, under her just and equal laws, impartially administered, as they are, be by any perversion or intimidation barred at the polls from the free and full exercise of his suffrage. There is not only perfect freedom in voting, but the amplest protection afforded the voter."

These words were in his letter of September 29, 1888. On the 30th of July preceding, just two months before, that same Governor said in a public speech, which you will find in the Charleston *News and Courier* of the 31st, the following :

"We have now the rule of a minority of four hundred thousand over a majority of six hundred thousand. No army at Austerlitz or Waterloo or Gettysburg could ever be wielded like that mass of six hundred thousand people. The only thing which stands to-day between us and their rule is a flimsy statute—the Eight-Box Law—which depends for its effectiveness upon the unity of the white people."

Of course the utterance of July 30 was for the home market, and the letter of September for export. But when you consider that both these statements were made to the same community by the Governor of the State, you can form some idea of the effect which this system of action at the polls has had on the *morale* of the people.

This course of utterly riding over the will of the voter has been carried to such excess as was never dreamed at the outset, even by those who planned the first great wrongs. When South Carolina, by a gerrymander which remains up to date the greatest spectacle that has ever been put upon a map, and which to this day almost defies belief, put 31,000 colored people in one district with only 6,000 whites, the framers of the act meant at least that that district should have the Representative of its choice. But encouraged by the success of the Southern plan elsewhere, even that district has been taken away. It is well known that in the South itself this was regarded as an outrage, but the voice of those so regarding it has fallen into the silence of consent.

In Alabama the Fourth District was so made that 27,000 colored men were packed in with 6,000 whites, and at every election the Democratic candidate is returned. So flagrant was one of the instances that the Forty-eighth Congress, Democratic by ninety-five majority, was obliged to disgorge the sitting member, which it did after waiting for the death of the contestant.

If any man replies, as sometimes people do, "You are assuming that the colored man will vote your ticket, and that is not so," the plain answer is: "It is either so or not so. If it is so, then we are deprived of a vote which belongs to us under the Constitution of the United States. If it be not so, and the negro is voting the Democratic ticket from choice, where is your race issue? If both white man and negro are agreed on white supremacy, why do you send so much Southern eloquence North to touch our Caucasian hearts?"

This state of things cannot be good for this nation, either North or South. Remember that this is not a question of outcries and epithets, of reproaches and hysterics. It is a plain question of justice and fair dealing. Both sections of this country can afford to be fair and open with each other. If you say that you have a right of local self-government which we have no business to interfere with, and that, unless you are allowed to go on in your own way, you fear disaster most foul, the next thing for all of us to do is to find some plan which will give us the votes of the whole people of the United States, and leave you your local self-government.

To put this whole matter in a nutshell, the Republican party alleges that it is deprived by all manner of devices—differing in different States, but having one common purpose—of votes which under the Constitution of the land that party is entitled to. To this the parties offending reply that the suppression of votes and voters is necessary to prevent the threatened destruction of local self-government by the numerical superiority of race ignorance in very many States. We have a right, say they, to prevent, by violence or by fraud, if need be, the control of the ignorant in our own States.

Suppose all that to be so; suppose that all you are doing is needful for your preservation, and that you must keep on at all costs: how does that give you the right to govern us by your methods? If you have the right of local self-government, have we not the right of national self-government? If you of the States are willing to take all hazards to save yourselves from ignorant negro domination, are you going to blame us of the United States if we refuse to submit to fraudulent domination? You think negro domination unbearable. We think fraudulent domination a crime.

But we need not quarrel. There must be some remedy con-

sistent with the Constitution, which was intended to provide for this very local government and for this very Federal government. Each was to be respected within its sphere, and each was to subsist side by side with the other. So far as the election of members of Congress was concerned, the Constitution provides for the very condition in which we find ourselves. In the first instance, the legislature of the State may make the regulations for the election of members, but Congress may make or alter them in accordance with its own will. It may alter them by providing for Federal supervision, or it may make such new regulations as will assume the entire election from registration to certification.

We have, then, two kinds of remedy—the alteration of State regulations and the making of new ones of our own. As to the first method, so far as it was exhibited in the proposed Senate bill for supervision, the Senator from Alabama, Mr. Pugh, when the bill was presented in the Senate, rose and declared:

> If the bill becomes a law, its execution will insure the shedding of blood and the destruction of the peace and good order of this country. Its passage will be resisted by every parliamentary method, and every method allowed by the Constitution of the United States.

This declaration, made at a time when debate is not usual on a bill, will attract attention to the objections which are urged against the Supervisor Law. Some of them are worth reproducing in order that people may carefully consider all parts of a question which must have a settlement, and can never have any final settlement which is not right. The Supervisor Law is the subject of objection, among other things, because, while it leaves the elections in the hands of the States, it proposes to set watchers over the State officials, and to use a kind of dual control liable to all manner of friction. Moreover, the exercise of this supervisory power is to be called into being by petition, thus singling out by their own signatures those persons who are responsible for the claim that the elections need supervision, and who thereby become obnoxious to the very violence which they are striving to avoid.

In some States, like North Carolina and Virginia, a supervisor law would be very helpful; but there are States and communities with regard to which it is said that it would be assuming a terrible responsibility to enact it. Against such a law the South urges sectionalism and its interference with local self-government; for no supervision which does not examine all the boxes and count

all the votes is worth the trouble of enacting. It is true that in New York city, under the able and thorough management of the chief supervisor, great results have been accomplished by this law, and elections are held so satisfactory to both parties that there have been no contested elections from that city in my remembrance. Whether in other regions, among a different people, in sparsely-settled places, this could be so well done is the point at issue.

In what we call theory, no really valid objection can be urged against Federal supervision, for an honest count can hurt no one. Even if all the boxes are subjected to the supervision of a second set of men, the result in New York proves that when once established it is a solid safeguard satisfactory to honest people. So easily does the system now move, and so free is it from friction, that it is doubtful if a tenth of the readers of this article even remember that the system is fully established. Many contests, however, were necessary to thus establish it in New York city. But this is a practical world, where all unnecessary difficulties ought to be avoided, and where the middle way is often the best because it is the middle way.

In this case the middle course is apparently—but only apparently—the most radical. Let the country at once assume at least the count and return of its own elections. It may be that this could be done in a way that would leave the States which object to supervision free from all interference from their neighbors, as it would certainly leave us free from false counting and false returns. They could then govern their own people in their own way, free from Federal supervision in congressional elections, and the United States could govern itself free from all fear of those practices deemed indispensable to local government. They could, if they pleased, and at their own risk, try the experiment of keeping outside of governmental power a body of men almost as large as those who govern, and in three States larger. All we ask is that in national matters the majority of the voters in this country may rule. Why should any Southern man object to this? Under what possible pretence can it be claimed that certain States should send representatives to Washington on the basis of a vote which is not allowed to be cast? Suppose your claim to govern yourselves under any violation of law be sound: on what do you ground your claim to govern us in the same fashion?

THOMAS B. REED.

AMERICAN GIRLS IN EUROPE.

BY MRS. JOHN SHERWOOD.

THE American Girl is a term so varied and indefinite that we might well borrow, as a parallel, a plaintive and witty appeal made in a recent paper on dogs, in which the writer objects to the phrase "The Dog," as if all dogs were alike. He goes on to say that you might as well write a paper on "The Man," instead of considering one species as "Man." He proposes that we write "Dog" and then proceed to mention the highly individual grades of that faithful adherent of the human race.

So, considering the more than eleven thousand virgins who semi-yearly migrate from America to the shores of England and France, we are compelled to observe that there are many varieties. There is no such thing as the American girl. There is the finished, accomplished, well-bred, repressed, and lady-like girl, found everywhere from Maine to the Gulf. There is the unfinished, not at all bred, not repressed, not in the least lady-like girl, also from everywhere. There is the young lady who pronounces "heart" *hort*—to rhyme with snort—with a very vigorous emphasis on the letter "r." (This latter variety is a favorite with the English novelist.) This pronunciation seems to prevail (so say the Eastern papers) west of Chicago. But if you read the Western papers, you will notice a corresponding criticism of the pronunciation which is considered correct at Boston, that "head-centre" of so-called good English.

We must, therefore, when in Europe, look upon the American product with European eyes, trying to avoid geographical prejudice. The local accent in different parts of America is so marked that a New-Yorker can detect a Philadelphian, a Bostonian, a Southerner, or a Westerner (whatever that means) in a moment. His speech bewrayeth him. But in Europe such shadowy definitions are necessarily lost, and we are all grouped in the English

mind as speaking a sort of Basque—a language which nobody ever heard before. Even so good a writer as Dickens makes his American sea-captain talk a jargon which no American ever heard. Nor can we be surprised at the conglomerate photograph of our national speech presented by such men as the author of "Miss Bayle's Romance," who makes a Chicago girl say, "Well, I guess I'm most roasted," and in several other phases inextricably emphasizes the Northern, Southern, and Western slang.

The universal criticism of the American girl in Europe may be crudely described as nearly always taking this formula: "Beautiful, rich, vulgar. Beautiful, rich, strange. Beautiful, rich, fast. Beautiful, rich, loud. Beautiful, rich, rather better style than you usually find them."

I have rarely heard the first descriptive epithet left out; and, indeed, one is astonished to see the remarkable beauties who come out of unheard-of "districts" in America. It seems a new departure of the human race, as in London or Paris, at Nice or Homburg, one runs against a blonde beauty of such surprising lustre, or a brunette so tall, so superb, so flashing, with such hands and feet, that the proverbial duchess who is supposed to have a monopoly of these appendages is nowhere, and to find that this glorious Helen is from Denver, or Kansas City, or still further west. There is no doubt that that mixture of race or atmosphere, or whatever makes beauty, that subtle, but most desirable, alchemy, is abroad in the United States of America. It is also a question which must puzzle those who pretend to write on heredity that these children of men and women who have labored with their hands, men and women who have never known luxury, possess hands which rival those of the Venus di Medici, feet which have a Spanish smallness and high instep, and little shell-like ears which would point to an ancestry as of a thousand earls.

I have never seen two such aristocratic-looking creatures as the daughters of a hard-working couple who had "struck oil" somewhere in the Middle States, who came over, teeming with money and ignorance, to astonish Nice, and set expectant and most impecunious nobles by the ears; and a prouder, better-behaved, more badly-speaking pair of beauties never helped the English novelist or the French playwright to a type. I was much touched to hear the mother asking a lady near her "what she

should do to make her girls more like the foreign girls." "Give them a year at school in England and a year at school in France," was the sensible reply. For the shrewd American mother saw that her beauties were laughed at. She saw that they neither walked, sat down, rose, ate their dinner, talked to gentlemen, nor put on their hats like the shy, proper, repressed girls who had been educated in convents. She got to know that their language was a strange and unmusical sound, and that their own country-women were anxious to disown them. She also saw that they were inclined to copy bad models, not good ones; which is the easily-besetting sin of the odd variety of American girl.

It is to these highly indigenous interesting specimens, which, like the Scuppernong grape, cannot be produced in Europe, that we must confine ourselves for a moment in considering the American girl in Europe. We must strike out that large class who are so like the rest of the world that they are supposed to be English. That has ceased to be a type, nor is it to foreign eyes nearly so interesting. A mother and daughter of this class, who had passed many years in Europe, once astonished a group of people at Pau by rising and looking ushed, as America was being abused. "You must not speak against my country," said the mother. "What! Are you Americans? Why, we supposed always that you were English. You do not talk through your noses, and you do no American things." Such was the apology. Now, the term "American things" is almost as indefinite as Roba di Roma, but it is a part of English speech to-day, and covers, like charity, a multitude of sins.

I once heard at a Queen's ball, when the Prince of Wales led out an American beauty for the quadrille, a free expression of the English mind on this subject. As I kept my mouth shut, I was not detected as an American; so I had the pleasure of hearing the following criticism:

"I don't think the heir to the throne ought to encourage these Americans as he does. I think they are so bold and forward, and they do—such American things."

"Yes, I am tired of it all; tired of the very word American. I think we have been far too good-natured to them," was the response.

I took occasion, a few days after, to ask one of the most agreeable literary men in London—a famous host, by the way—

what were the American things which were so unpleasant to the English mind.

"Well, I will tell you," said he. "In the first place, the American pronunciation is, even amongst your cultivated people, most unmusical and unpleasant to us. I dare say ours is to you. Then, if you will forgive me, we observe in your handsome young women an entire absence of that delicate reserve, that fragrance of propriety, which is our idea of good breeding. I do not say that there are not charming exceptions. And then, again, we do not like your air of success, your air of appropriating everything."

Perhaps they do not altogether like the fact of success. For there must be added to the measure, "Beautiful, rich, vulgar. Beautiful, rich, strange. Beautiful, rich, fast," etc., also "Beautiful, rich, and very clever." The amount of talent which is shown by these American girls is quite as extraordinary as their beauty. We need not hint at the supreme sway which certain American women have established in several foreign cities—the adaptability, the clearness of intelligence, that extraordinary thing known as a "talent for society"—to realize that the American girl has a great deal in that pretty little head of hers.

Doubtless her very free-and-easy training, the consciousness which has been hers, from the moment she could walk and talk, that she can aspire to any position, has given her the boldness to clasp the sceptre of social sovereignty. She is a living example of the truth of Goethe's lines :

> "What you can do or dream you can, begin it!
> Boldness hath genius, power, and magic in it."

However, all this success does not follow every American girl. It would not be necessary to write this paper if it did. For so dear is success to the human aspirant that it would be clutched even at the expense of much that is more valuable. And by success I mean, for the moment, merely the truest and poorest and most worldly definition of the word. Rank, title, position in society are very dear to the American girl. No wonder, as she comes, like young Lochinvar, out of the West (and the West means, in Europe, everything from New York to San Francisco), she is dazzled by these glittering stars. She goes to court, perhaps, and sees two of her young countrywomen standing by the Queen's chair, ladies-in-waiting with proud titles. She finds that a title,

however encumbered, insures its owner that kind of respectful recognition from servants, trades-people, inn-keepers, up to the highest grade of society, which is very dear to women, and especially to American women, who, unless they possess some very remarkable magnetism, get very little marked attention in their own country. Would a princess driving up to Macy's move that obdurate mass a single inch? And yet what crowd at the Louvre or the Bon Marché would not fall into respectful aisles as a great lady, preceded by her servant, makes her way? And in London what a magic wand is a carriage, and consequence! It is an entering wedge everywhere. To speak of the toadies, the flatterers, the *apanage* of a title would be to enter on the discussion of a threadbare theme.

To the philosopher, to the republican, to the shade of Thomas Jefferson, all this is unworthy, unpatriotic, and un-American. But how roseate it all is to the young American girl, already intoxicated with the homage to her rare beauty which every eye has rendered her since she left the ship! It is no wonder that many poor moths singe their wings at this blazing and most alluring candle.

Not that all marriages of American women to titled foreigners are unhappy. Far from it: there are many brilliant exceptions. A man reared on the continent with the European idea that he must marry money has a profound sense of the duty he owes the woman who brings him a handsome *dot*. Indeed, in Europe the position of the wife is made infinitely stronger by the fact that she is a financial partner in the firm. She has much more to say about the conduct of the house, the education of the children, and her own pleasure than have American wives, as a rule; certainly very much more than English wives. In England the good old idea still obtains, that the man is master of the house, that the woman is his inferior; and perhaps the legal permission to use a stick no bigger than his thumb is more than a fiction. At any rate, there is an air of authority about an English husband which is slightly unpleasant to an American looker-on. It is never seen in a French or an Italian husband: however much the two latter may deceive, forsake, or rob their wives, they never bully them.

But we are jumping from present to future with indecorous haste. We are marrying an American girl before considering

her sufficiently. One is reminded of the appeal to St. Catherine: "A husband, St. Catherine! A good one, St. Catherine! And soon, St. Catherine!" This is not unnatural, this strain of thought, in the knowledge, which one must gain in observing the American girl in Europe, of the fact that she is so immediately wooed. Let it be whispered about that a girl is an heiress, and the haste with which she is pursued is almost incredible. Mothers, aunts, and cousins come with almost an air of authority to the mother or chaperon to announce the claims of Prince John, Baron Frederic, or Count Sobieski. It is revolting and insulting in some instances; in others it is simply the European way of doing things.

Is it a wonder, then, that the American girls are spoiled? Is it a wonder that many of them begin to think themselves goddesses? Is it in human nature, to separate ourselves from our accidents, to say at eighteen, with the coolness which we should feel at eight-and-forty: "This man does not want me; he wants my money: what am I, individually, Julia Brown, from Mephistopheles, Missouri, that the Countess Piff Paff should dog my footsteps, send me invitations, make of me a great lady, and propose for my husband her very pop-eyed and disagreeable son? Is it because I am the modern Venus, the modern Atalanta?"

Vanity says "Yes" at eighteen: at eight-and-forty it tells another tale, by the damaged lantern of experience.

But Julia Brown's manners are injured by this adulation.

I once asked a European lover, as he sat holding Julia's hand in his, what were his first impressions of her.

"I saw her at a café in Paris, and I thought her the hardest-looking woman I ever saw," said he.

"Well, when did you alter your opinion?" I asked.

"*When I got to know her,* I saw that the *hardness was all affected,*" was the reply.

He has been for some years a good and happy husband to a very nice wife, whose manners have essentially improved; but what a text for a sermon?

Julia was one of those who copied bad models. At the cafés she saw certain ladies who sat in a very free-and-easy fashion, one knee over the other, drinking, laughing, perhaps smoking; and she observed that these ladies were very popular with gentlemen: she accordingly made herself as like them as she could, poor, innocent American flower!

We are painting the Scuppernong variety now, the innocent and the ignorant: we shall come to the more hybrid growths later.

It is impossible to put any reverence into these virgin souls. They love Papperr and Mammerr, as they call their progenitors, fondly, but with very little reverential awe. Papperr and Mammerr, on their side, have never called for or expected reverence. They love the girls and wish to buy them everything from Worth dresses up to the Pyramids; but they do not have everything themselves. How can they advise the girls on a thousand social questions?—they often appeal to the daughters. Therefore the girls very naturally, when told that they are wrong, resent the advice as an insult. Thus the very first door toward improvement is shut. No one is so haughtily averse to being told that she is in the wrong as "the" or "an" American girl who is in utmost need of such an unvarnished truth.

This lack of reverence applies to rank. Much as she is dazzled by title, she really feels no sort of reverence for it. Perhaps that is one reason why she is so amusing to princes, to those jaded ears which are tired of flattery, those fatigued victims of pomp and etiquette. This strange, wild gazelle of the forest, with her beautiful, soft, fearless eyes, who regards the prince as a man, who will eat out of his hand and bite it afterwards, perhaps, is very entertaining; but some day, when he has enough of the bitten finger, he sends her away with a cold reproof, which she does not understand; and she cannot imagine why she is thus condemned, nor can she understand those cold looks of the surrounding courtiers. Indifferent as such a young lady may be to advice, she is far from indifferent to neglect, censure, or criticism. Indeed, no people are so excessively sensitive, so thin-skinned, as just such American girls. The more reason, one would think, why they should mend their manners.

Henry James's witty sketch of Daisy Miller, while it offended some few Americans who did not understand it, has helped innumerable other Americans, who learned through his delicate satire more than they would through a volume of well-intentioned maxims. So there are few, if any, sinners who commit the gross error of too great familiarity with a courier, or who walk to the Coliseum by moonlight attended only by a gentleman. The sins which American girls commit, in European eyes, are the sins

against public manners, like loud laughing and talking in hotel parlors, in the *salle à manger* of a watering-place, in the Casino at Monte Carlo, in their attitude and manner at a café in Paris, and so on.

In the matter of dress, an American girl rises to the situation at once. She is very rarely, if ever, badly dressed. Given such an amount of prettiness as she has, such quickness of eye, and so long a purse, Paris dresses her *à ravir*, and she wears her clothes like a queen, or as queens but seldom do. It is astonishing, when one sees such taste in one direction, that one can see such limitations of taste in the matter of manners; but it is quite evident that some young American girls think, if the outside of the cup and platter is clean, it is no matter about the inside. They neglect their speech, which is a matter of vital importance. For wherever we live, whether in Yorkshire or Rome, Peoria or Paris, there are such things as a cultivated and agreeable voice, a correct pronunciation, and a pretty accent. No one is so dependent upon this charm as a woman. It has made many a plain woman attractive—this gift of speech. And the Venus of Milo would become a fright, if she could open that glorious mouth of hers, and if from it should issue an uncultivated voice, saying "*hort*" for "heart," "mormor" for "mamma," or, defiling her classic features for the moment, she should give an unmusical cackle and launch into slang. It will not help the American girl to say "she don't care." She does care. There is a native-born American aristocracy, to which all should aspire to belong. The original and beautiful American women have a vivacity and wit which the older civilizations have lost. She should never lose her originality. But she should study to be low-voiced, sweet-voiced, calm, quiet, and thorough-bred.

"We, ignorant of ourselves,
Begin often our own harms, which the wise powers
Deny us for our good."

This would be a pretty posy for many an American girl's ring. She rejects nothing of that somewhat promiscuous emblazonment which accompanies celebrity. She does not always remember that she must keep her "presence new and fresh, like robe pontifical." She does not think, in her careless gayety, what silhouette she is casting on the map of Europe.

One of Nast's immortal cartoons in the days of the war was of a happy negro dancing in the sun; but on the wall hung the

map of the United States, torn in fratricidal war by that same negro. What an awful monster the shadow was that he cast! So the shadow of an innocent and beautiful girl may be, by her own inadvertence, something very unlike the original.

Of those hybrid growths, those American girls who are intentionally shocking Europe, we have very little to say, except that they are doing it inartistically. The women of other countries who mistake notoriety for fame are still in good taste. The American who attempts to outrage the *convenances* in a foreign city only gets herself laughed at. It is a losing game.

When the Duke of York spoke kindly to Monk Lewis, the latter was so affected that he shed tears. "Don't weep, Lewis," said Hook, who stood by; "he didn't mean it."

It is of no consequence, as Toots would say, whether we "mean it" or not on the continent of Europe: we are judged by our external action. "American things," according to European ideas, are love of show, love of publicity, disdain of privacy, a great ignoring of the proprieties of time and place, excessive extravagance in dress, in equipage. We are supposed to throw our money broadcast. As a nation we are supposed to effuse too much. There is no wonder at all that American girls are fascinated by the enamel of foreign manners. As one of them said, perhaps thinking aloud, "If I am to be married for my money by some impecunious foreigner, he will not *say* money half as often as an Anglo-Saxon would. He will at least pretend to love me; he will make me very satisfied with myself; he will make me comfortable. I shall buy respect and graceful attendance. He will not *agacer* my nerves as an American would do. Foreigners avoid all topics which are not complimentary and pleasant." Perhaps men have more time to study women in Europe. There is one fact which the American girl can be sure of: she is at present the most talked-of creature in the world. Never before did the women of one nation so successfully invade all nations, and, reversing the Sabine legend, carry off the most able-bodied warriors. The march over England and the Continent by the American girl is a triumphant one. It is a great story of conquest. These lovely Amazons do not stop for ocean, river, or geographical boundary. It is only fit that the records of an army so triumphant, a host so universally well received, should be, like those of Wellington in Spain, universally respected.

It is seldom, however, that the army (to pursue our simile) fails to live off the devastated land which is conquered. But the American girl scorns to do this. Wherever she goes, she scatters gold about her; she not only brings her own commissariat, but she feeds the enemy. What bags of money she has brought with her to pay her captors, after having given them herself! It is a generous warfare.

And what does she get in return? Rank, castles, a new domain, full of the romantic associations of antiquity, art, and literature. She, the morning-glory, shall be trained over ancestral oaks. She shall be on the sunny side of things. The earth returns her smile in flowers; her sun-dial bears this legend:

"I mark no hours but sunny ones,"

—that is, if she gets a good husband. If she gets a bad one, trust her to hold her own. Do not fear for her the fate of Pia di Tolomei. She will not be buried alive in any malarial country-house. Unless she marry a Henri de Tourville, and is pushed over a Swiss precipice, which seems unlikely, she will be quite able to fight her own battle. One cannot insure the happiness of any girl in any marriage; but one can be quite sure that the intelligence, the spirit, and—shall we utter a word liable to misinterpretation?—the temper of the American girl will be a match for any husband, no matter of what nationality. We use the word temper as it is applied to steel—not *a* temper, *the* temper, *her* temper. If we did, we should say that perfect bodies indicate good health, good appetite, an excellent digestion; hence the modern American girl, as seen in Europe, should have a perfect temper. Where are the once universally-recognized pallid, thin, dyspeptic Americans? Not in Europe. That type has passed away. One meets occasionally, it is true, a hectic and imaginative poetess, bitterly Browningite and full of soul, who has run the gamut of the emotions. She may be shut up in an ugly frame, but she is full of talent. What possible hope for this imprisoned spirit, but that some person of gentle manners shall treat her as Beauty did the Beast, and take her on trust? Not as to her fortune; that is never taken on trust in Europe. Business is business with the European who marries an American; but, trusting that the underlying vein of sentiment is no drawback, the lord, or count, or marquis forgives for once the lack of beauty, and marries her—with a dowry.

The shadow which the American girl is just now casting on the map of Europe is, therefore, generally speaking, a robust one. If she chooses, it can be most attractive, and in a thousand cases it is. No women are more courted, admired, and praised. If they choose to make it bouncing and loud, that is a fault easily corrected. Remembering, as we must, that we are a "new departure"—hence eligible to criticism; very adaptive—hence liable to be moulded on the wrong model; coming from a country where we are always first, not liking to be last, running against cobweb lines of etiquette which, like persons who come from a glare of light into a comparatively dark room, we do not see, what wonder if we make some mistakes? Only, never too proud to learn or too spread-eagle in our patriotism to believe that we only are right—such should be the American girl.

M. E. W. Sherwood.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE FAMILY.

BY MONA CAIRD.

PART I.

THERE is nothing that appears to be more trying to the "natural man" than to be asked to dethrone for the moment, from his mind, the idols of the particular phase of society in which he lives, and to turn his eyes towards the great company of forgotten gods. It is so hard to realize that these grotesque images were at one time worshipped in fear and trembling, just as we now worship whatever image the power of the age may have set up for our adoration. With our untutored ancestors, as with us, fear was the ruling motive of the worship; with them, as with us, human sacrifice was the method of propitiation.

No doubt in all ages there has been a tendency to take the ruling ideas of the time as fundamental and eternal, and even to look upon social institutions as many of the Brazilian and Portuguese traders regard the Indian picture-writings on the granite rocks in the Amazon districts—as the works of God. On any objection being made to this theory, the triumphant question is returned, "And could not God make them?"—which, as the narrator remarks,* of course settles the point.

Yet all history proves that society is in a state of perpetual motion, and that there is, perhaps, no set of ideas so fundamental and sacred that human beings have not somewhere, at some period of the world, lived in direct contradiction to them. We dare not trust even what we call instinct as a fixed quantity. There is, apparently, not one which the conditions of existence, the force of superstition, cannot overwhelm. Self-preservation would be classed among the universal feelings of mankind; yet there are few savage tribes in which barbarous and painful ceremonies do not take place, while in India the practice of "suttee," and in many other countries the immolation of the wives and slaves of

* "Travels on the Amazon." Wallace.

a dead man, who are to accompany him to the next world, show how completely religious feeling or the force of public opinion can overcome the first instinct of our nature.

The history of mankind is the history of its ideas. The same power rules from first to last—the power of thought. Brute force is always the instrument, the arm of the law; but it cannot raise itself to strike without the command from above. *Ideas*, and these alone, hold in thrall the fundamental passions, and end by modifying them, changing their relations with other impulses of the nature, and guiding them this way or that, according to their sovereign pleasure. Nothing can stand against them. Like all powerful things, they are either beneficent and life-giving or they come to destroy.

To study the customs, thoughts, and religions of different races at different times is to be forced to realize that our own ideas are merely an inheritance from the past, containing unmistakably a large number of very barbarous survivals which we cherish with the same ardor as a little girl will hug the most archaic, effete, and mouldering old doll, because she has known and loved it for so long and cannot see in its tattered body and hairless skull anything but charm and beauty.

Nothing but a shaken confidence in the fundamental nature of our institutions can make it possible to judge them fairly, to trace them to their origin, or to recognize the true direction of social progress. Progress, indeed, is not inevitable, but it is to society what the development of mind and character is to the individual. It is, perhaps, man's nearest approach to creative experience. Still, it is not impossible to forego that experience. Sir Henry Maine* has pointed out how few progressive nations there are, and how vast an area of the globe is inhabited by people who have remained in a practically stationary condition for centuries. He gives, among other instances, China and Persia; Spain being, in modern times, an example of social stagnation. The cause of this state appears to be the restrictive effect of the religion, the changeless order of ideas, which makes a spellbound people, inaccessible to new views of life that would lead to altered action.

Progress is not an automatic force which goes on working, in spite of all opposition. There is a disposition to look upon it in that light, and to see for ourselves no danger of crystalliz-

* "Ancient Law."

ing, as other nations have done before us, under the influence of certain fixed ideas. The danger in this country is certainly remote, but there are many causes at work tending to exhaust our vitality, and in these circumstances it cannot be said that the risk is absolutely non-existent. Confucius has spoken the word of enchantment which holds the Chinese millions under an unbroken spell: in this country and among English-speaking people, Mammon is making a gallant attempt to pronounce a similar incantation. It is, at least, not inconceivable that he should succeed.

Money being regarded as the most important thing in life, the struggle to acquire it tends to absorb the energies and to turn away the thoughts from alien topics. Men and women are disposed to take things as they are, to get the best they can out of the existing order, for themselves and for their families, without caring what that order may be, or how many are wounded and lost in the struggle. The disabled are not in a condition to protest to any purpose; they are looked upon as embittered by ill-success: the prosperous do not think of complaining of that which has brought them ease and honor.

There is not only this circumstance tending to preserve from disturbance all existing facts, but the powerful force of religion and the terror of any idea that seems to threaten the sacred structure of society.

In order to realize how completely all our notions of social and family ties are matters of the moment, historically considered, and not of eternity, it is necessary to become more or less familiar with the customs of our ancestors in remote ages.

Among primitive peoples we find notions of right and wrong flatly contradicting not only our own, but those of other tribes, sometimes contiguous; and on no subject have they been more at variance than on that of the relations of the sexes. Brute force has had far less to do with these relations than has been generally supposed, although when once legal right and might became united, might took advantage of the situation. An increasing body of evidence points to the original organization of the family through the mother, and not through the father (as has been already pointed out*), showing that something other than mere force was the director of the earliest human relations.

* "Marriage." *Westminster Review*, August, 1888.

It is evident that the idea of kinship in primitive communities attached itself exclusively to the mother and her relatives. Historically speaking, the notion of kinship through the father is a thing of yesterday.* This condition of things is attested not only by legends and national poems in nearly every country, but it still exists among some Malay and African tribes, though it is fast dying out in Sumatra under the influence of Islam and through contact with Europeans. The male line is beginning to take the place of the female ; the mother's power is declining. Still the *semando*, or marriage, places man and wife on equal terms, and each is protected by a contract made by the respective relatives. Lippert declares himself to be convinced that the idea of an exclusively maternal kinship was at one time extended over almost the whole earth.† McLennan says:‡ "We shall endeavor to show that the most ancient system in which the idea of blood relationship was embodied was a system of kinship through females only." Bachofen devotes himself to proving the same point.

Remnants of this social condition in Africa are exceedingly numerous, and in many cases it still exists intact. Lippert alludes to the case of the Balondas, a tribe on the Zambesi, of which Livingstone gives an astonished account. Among these people the man, on marrying, is obliged to accompany his wife to her kraal, where he has to supply her with firewood, and must on no account undertake work for any other person without her consent. In case of separation, the children belong, as a matter of course, to the mother. A transitional form of this practice is found among many other tribes, the husband going to live for a year in the house of his bride. By this time the custom is merely a survival, for the rule of the father is fully established ; the unmeaning habit of spending the first year in the woman's home showing the singular tenacity of an idea which at one time ruled the community. There are many instances of this incorporation of the son-in-law in the maternal household, where he was treated, in some cases, as a sort of slave—a startling contradiction of all our ideas of patriarchal rule. We are living under a slowly-disintegrating patriarchal system and find it difficult to realize any other.

* "Primitive Family." Starcke.
† "*Die Geschichte der Familie.*" Julius Lippert.
‡ "Primitive Marriage."

That this arrangement is founded, as so many take for granted, in the very constitution of human nature, nobody who considers the facts of primitive man can continue to believe. Not "nature," apparently, but the mode of making a livelihood, determines whether the mother or the father shall hold the family or group together and hand down the name to its members. Agriculture was the women's industry; the herding of cattle or hunting of wild animals that of men, who seem not to have meddled with husbandry till comparatively modern times. Agricultural tribes usually traced kinship through the mother, while those who tended flocks and herds had an agnatic system of relationship, counting it only through the father.

These facts have been brought into prominence by recent writers, but mention is made of them by Sir John Lubbock, among others, before attention had been specially turned to the subject. In his "Prehistoric Times," published in 1869, he says:

"Indeed, if there be two possible ways of doing a thing, we may be sure that some tribes will prefer one, and some the other. It seems natural to us that descent should go in the male line; but there are very many tribes in which it is traced from the mother, not the father."

He goes on to state that in Tahiti neither father nor mother is the head of the family, but the son, the father being merely trustee for his son. In Australia, he continues, the son gives his name to the father; in New Zealand the youngest son succeeds to the property, and among the Wanyameuzi it goes not to the legitimate, but to the illegitimate, children. There seems to be nothing in the eternal nature of sons or fathers, or wives or mothers, that determines their position or function in the tribe.

Startling is the account given by Nachtigal (quoted by Lippert*) of the robber tribes of the Sahara. The husband takes his bride to his own house for seven days, but after that she returns to her parents. When she speaks to him, she turns away her face, and avoids mentioning his name. He loses his own name entirely, and is called the father of his wife's children. His wife's relations avoid speaking to him; if he is sitting among a company of men and his father-in-law comes in, he rises hastily and goes away. The ingrained enmity between a mother-in-law and her daughter's husband is carried to painful lengths among the Kaffirs, where the latter will not so much as mention her

* "*Die Geschichte der Familie*," page 44.

name. This inimical attitude is regarded by Lippert, Bachofen, and others as pointing to an earlier age of mother-right, the resentment being caused by the encroachment on that right by the man. This feeling is probably mixed up with the resistance which the family used to offer in earlier times to the forcible carrying-off of its daughters by men of another tribe.

The survival of this custom (as is well known) shows itself in the marriage rites of innumerable countries; a pretence of force on the part of the bridegroom and unwillingness on that of the bride being as necessary a part of the ceremony as the giving of the ring among more civilized people. In the "Arabian Nights" the same pretence is exemplified. To neglect these details would be looked upon as "bad form." In one South American tribe the couple run away together and return after three days. The well-bred mother of the bride, if she has any respect for herself, at once turns her back upon her son-in-law, and refuses to speak to him for a year. In all probability she has previously done all she could to bring about the match, but the customs of good society oblige her to behave in this manner after the success of her efforts.*

The transitional stages of tribal life are most remarkable and puzzling, for the customs seem to have neither object nor consistency, and can only be explained by assuming the persistence of an older social order. There seems to have been among primitive people the idea that a woman must be provided with independent property on her marriage. Originally she remained at home and shared in the goods of the community or family, but as it became the custom to go to the husband's home, her relations provided her with what was called in Germany the *Gerade*, or woman's heir-loom. Starcke speaks of it as the part of the common property set apart for inheritance by women, as the *Hergewäte* (weapons and armor) was the inheritance of the men.

The *Morgengabe* was the bridegroom's contribution to this provision for his wife. It consisted in "such horses, goats, and swine as go before the herdsman" (*vor dem Hirten gehen*). So it is written in the Saxon land law.† It is curious to notice that, when the patriarchal order became established, this same *Gerade*

* Lippert, page 49.

† The ancient custom of the herdsman *following* and not *leading* his charges is here exemplified.

(*Mitgift*) becomes the property of the husband, and the wife is expected to bring it as a dower. What was originally the safeguard of her independence thus becomes a tribute which she has to pay to her lord and master.

It is not very easy to trace the transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal age, but we see here and there signs of the two systems working side by side. Perhaps the custom of buying a wife was the earliest step in the patriarchal direction, although in many cases the purchase does not seem to abolish the rights which the woman enjoyed under the earlier system. Gradually, however, this purchase system led to a new mode of regarding the marital relationship, and, above all, it affected the idea of parenthood. Up to this time the father was not regarded as having any particular connection with his children; very often he did not know them at all; and if he belonged to a tribe which traced its kinship through the female line, his own children were not his heirs, but the children of his sister. McLennan says that no Nair knows his own father, and every man looks upon his sister's children as his heirs. "He would be considered as an unnatural monster were he to show such signs of grief at the death of a child which he might suppose to be his own as he did at the death of a child of his sister." *

The distinctly paternal feeling is not an attribute of primitive man, and its development appears to depend on certain social conditions, which lead to a new set of associations, awakening, among other sentiments, the vanity of the man who thinks that all the good qualities of his children are inherited from himself, while their faults he traces cheerfully to their mother. For long after the father had become head of the family and possessor of his wife by right of purchase, he rested his claims upon the children solely on the fact that the mother was his property; not upon the fact of his fatherhood. That fatherhood *per se* has any claims is a purely "unnatural" idea, if by "natural" we imply what most people do mean by it—innate and aboriginal. †

* "Primitive Marriage." McLennan.

† It is amusing to contrast with these facts the speeches of several illustrious opponents of the Custody-of-Infants Bill, 1886. Lord Salisbury is reported to have said that he was "old-fashioned enough to believe that by the law of nature and the law of God the father was the person who ought to have the care of his child," and that to act on the proposals of this bill would be "to disregard rights held sacred from the beginning of our polity and resting on far deeper foundations than most of those which we have deemed firmly established." Lord Bramwell thought that

That fatherhood has been a juridical relationship, even under patriarchal conditions, is proved by innumerable indications, direct and indirect. The old Jewish law which obliged the brother-in-law to marry the widow and "raise up seed" to his dead brother is a case in point. The children born under these usages were considered as the sons of the dead man. There is a similar custom in India, called the *niyoga*, which permits the same practice during the lifetime of the husband of a childless wife. It is entirely for his behoof, for there is among these people, as among the Chinese and many other races, an intense anxiety to have a son who can perform for the father the rites of the dead. Among the Ossetes (according to Starcke) the children of successive marriages are all ascribed to the original hushand, and they inherit his property. If a widow lives with several other men, her children are all legitimate ; and in Assam, where widows may not marry again, their children are nevertheless free from any stigma, coming under the protection of the dead husband's name.*

Starcke speaks of the juridical character of fatherhood, "of which we have given so many instances," and shows that it rested entirely on the fact of the possession of the mother. While she lived in a state of comparative freedom the notion that any one but herself could make a claim to her children seems never to have entered into a man's wildest dreams : it needed a civilized age to arrive at that culmination of injustice and inconsequence which we now try to poetize and defend, as best we

the proposed clause (which gave powers to the mother as well as to the father in the care and education of the children) "would really add another to the terrors of matrimony." "There might be nothing wrong in the husband's conduct, yet because his wife entertained different views from him as to the bringing-up of the children, he was to be subjected to the annoyance and expense of legal proceedings." Lord Bramwell had asked the opinion of a learned judge who had as large an experience. in his judicial capacity, of matrimonial differences as any man. and his learned friend had said : "If two men ride on one horse, one must ride in front." It appeared to be a foregone conclusion who that "one" ought to be. Lord Bramwell also objected to the clause on the ground that it might "require the court to make an order the effect of which would be to transfer the control of the children, which the father now rightly possessed, to both father and mother. That would be a dual control of the most vicious kind."

* Speaking of the children of a wife who, in the transition age, is allowed to return to her home after she has borne a certain number (three or five, according to the tribe), Lippert says that the new system is strikingly indicated by the fact that now the children remain with the father. "*Sie gehören eben nicht mehr jener* (the mother), *sondern dem, der diese gekauft hat, so wie die Früchte dem gehören der den Baum gekauft.*"

may, with cheap sentiment and an appeal to what we are pleased to call "Nature." Until that word can be used with some little intelligence, it would be useful to banish it entirely from discussion. "Nature" is made into the prop of all human arrangements that happen to please popular prejudices; but nobody remembers that "Nature" supports equally a great many things at which popular sentiment shudders. The only thing that we can yet be quite sure of in regard to "Nature" is that she is not a set of permanent, invariable laws. She is infinitely variable, adaptable; she is perpetually recreating herself and assuming new forms and new developments.

We have the most varied evidence respecting the lives of races in different climates and conditions; at times even in apparently exactly the same conditions, as in Sumatra, where there are two forms of marriage, the one involving the male line of succession, the other the female. It is interesting to notice that in the first (implying the male line) the husband buys his wife, while in the second the woman's family buys her a husband, who has to leave his own home and go to that of his wife, where he is treated partly as a kinsman, partly as a slave. The acme of horror, from a masculine point of view, is reached among the Kooch tribe, where the husband is subject to his wife and mother-in-law!

The connection between the purchase of the wife—with the consequent claim upon the children—and the establishment of the male line is in this instance clearly seen. We can gather from this and from other evidence, direct and indirect, in what manner our modern system became inaugurated. In Sumatra it would depend entirely upon the wealth of the woman's family whether she bought a husband and handed down her name to her children, or, on the other hand, whether *he* bought her and transmitted *his* name to posterity. "Nature" has evidently been altogether left out of account in the arrangements of these singular people. The same lack of obedience to her dictates is exemplified in the two great systems of primitive marriage, exogamy and endogamy,—the one insisting upon marriage with women outside the tribe; the other as strenuously enjoining marriage within it.

Among the Circassians even the serfs are forbidden to marry one of the tribe. McLennan quotes from Bell's "Journal in Circassia" the incident of an unlucky steward or confidential agent of Bell's host, to whom the man had fled for protection. He had

fallen in love with and married a woman of his own tribe, and had thus become liable to punishment. The incident brings before the mind a very singular condition of affairs from our point of view, for this man had been living "in a fraternity of thousands of persons, between whom marriage was absolutely prohibited." This surely indicates an amount of self-control which civilized man does not feel himself called upon to exercise. Facts, indeed, seem to point to a most unexpected conclusion regarding the position which the passional impulses take in primitive communities, as compared with others. Marriage appears to have been regarded as an affair of state rather than of attraction or impulse.

Children were deemed of enormous importance in the patriarchal age, for then the number of a man's children and dependants marked his rank in the community; and there was, besides, a very strong feeling about having sons to carry on the name, to perform the rites of the dead, and to bring offerings to the fane. It was these considerations which appeared chiefly to provide the motive in primitive marriages.

No matter under what aspect uncivilized man is considered, he contradicts all preconceived notions as to his fundamental instincts and their action on his life: not one instinct is apparrently beyond the power of opinion, prejudice, or religion. It is difficult to find any trait that is quite invariable. Even modes of expressing feelings by gesture are not the same universally. Sir John Lubbock gives some amusing instances of this fact. The Malays always sit down on speaking to a superior; the Todas of the Nilgherry Hills show respect by "raising the open hand to the face, resting the thumb on the bridge of the nose"; in another district it is good form to turn one's back on a person in sign of respect, "especially when speaking to him." According to Freycinet, "tears were recognized in the Sandwich Islands as a sign of happiness"; blushing is said to be unknown among the Brazilian Indians, but after long intercourse with Europeans the weakness begins to appear.

As regards what is considered proper and improper in the matter of clothing, of course there is no standard other than custom. Wallace tells us of the women of the Amazon districts who, in deference to European feelings, sometimes wore a few deprecatory garments; but when they did so, they used to feel extremely

uncomfortable and lacking in those feelings of delicacy proper to their sex. Lubbock goes on to point out differences in the ideas of virtue. "The Sichuana language," he says, "contains no expression for thanks; the Algonquin had no word for love; the Tinnè no word for beloved; mercy was with the North American Indians a mistake, and peace an evil; theft, says Catlin, they call 'capturing'; the first virtue is revenge." Cunning and deceit are also much admired.*

"Is a man to starve," said an African indignantly to Captain Burton, "while his sister has children whom she might sell?" This remark is also quoted by Lubbock, as well as Muller's assertion that in Peru it was thought shocking for a woman to bear twins; she was driven out of society, and the poor twins were given to the wild beasts. The writer concludes his account of these customs by saying: "I cannot indeed but think that the differences observable in savage tribes are even more remarkable than the similarities."

All this goes to prove the apparently fortuitous nature of human ideas and customs, and makes it at once easier and more difficult to understand how it is that certain developments of aboriginal notions have taken place in civilized societies, to the exclusion of others. The establishment of the patriarchal rule is probably due to the fact of the temporary weakness and engrossing cares involved in motherhood; so that whenever some variation in the life of a community occurred, tending to alter the balance in favor of masculine rule, that advantage would not be likely to be lost. A new custom would thus grow up and become fixed.

Gradually the old reverence for the mother died out, and she was treated more and more as a chattel and a slave. In the old days the husband had in many cases been subjected to the tyranny of his wife's family: he now had his revenge. It is not in average human nature, as hitherto existing, to possess and not to abuse absolute power. The history of woman from the time of the general establishment of the rule of man is tragic in the extreme. No one will ever know the worst of that tragedy, for a terrible silence hangs over it, as over the sufferings of all helpless and disfranchised classes. Adaptation, however, appears to be invariable among organic beings, to enable them to survive the

* "Prehistoric Times." Sir John Lubbock.

conditions that would otherwise destroy them; and to this law can be referred the greater number of those characteristics which are said—often with mere parrot-like iteration—to belong especially to women.

The power of undisturbed association of ideas in creating belief, and in lulling the objections of the reason and even of the heart, has never been sufficiently realized. In spite of the astounding evidence of history, few people are able to believe that human beings can be strongly influenced by anything short of standing armies and a body of police, the majority entirely forgetting that they themselves are living under the thrall of established ideas, that this subtle, ubiquitous power directs the whole tenor of their lives, even to "what they shall eat, what they shall drink, and wherewithal they shall be clothed."

When sacrifices of children were made to Moloch, it was necessary that the parents should offer them voluntarily; otherwise the gift was of no avail. "The parents stopped the cries of their children by fondling and kissing them, for the victim ought not to weep, and the sound of the complaint was drowned in the din of flutes and kettledrums. Mothers, according to Plutarch, stood by without tears or sobs; if they wept or sobbed, they lost the honor of the sacrifice, and their children were sacrificed notwithstanding."* Such is the power of ideas! Year after year the great metal image, with its fierce internal fire, stretched out its arms, and mothers brought their children and delivered them over to the idol.

As soon as the woman ceased to be protected by the force of ideas—as soon, that is to say, as she lost her position as head of the family—her downward path was certain. There were no sentiments of justice, on general grounds, among savages; their conduct was actuated by custom exclusively. We find, therefore, that women have been subjected to cruel ill-treatment, not only among savages, but among civilized people. The present forms of cruelty are direct descendants from the customs of patriarchal ancestors.†

* "Phœnicia." George Rawlinson.

† McLennan quotes Sir George Grey's account of Australian wooing, which brings home to us the kind of existence the women of these tribes lead. "Even supposing a woman to give no encouragement to her admirers, many plots are laid to carry her off, and in the encounters which result from these she is almost certain to receive some violent injury, for each of the combatants orders her to follow him, and, in the event of her refusing, throws a spear at her."

Capture-marriage seems at one time to have been very widespread, and marriage by purchase became the practice among many endogamous tribes. Exogamy seems almost to imply marriage by capture. Writers do not appear to have agreed that there ever was a period of unlimited promiscuity. It is held by some that there always existed a tendency to form into groups with a woman as centre. Polyandry is regarded as an earlier practice than polygamy. Polyandry, in different forms, has been traced almost universally; often in what is called its higher stage, when the men who had one wife between them were all brothers. In that case, all her children were regarded as the offspring of the eldest brother.

Volumes might be filled with instances which show how little ground there is for the common opinion that, in all essentials, human nature tends to organize the family relationships on the same plan, the sexes remaining practically unvaried in their place and function in the state. That such fundamental facts about mankind have existed from the beginning of the human race is one of the gigantic fallacies upon which we have built so many theories and so many institutions. Not only do races differ in social forms and relations, but even virtue and vice change places. There are countries where parricide is described as "not a crime, but a custom"; there are others where the father, or, rather, the head of the family, is regarded almost as a god.

Ideas of what is becoming and attractive also vary in such a manner as to lead one to despair of ever finding a rational philosophic theory of the beautiful. In Guinea the men have their skin ornamented with elaborate patterns, like a Morris wall-paper, and in the Deccan the women present an effective cutaneous appearance resembling flowered damask. They cut the designs on the flesh with as much heroism as the modern civilized woman pinches in her waist or the civilized young man wears intolerable collars. In some cases there appears to be a sort of beginning of landscape art on the bodies of these devoted savages. The dread of pain seems to deter them not at all.

Among many races there is no fear of death, as, for instance, the Paraguays, the Feejeans, and the negroes of Dahomey. The Chinese seem to share this indifference, since among them, as is well known, a man condemned to be executed can buy a substitute.

Primitive notions of religion are only less remarkable than some modern ones. Savages often get angry with their gods; indeed, even the Romans used to lose patience and take to stoning the sacred images. The Nicobar Islanders put up scarecrows to frighten away the deity, and Burton once heard an old Esca woman, who was suffering from toothache, offer up the following prayer: "O Allah, may thy teeth ache like mine! O Allah, may thy gums be as sore as mine are now!"

That primitive people have no narrow preconceptions as to the personal appearance of their deities may be gathered from the fact that "when the missionaries introduced a printing-press into Feejee, the heathen at once declared it to be a god." *

In short, we are forced either to give up even an occasional glance at the primitive habits and ideas of mankind, or to resign ourselves to surrender any pet theory about "human nature" which we may happen to cherish. And having submitted to that painful sacrifice, we are rewarded by finding another belief in the place of the former one, which is, after all, more inspiring. We discover that "human nature" need not be a perpetual obstacle to change, to hope, and to progress, as we have hitherto made it; but that it is the very instrument or material through which that change, that hope, and that progress can be achieved.

MONA CAIRD.

* "Prehistoric Times." (Quoted by Lubbock from Kotzebue.)

CRIMINAL POLITICS.

BY E. L. GODKIN, EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK "EVENING POST."

THE most serious question which faces the modern world to-day is the question of the government of great cities under universal suffrage. There is hardly any political or social puzzle the solution of which has not to be worked out in the streets of the great towns. The labor problem, for instance, is almost exclusively a city problem. It is in cities the great labor troubles occur. It is in them that population is growing most rapidly.

The following table shows the increase in the population in five great capitals during twenty years, ending in the year of the latest census:

London	1861. 2,803,989		1871. 3,254,260		1881. 3,814,571
Paris	1861. 1,696,741		1872. 1,851,792		1881. 2,269,023
Berlin	1867. 702,437	1871. 825,389	1874. 949,144		1885. 1,315,297
Rome	1858. 180,359		1870. 216,000	1872. 244,484	1881. 300,467
New York	1860. 805,658		1870. 942,292		1880. 1,206,299

Far from being dependent for their increase in numbers, as the country districts are in the main, on the majority of births over deaths, they grow in size through immigration on a great scale. In all the leading countries there is a steady stream of men, women, and children into them. Men who have made their fortunes move into them as the places in which there are the most varied opportunities for such pleasures as wealth brings. Men who have their fortunes still to make crowd into them as the places in which there are the best markets and the best opening for every variety of talent.

But far more important than this is the fact that nearly all

the poor, the improvident, the disgraced, the criminals, all the adventurers of both sexes, are consumed with the passion for city life. There is hardly any unsuccessful or unfortunate man in the United States, in England, France, or Germany, or Italy, possessed of any mental activity or bodily strength, who does not think his condition would be bettered by getting to some great capital. The laborers are even more eager for the change than the other classes. A disgust with country life has spread, or is spreading, among workingmen in all these countries. Farmers in England and France complain that, in spite of the aid of machinery, farming is becoming increasingly difficult through want of hands. The new generation are unwilling to cultivate the earth any longer, or endure the solitude of farm life, if they can possibly avoid it.

The cities themselves do everything to stimulate this movement. Parks and gardens, cheap concerts, free museums and art galleries, cheap means of conveyance, model lodging-houses, rich charities, such as every city is now offering in abundance to all comers, are so many inducements to country poor to try their luck in the streets. They are the exact equivalents, as an invitation to the lazy and the pleasure-loving, of the Roman circus and free flour which we all use in explanation of the decline and fall of the Empire. They are luxuries which seem to be within every man's reach gratis, and they act with tremendous force on the rural imagination. Nor is there as yet the slightest sign of reaction. The great transmigrations of the world are in the main those of the farmers from one farm to another; but there is no sign among the poor of a return to the country of those who have once tasted the sweets of city life. That this aversion from the land among the masses should be contemporaneous with the rapid spread of Henry George's theory, that poverty is due to the difficulty men have in getting hold of ground to cultivate, is surely a very curious social phenomenon. Its success, however, has been mainly in the towns. He has had but few disciples among the agricultural population, and I suspect that even in the towns, if it were possible to analyze the grounds on which his followers have taken up his gospel, it would be found, in nine cases out of ten, that land, in their minds, simply stood for wealth in general, and that they thought of it as something that yielded ground rent or house rent rather than as something that grew crops.

Though last, not least, the opportunities for concealment, for escaping observation, or, in other words, of securing solitude, which great masses of population afford, make the cities very attractive to criminals. They are the chosen homes of everybody inclined to, or actually living, a life of crime or a life bordering on crime. Gamblers, thieves, receivers of stolen goods, brothel-keepers, and the great army of those who shirk regular industry, all throng to the city as the place which affords the best opportunities for the exercise of their peculiar talents. The last-named class forms in every city a very large body of persons who, though not, strictly speaking, part of the criminal population, live on it or through it, and readily descend into its ranks.

This tendency is aggravated in this country by immigration, especially in the case of New York, which is the great receiving port for such additions to our population as come from Europe. In spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, and in spite of appearances to the contrary created by such excesses as those of the Anarchists in Chicago and elsewhere, the bulk of the European immigrants to this country are orderly, industrious people who have contributed much to its material prosperity, and have made, by the sums of money they bring with them, no less than by their labor, by no means insignificant additions to its capital. They have undoubtedly played a very large part in the opening up and reclamation of the regions beyond the Alleghanies known as the West. Without them the creation of the manufacturing industries which we are now so frantically trying to protect through the tariff, would have been impossible. So it will not do to throw on them all the responsibility of our political disorders and shortcomings. But nobody can deny that they have greatly increased the difficulty of the problem of city government under universal suffrage.

Every ship-load of immigrants which lands in New York contains a certain proportion of what may, for political purposes, be called sediment—that is, of persons with no fixed trade or calling or any kind of industrial training, who started with but little money beyond what was necessary to pay their passage at sea. To some of these New York is as far as they want to go; to most of them it is as far as they can go, and they at once recruit the legion of what the French call "*declassés*"—that is, of social adventurers who are compelled to live either by manual labor or

by their wits; and there is, of course, no one who has any wits who does not prefer the latter. That they furnish constant reënforcements to the vicious and criminal elements of the population it is hardly necessary to say. More than this, they furnish the puzzle of philosophers and the despair of statesmen.

It is impossible to discuss this subject, as far as New York is concerned, without distinguishing between the influence on politics of the different nationalities which are represented in the voting population of the city. The two which play the leading part are the Germans and the Irish. At the last census their numbers were about equal. But there is a great difference in their political activity, partly owing to difference of temperament, partly to difference of training. The Germans are a slow, plodding, somewhat phlegmatic, and very serious people, who, as Dr. Von Holst, in a review of Mr. Bryce's book, truly says, in the feverish intensity of American activity, with their moderate and sober ideals, quiet and steady energy, and modest self-confidence, act as a wholesome leaven.

The Irish are quick, passionate, impetuous, impressionable, easily influenced, and with a hereditary disposition to personal loyalty to a leader of some sort. Their immigration is a more ignorant one than the German—indeed, I might say less civilized. They have for the most part but little, if any, industrial training, while the Germans have a great deal. There are probably ten Germans who come here with a trade of some sort for one Irishman, and their trades are apt to be skilled ones which no man can successfully follow without having some sort of mental discipline and steadiness of character. The Germans, too, come with more or less affection for the government they have left behind and pride in its success. The Irish come with hatred for their home government bred in their very bones. What is, perhaps, as serious a difference as any is that all classes of Germans, except the military aristocracy, are represented in the German immigration. It has always a mixture of educated men and successful business men who are on excellent terms with their humbler countrymen, and united to them by all the usual social and political ties. It is the misfortune of the Irish that their educated class and successful business class have to a great extent been separated from the bulk of the population at home by differences of race and religion, which continue

under the new skies; and the religious differences occasionally treat Americans to the, to them, astonishing phenomena known as "Orange riots." Consequently, the bulk of the poor Irish who drop down into the New York streets as a deposit from each successive wave of immigration find themselves without respectable natural leaders, and a ready prey to sharp-witted political adventurers. They are separated from Americans, too, not only by difference of habits, traditions, and ideals, but by difference of religion—perhaps the most formidable barrier of all. They have to contend against that dread of Catholicism which has now become among all classes of Anglo-Saxons, whether religious or sceptical, an integral part of their mental and moral make-up. And the Irish soon learn to regard the Americans, as they have learned through sorrowful experience to regard the well-to-do class in their own country, as in some sort lawful political prey, whom it is not improper to tax, if they get a chance, without mercy or compunction.

What makes this all the more formidable is that they have familiarity with political machinery, without having any political experience; that is, they know all about voting and agitating and canvassing, but they have never yet elected legislators who were responsible for the government under which they lived, whom they could fairly call to account if their affairs were mismanaged, or of whose misconduct they felt the direct effects. In other words, they have never had the only political training which develops public spirit or a sense of public morality — the strongest argument of all, to my mind, for Irish home rule. Irish parliamentary elections are, in fact, as a means of political training, complete shams. Nor have the Irish had any educating experience in the conduct of their local affairs. The consequence is that a large body of the Irish voters in our large cities enter on the game of politics in what may be called a predatory state of mind, without any sense of public duty, or of community of interest with the rest of the tax-payers. When we add to all this the fact that they are the only large body of immigrants who land in this country with a knowledge of the English language, and therefore can at once become acquainted with the ins and outs of the spoils system as practised by the natives, and with the whole system of "pulls" by which justice is denied or perverted, the public money converted into "boodle," and places won

by the incompetent, the part they play in aggravating the puzzle of city government is not surprising. As voters simply, the Bohemians and Poles are just as manageable as they are. In what is called "the banner Republican district" in this city, the Eighth, in which the late Johnny O'Brien held sway, there are but few Irish. The bulk of the voters are Slavs of one denomination or another, and follow a leader with just such fidelity as the Irish, but they do not know enough to get hold of offices. They do not secure any of the prizes of corruption ; and the reason is that they are ignorant of the language and unfamiliar with the machinery by which a share in the electoral plunder can be obtained.

Though last, not least, the temptation to immigrants who have no skilled trade and are averse to manual labor, and yet have a little more push and intelligence than the mass of their compatriots, to go into the liquor business in New York, owing to the ease with which licenses are obtained, is very strong, and the Irish fall victims to it in larger numbers than any other class of new-comers. But very little capital is required ; in fact, hardly any, as credit for liquor is readily obtained from the distillers and brewers by pushing fellows, and the furniture and fixtures of a "rum-hole" involve but little outlay. With a barrel of cheap whiskey, which can be easily increased by adulteration, and a few kegs of beer on hand, an energetic new-comer in New York not only obtains at once the means of livelihood, but finds himself speedily a prominent social and political figure in his ward, whom men that he thinks highly placed consider it worth their while to flatter, or cajole, or encourage. And the ease with which he can enter the liquor business,—an ease the like of which is not to be found in any other civilized city,—and his joy at finding that in a rum-shop he has made the first step in what seems to him a public career, naturally affect profoundly the imagination of hundreds of his countrymen, both here and at home, who know something about him and watch his progress, and form their estimate of American politics and morals from his example.

It was unfortunate that the change in the constitution of this State in 1846, establishing universal suffrage, occurred simultaneously with the beginning of the great tide of emigration which followed the Irish famine. Its result was that the city was soon flooded with a large body of ignorant voters,

who at once furnished political speculators with a new field for their peculiar talents. Within six years they produced a kind of demagogue previously unknown to the American public in the person of Fernando Wood, who, by their aid, got into the mayoralty in 1854—the first of his kind who had ever done so, for he was to all intents and purposes an adventurer, with no standing in the business community. It was really he who organized New York city politics on what may be called a criminal basis; that is, he discovered the use which might be made in politics of the newly-arrived foreigner, and the part which the liquor-dealers and all keepers of criminal or semi-criminal drinking-places might be made to play in maintaining party discipline and organization. In controlling a body of ignorant voters, who did not read, no agents could be so useful as the keepers of "resorts" in which men congregated in the evening, and at which they got credit for both food and drink.

Consequently the liquor-dealer, whether as a keeper of a bar, or of a "dive," or of a brothel, or of a cheap hotel, rapidly rose into the political prominence which he has ever since enjoyed. He became a captain of ten, or of fifty, or of a hundred, according to the size of his rum-shop and his own capacity for leadership. He rapidly took the place in politics which in the early part of the century was held by the foremen of the volunteer fire companies, as a centre of political influence and as the transmitter to the various wards of the will of the gods of the Tammany Society. Wood was succeeded as a boss by Tweed, and Tweed, of course, brought the Wood system to perfection. He gave the liquor-dealers increased political weight, and made his way to the hearts of the tenement-house population by lavish charities, such as the distribution of free coal in winter, which Wood had never thought of, and with a success which may be estimated from the fact that he was reëlected to the State Senate by his constituents while the intelligent and well-to-do world above them was ringing with the exposure of his frauds and thefts.

How Tweed passed away everybody knows. He was the victim of his own excess. He might have stolen with perfect impunity for a long period, had he been more moderate. He was ruined by the scale on which he did his work. But his system remained, and in due time produced a successor in the person of John Kelly, who had profited by Tweed's example, practised the

great Greek maxim "not too much of anything," simply made every candidate pay handsomely for his nomination, pocketed the money himself, and, whether he rendered any account of it or not, died in possession of a handsome fortune. His policy was the very safe one of making the city money go as far as possible among the workers by compelling every office-holder to divide his salary and perquisites with a number of other persons. In this way no one person made the gains known under Tweed, but a far greater number were kept in a state of contentment, and the danger of exposures was thus averted or greatly lessened.

The more the Tammany organization had to rely on the liquor-dealers, the more certain and rapid was the transfer of its government to the hands of the criminal class. By criminal class I do not mean simply the class which commits highway robbery or burglary, or receives stolen goods, or keeps gambling-houses or houses of ill-fame. I mean not these only, but all who associate with them in political work, and who share political spoils with them; who help to shield them from judicial pursuit either by their influence with the district attorney or with the police justices, or with the police; in other words, both the actual perpetrators of crimes and those who are not repelled by them and are willing to profit in politics by their activity.

As I have said before, each of the numerous small sets, or "gangs," of which this world is made up has its "headquarters" at some liquor-store, or bar, or club, the keeper of which is its political guide and friend in times of trouble; and he is under a constant impulse to push the political fortunes of his clients and demand recognition for them so as to justify their reliance on him and respect for him. As long as Democratic victories in this city have to be won by his exertions, it is, of course, difficult or impossible to gainsay him. Men of all other trades and callings occasionally retire from "politics" altogether, for a long or short period. But the liquor-dealer never retires. He remains an agitator, organizer, and counsellor by virtue of his calling. His "place" is the centre of political gossip. He knows more of what is going on in the ward or district than anybody else—who hates whom; who is going to "get even" with whom; what Billy has been promised, or why he did not get it; from whom Jake borrowed his assessment, and how much he owes Barney, and what "deals" are in progress or have been contemplated.

Consequently, every organization which counts on him tends more and more to pass into his hands and those of his customers.

This tendency has been strong in Tammany for many years. It has ended in excluding nearly all men of good character and respectable associations from its management. The public, which remembers that it used to have prominent lawyers and business men among its sachems and on its Executive Committee, is habitually startled at finding it in charge of liquor-dealers and "toughs." The remedy so often proposed, of taking away the charter which the Tammany Society obtained in its early and better days as a semi-charitable organization, is puerile on its face. The only use of the charter of the organization as at present constituted is to enable it to own real estate. But it does not need to own real estate in order to exist and flourish. It could get on just as well with a hired hall as with a hall in fee simple. Its strength, I repeat, lies in the control it exerts over the ignorant, criminal, and vicious classes through its liquor-dealers, who never concern themselves in the least about the charter, and do not need to do so. It can exert all its present strength without any legal organization whatever, like any other political club. Its original construction, and design, and history are important in only one way.

No organization such as it now is could be started in our day; that is, the vicious and criminal class could not in any large city get up a club or association which would have the coherence, prestige, and authority that Tammany has. The attempt would be a failure from the outset, even if the organization did not succumb to the attacks of the police. No civilized community would witness with calm or indifference the deliberate formation of a combination which was plainly hostile to public prosperity and order, or the efficient administration of justice. Steps would soon be taken to break it up, or discredit it in some manner, so as to destroy its attractiveness to its supporters. Membership in it would bring such disrepute that men seeking any foothold in the respectable business or professional class would be unwilling to belong to it; politicians would be afraid to have it known that they relied on it, and it would rapidly go to pieces or be reduced to insignificance, even if it for a short period managed to show power.

The reason why the Tammany Society manages to stand its ground is that it is nearly a century old, and for fully half that time was a real political club, engaged in the maintenance and

diffusion of certain political ideas which were, during all that period, making a considerable noise in the world, and effecting great governmental changes in many civilized countries. The leading men of the party which was the exponent of these ideas in this State belonged to it, and a share in its management was one of the rewards of some kind of prominence in the world outside, either political or professional or commercial. Of course this gave it, in process of time, great political weight. Any organization which has managed to exist and flourish for half a century acquires great prestige in a society as changeful as ours, in which organizations of all sorts rise, flourish, and fade with so much rapidity, and in which even the most brilliant local reputations so soon pass out of men's memories. With the aureole thus acquired Tammany came down almost to 1850. Soon after that the vicious element began gradually to enter it and secure control of it, and drive politics, in the best sense of the term, out of it, but with so little outward sign of what was going on that the change, when suddenly revealed in Tweed's day, gave the public a shock of surprise.

Old New-Yorkers learned then that what had seemed to their youthful imagination a sort of temple of liberty, of which the worst that could be said was that it was too much given up to Southern worship of negro slavery, had really been taken possession of by a lot of tramps and converted into a "boozing ken." But they got over this shock somewhat after Tweed's day and the establishment of Tilden's supremacy in Democratic councils, and an air of respectability once more began to surround the ancient edifice. It did not, however, last for very long. The process of degeneration set in once more. The criminal classes renewed their activity, and they were in full possession before Tilden's death; but once more, and in spite of everything, the age of the edifice, the traditions which surrounded it, prevented the public from realizing what was passing within. It consequently almost astounded good people the other day to learn how few members of the Executive Committee could be said to have any really lawful occupation outside politics, or any genuine connection with the respectable business or social world.

Nothing is more surprising in the attempt to deal with the problems of urban life than the way in which religious and philanthropic people ignore the close connection between municipal

politics and the various evils about which they are most concerned. All the churches occupy themselves, in a greater or less degree, with the moral condition of the poor. Charitable associations spend hundreds of thousands every year in trying to improve their physical condition. A conference of Protestant ministers met in this city two years ago to consider the best means of reviving religious interest among the working classes and inducing a larger number of them to attend church on Sundays. Of course these gentlemen did not seek an increase in the number of church-goers as an end in itself. The Protestant churches do not, as the Catholic Church does, ascribe any serious spiritual efficacy to mere bodily presence at religious worship. Protestant ministers ask people to go to church in the hope that the words which they will hear "with their outward ears may be so grafted inwardly in their hearts that they may bring forth the fruit of good living." What was remarkable in the debates of this conference, therefore, was the absence of any mention of the very successful rivalry with the religion which, as an influence on the poor and ignorant foreign population, politics in this city carries on. The same thing may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the charitable associations. No one would get from their speeches or reports an inkling of the solemn fact that the newly-arrived immigrant who settles in New York gets tenfold more of his notions of American right and wrong from city politics than he gets from the city missionaries, or the schools, or the mission chapels; and yet such is the case. I believe it is quite within the truth to say that, as a moral influence on the poor and ignorant, the clergyman and philanthropist are hopelessly distanced by the politician.

It must be remembered that the poor immigrant who drops down in New York generally comes from a country in which the idea that the public functionaries are the servants of the people, or the product of popular selection, has not as yet penetrated the popular mind. He is apt to hold on still, in a blind, unreflective way, to the old doctrine that the powers that be are of God, and that what a man in authority says or does is, in some sense, the expression of the national morality. He has not as yet learned to criticise public officers or call them to account. He obeys them; he seeks to ingratiate himself with them. He accepts their decisions, if unfavorable, as misfortunes; if favorable, as blessings. He does not dream of appealing against them to public opinion, for he

does not know what public opinion is. No sooner has he established himself in a tenement-house or a boarding-house than he finds himself face to face with three functionaries who represent to him the government of his new country—the police justice of the district, the police captain of his precinct, and the political "district leader." These are, to him, the Federal, State and municipal governments rolled into one. He does not read Story or Bryce. He knows nothing about the limitation of powers, or the division of spheres, or constitutional guarantees.

What he learns very soon is that, if he makes himself obnoxious to the captain of the precinct, he may be visited with so much vexation as to drive him out of the ward; that if he would avoid the severities of the police justice whenever he has a little scrimmage with one of his neighbors, or gets into "trouble" of any description, he must have a mediator or protector, and this mediator or protector must be "the district leader" or a politician belonging to one party or the other. He then perceives very soon that, as far as he is concerned, ours is not a government of laws, but a government of "pulls." When he goes into the only court of justice of which he has any knowledge, he is told he must have a "pull" on the magistrate or he will fare badly. When he opens a liquor-store, he is told he must have a "pull" on the police in order not to be "raided" or arrested for violation of a mysterious something which he hears called "law." He learns from those of his countrymen who have been here longer than he that, in order to come into possession of this "pull," he must secure the friendship of the district leader. These three men are to him America. Everything else in the national institutions in which Americans pride themselves he only sees through a glass darkly, if he sees it at all.

If he is a man of parts and energy, or rises above the condition of a manual laborer into that of a liquor-dealer or small contractor, he finds himself impeded or helped at every step by "pulls." If he wants a small place in the public service, he must have a "pull." If he wants a government contract, he must have a "pull." Whether he wants to get his just rights under it, or to escape punishment for fraud or bad work in the execution of it, he must have "a pull." In the ward in which he lives he never comes across any sign of moral right or moral wrong, human or divine justice. All that he learns of the ways of Providence in the gov-

ernment of the city is that the man with the most "pulls" gets what he wants, and that the man with no "pulls" goes to the wall. Every experience of the municipality satisfies him that he is living in a world of favor and not of law. He hears that large sums of money are voted every year for the cleaning of the streets, but he sees that they are not cleaned. He hears that it is forbidden to throw out dirt and ashes into the highway, but he sees that all his neighbors do it with impunity. He hears that gambling-houses and houses of prostitution are forbidden, but he sees them doing a roaring trade all around him. He hears that it is a crime to keep a liquor-saloon open on Sunday, but he finds the one he frequents is as accessible on Sunday as on any other day. He hears that licenses to sell liquor should be granted only to persons of good character, but he sees that the greatest scoundrels in his neighborhood get them and keep them as readily as any one else. He has come over the sea with the notion that magistrates shonld be grave and discreet persons, learned in the law, but he sees seated on the bench in his own district his own friend, Billy McGrath, who plays poker every night with him and "the boys" in Mike Grogan's saloon, and in court always gives his cronies "a show." Nowhere does he come on any standard of propriety or fitness in the transaction of public business, or on any recognition of such things as duty or honor in dealing with the public interests.

Now, what chance have the city missionaries and philanthropists of making themselves felt in an atmosphere of this sort? They might as well go to the African heathen, and try to make Christians by dividing their preaching time with the medicine-men, as to try to make an impression on the poor of this city as long as the administration of its affairs is a standing denial of God. What helpless visionaries they must seem to thousands as they wander about the liquor-saloons with their Bibles, and tell their tales of what good Americans think about life and death and judgment, and about the prosperity which waits on the honest man and good citizen. The truth is that any one who occupies himself with the moral and religious elevation of the poor in this city can no more disregard politics than a doctor, in treating physical disease, can refuse to take notice of bad drains or decaying garbage. He must not only take politics into account in his work, but must take it into account at the very beginning.

What is to be done by reformers generally to introduce a new and better régime into city affairs, it is not easy to describe fully within the limits of an article like this. There are certain things, however, which have been fully tried and have so plainly failed that no more mention should be made of them. One is the denunciation of universal suffrage. There is no doubt that universal suffrage has added to the difficulties of city government, and has lowered the standard of official purity and fitness; but, to use the slang phrase, it has so plainly "come to stay," and is so firmly lodged in the political arrangements of most civilized nations, that it is a mere waste of time to declaim against it. Complaining of it as an obstacle to good government is like complaining of a stormy sea as a reason for giving up navigation.

Another is reliance on the State Legislature for new charters, or for the expulsion of bad men from office by special legislation. This mode of reform was begun in 1857, when the Republican party got possession of the State government, and it has ended in converting the interests of the city into gambling-stakes for Albany politicians to play with. They oust each other from city offices with no more reference to the interests of city tax-payers than butchers on killing-day to the feelings of the oxen. There have been eleven charters enacted since 1846, and we have now got the best of them all, and the best we are in the least likely to get. It is the simplest, and puts more direct power into the hands of the city voters than they have ever had before. Its excellence lies in the fact that it concentrates in the mayor responsibility for appointments to all the leading offices except the comptrollership, and puts the control of taxation in the hands of a small body of conspicuous men elected on a general ticket. We cannot do better than this. It makes every election a direct appeal to the good sense and public spirit of the voter. No community as heterogeneous as ours can manage its affairs successfully through democratic forms without reducing to its lowest possible point the number of executive officers whom it has to watch, and call to account when things go wrong. As soon as responsibility is widely diffused in such a community, "deals" or bargains between politicians for the division of the offices at once begin.

For we have among our other difficulties to deal with the fact—in some of its aspects a tremendous one—that the fifty years of the spoils system have almost destroyed in the popular mind the

tradition of trusteeship in connection with public offices. Among active politicians they are now almost universally looked upon, as in France under the old régime, as franchises or privileges authorizing the holder to levy a certain amount of toll on the State for a certain limited period. Until this view has been eradicated, it is reasonable to fear that a large municipal legislature or council, which some are thinking of, would simply be a reproduction on a smaller scale of the Albany Legislature, with whose weaknesses and defects the public by this time is tolerably familiar. It is safe to say that, as things are to-day, we cannot better ourselves by any changes in the framework of the city government which there is the least chance of obtaining from the law-making power, except in one particular, and that is the exaction of higher qualifications for the office of police justice. The police magistrates are, after the mayor, perhaps the most important city officers. They have a more direct relation to municipal health and morals than any other. They ought to be lawyers, of at least seven years' standing at the bar, and men of established character and repute. At present there is no standard of fitness for the office whatever. Any man who can get it through "pulls" is held to be competent to fill it, and it is, as a matter of fact, disposed of as a piece of party spoil to active local politicians. So that it may be said that, with this exception, we have had since 1885, when the absolute power of appointment was put into the mayor's hands, as good a scheme of local government as we have ever had, or are likely to have within any period worth thinking about for practical purposes.

Have we, then, exhausted our resources? Is the rule of the criminal classes under which we are living at this moment destined to be permanent? Who or what is to blame for it? Can it not be shaken off, or can its recurrence not be prevented?

The answer to these questions is comparatively easy. There is nothing unnatural or abnormal in our condition. It is the plain and natural effect of causes of the simplest and most obvious kind. In fact, it would be very odd if we were any better off than we are, considering the way in which we manage our municipal business. The objects of a municipal corporation are nearly as definable as those of a railroad company. They consist simply in supplying the inhabitants of a certain locality with certain conditions of physical health and comfort, plus the education of their children.

The work is paid for by an annual subscription, and the executive officers are elected by a general vote. If there be in this world a plain moral obligation, it is the obligation which rests on every inhabitant to use his vote in electing these officers solely in the common interest of himself and his neighbors. To use it in his own individual interest, or in the interest of some other corporation or body of persons not dwelling in the locality or owning property in it, is of exactly the same moral quality as the transaction called "wrecking a railroad," in which the directors of a railroad corporation ruin it either for their own personal gain or in order to contribute to the prosperity of some other railroad.

In other words, it is a breach of trust. The more poor, or ignorant, or helpless neighbors the inhabitant of a municipal corporation has, the more solemn is the obligation which rests on him to use his superior intelligence for their benefit. He has no right to let them be swindled by clever sharpers if he can prevent it, simply because they are easily duped. He has no right to say that, as he can take care of himself in any event, he is not going to trouble himself about the plight of those who have neither knowledge enough nor money enough to protect themselves against fraud. He has no right to shut his eyes to dirty streets elsewhere because he can afford to keep his own street clean by private contract, and has a country house where he spends half the year. He has no right to surrender the poor to corrupt or ignorant judges, because he can pay for the best police the country affords. In short, he has no right to live an absolutely selfish life in the city any more than in the country at large. Patriotism has its municipal obligations as well as national obligations, and, in fact, makes duty to the municipality far clearer to the plain man than duty to the nation.

If this be all true,—and I do not think it will meet with denial from any respectable source,—we shall have little difficulty in showing that the responsibility for our local misgovernment by no means rests on "the ignorant foreigners": on the contrary, it rests very distinctly on the intelligent and well-to-do natives. They have three times since 1884 deliberately gone through the process known in railroading as "wrecking"—that is, have tried to use the municipal administration to promote schemes in which the city, as a city, has no special interest whatever. If the minority of the stockholders of a bank were to endeavor to

put into office a certain board of directors, in order that they might make heavy loans to political committees, or merely in order to show their own strength, they would soon stand in the public eye in the same moral, if not legal, position as the men who wrecked the Sixth National Bank. And yet it is difficult, from the moral point of view, to distinguish between such conduct as this and the conduct of the Republicans who at every mayoralty election, when they know they cannot succeed, persist in running a third candidate in order to exert influence on the Presidential election or on congressional legislation.

New York is, has been, and probably will remain for an indefinite period, a Democratic city. In so far as "Democratic" means the votes of the more ignorant of the population, of course this is to be regretted. I regret it as much as anybody. But it is a fact, and has to be dealt with as a fact. And there is another fact of the situation still more important than this—a fact which I think may be called unique as a political phenomenon; namely, that the ignorance and vice of the city have been organized in an association mainly for the purpose of plundering the municipal treasury and quartering a large body of shiftless people on the public service. But, fortunately for the city, this association does not contain a majority of the municipal voters, though it does contain a majority of Democratic voters.

But the minority of Democrats who are hostile to it and to its works and ways, and are willing to act against it, is considerable—considerable enough to put the association in a minority at city elections. These dissentient Democrats cannot be got to accept Republican nominations, no matter how good they are: this, too, is very regrettable. It would not be true if all Democrats were as intelligent and public-spirited as we should wish to see them. But it is a fact, and has to be dealt with as a fact. It has, therefore, to be taken into account by intelligent and honorable men, in providing the city with an administration, just as much as the liability of city houses to take fire. Municipal politics, like all other politics, is a practical art. It deals with men as they are, and not as we wish them to be. There is hardly one of us who, if he had the power of peopling New York anew, would not make an immense number of changes among its present inhabitants. But the problem before the wise and good is simply how to give the present inhabitants, such as they are, with all their

imperfections on their heads, the best attainable government. The lesson of experience on this point is that we should vote for the best candidate whom either Democratic faction puts up, and try to extract a good nomination from it by the promise or offer of this support. In nine cases out of ten this would give us as good a city government as we are, in the present condition of human nature, entitled to.

It would have given Mayors Grace and Hewitt overwhelming majorities in 1884 and 1888. They were elected, it is true, in its absence, and they began a process of filling city offices which, but for the Republican mistake in running a candidate in aid of General Harrison in 1888, would, in spite of some haltings, have gradually revolutionized the municipal service and established sound and probably permanent administrative traditions. As it was, this process put first-rate men at the head of the Board of Public Works and of the Health Board. It partially rescued the Excise Board from the liquor-dealers and considerably improved the Park Board; and had the large number of vacancies which have fallen into the hands of Tammany during the term of Mayor Grant been placed at the disposal of Mayor Hewitt, or of a man like him, we should have entered on the year 1891 with brighter municipal prospects than New York has known for fifty years.

But there can be no hope of permanent improvement in municipal business, any more than in any other business, until city elections are conducted for the sake of the city. Any business which is administered in the interest of some other business soon ends in bankruptcy. A dry-goods business managed with a view not to the sale of the dry goods, but the establishment of a newspaper, would not last very long. New York is too rich to be brought to insolvency. Great cities, when badly administered, cannot be sold and abolished; they simply become dirty, unhealthy, unsafe, disgraceful, and expensive. It is high time that this great municipal shame disappeared from among us, and deliverance ought not to be difficult, for we believe there is not a city in the Union in which the honest, well-meaning, orderly, and industrious voters are not in a large majority.

E. L. Godkin.

SIR CHARLES DILKE'S NEW BOOK.

BY THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

THE survey of mankind from China to Peru is a proverbially comprehensive operation. Sir Charles Dilke has undertaken to do more than this in the two volumes he has published under the title of "Problems of Greater Britain."

"Greater" than the mother-country in area several of her colonies are. Two of them at least will probably, in another half-century, equal her in population. But for our time, at all events, the United States of America form the only nation mainly of her blood and speaking her tongue which can accurately assume the adjective used by Sir Charles. "Larger" would be a better rendering of the sense of the author of the phrase. "Larger" than Britain are many of the countries over which the old union flag waves; "greater" they are not, unless area of landed possessions means that which has come to signify more than physical size.

A vast undertaking is Sir Charles Dilke's survey, and he has carried out his task with his usual painstaking conscientiousness. He has been everywhere. He has talked with all leading men on all important questions touching the present state and future of the countries he visited. He has even taken flying literary photographs of the statesmen of each community, and gives us their portraits as his mental camera caught them in the act of resisting assaults on their offices, or of themselves springing to grasp at power. They are seen in the glory of government and in the temporary shadow of opposition. Perhaps these likenesses are too quickly taken, and the impression recorded on the pages of the book may represent a momentary phase of their political character and action which may fade; and the page of a future history may show them in more permanent form. It is not to be denied that the pictures given are very graphic, and the author does his best to let us see not only the landscape of the country he describes,

but the very men who guide the various commonwealths. Nor is he neglectful of the brighter side of life. If politicians be mortal, he brings before us also the names and attributes of the immortals—the writers and poets who illustrate the life and times of the peoples.

In dealing with the human interests of the contests in the society of the day, he writes concisely and in a style that demonstrates the advantage the author has enjoyed of a long training in a useful political life at home. He can weigh the opinions presented to him, and compare them with experiences gained in Europe. His practical knowledge of the science of government enables him to appreciate to the full the advance made in English-speaking communities over sea in the solution of many problems regarding domestic administration and social comity. Colonists have often in these matters started from points of departure which the Englishman regards as the ultimate aim of his political ambition, and as a goal hardly to be reached in his generation. Having a blank sheet before them, they have been able to make experiments from which "use and wont," habit and custom, have hindered their stay-at-home fathers or brothers. In the new lands to which the emigrants went there could be no organized resistance to change in many matters where at home vested interests would have retarded or prevented alterations. Among the settlers there was, therefore, only the conservative sentiment to be reckoned with, and this, having no foundation in property, soon yielded.

Sir Charles Dilke has most interesting chapters on several of the questions which agitate English politics, and are discussed more or less in every civilized state. These often turn on interests that will not cease to agitate man wherever he may live and thrive, for thriving means increase, and increase cannot arise without conflict of interests, and the manifold friction that must come wherever there are numbers. Where there are numbers there will be need, and the survival of the fittest among ourselves is not accomplished without strife and cruelty and passion, any more than in the darker ages when the same struggle went on; but there was no newspaper reporter to record the reasons for the suppression of the weakest, or the lamentations or the sufferings that accompanied the toil of the strong and the tears of the feeble. Questions regarding labor in its relation to capital;

questions regarding free trade and the protection of industries by high tariffs on imported goods; questions of education and the part religious instruction bears; questions of the laws regulating the sale of alcoholic liquors; questions concerning the poor and of the disposal of emigrants,—all of these fall under his eye, and he writes about them with the brevity which is not born of any superficiality of treatment, but springs, rather, from the power of taking up only the salient points of a problem, so that few words go far, and illustrate the stage of the problem which, in its relation to the progress made elsewhere, shall give most instruction.

There is not anything affecting the welfare of the empire as a whole and of its component parts on which he has not something sensible and pertinent to say, and the outspokenness of his remarks is as valuable as the balanced judgment with which he submits them. It is now many years ago that the same author wrote his first book on these and kindred subjects, and the difference in tone is to be noted, especially in connection with the relations existing and likely to exist between the United States and Australia, and between the Americans of the Union and their friends and neighbors in British North America. It is gratifying to find that the ample scope that each nation has on the American continent to work out its destiny is recognized to the full, and that the old idea of enmity arising does not find any echo when he contemplates the condition of affairs at present.

He speaks very ably on the eastern question, as the continued advance of Russia towards our Indian Empire in connection with Russian designs in Turkey, must still be called. The problem of imperial defence in case of any general or long-continued war must always greatly hinge upon this matter, and the testimony he bears to the greater preparedness of the colonies to defend themselves in case of foreign attack shows what long steps have been taken in this direction since the date of his last book.

But for our cousins under the stars and stripes this general question does not present so immediate a topic of interest as does that which affects more nearly the course of trade and political relations between Canada and her southern neighbor. We all know that the prevalent belief in the States is that, although the time may not be very near, yet ultimately all Anglo Saxons in North America will range themselves under the banner of one huge republic. This idea is most sedulously fostered by a patri-

otic press in the States. But is it wise that the truth should thus be hidden away, and that to counteract such beliefs it should be held necessary at Ottawa to pass a unanimous vote through both houses of the Legislature expressing a desire of Canadians to live their national life without the aid of political connection with the Republic? Surely there is room enough and to spare for each. The existence of a political state to the north, apart from, but friendly to, the States, can never be a menace to any institutions loved and valued to the south of the imaginary line. If the South, with different domestic institutions, and possessing largely an element of alien blood, would have been a menace, no sensible and patriotic American can for one moment look upon Canada in any such light. She is not powerful enough to be other than a good neighbor, nor has she ever in modern history had any wish but a heartfelt desire for the prosperity of the Union, among whose citizens so many of her own are happily domiciled. Any conflict would be as bad as a civil war, and neither country has a tendency to repeat any experiences it may have gone through of that nature.

The absolute freedom enjoyed by the Canadians from any interference in their affairs on the part of the mother-country is the very antithesis to the fatal conduct pursued by George III.'s ministry in reference to the American colonies. The crowned republic of the north can depose a government whenever it suits it to do so, and need not wait four years before a policy is changed. The risks attendant on the connection with the parent state are very small, and where they exist a feeling to bear and to share them has always manifested itself at the first appearance of danger. Sir Charles observes that a great deal has been done to secure to the country a defensive force, but this force has been raised, and is gradually being strengthened by the superior training of officers and men; not from any apprehension of attack from the south, but because it is deemed to be only consistent with the dignity of a gay nation that the military tastes among her youth should be allowed to flow in the legitimate channel which is afforded by annual camps and rifle-matches. It is the same spirit which keeps alive the militia of each State in the Union, and it would be as reasonable to argue that the militia of Ohio is a threat to the citizen soldiery of a neighboring commonwealth as to suppose that Canada's militia deems an attack to be possible from that of New York. It is also because Canada intends to bear her part

in furnishing the proper quota for the defence of the whole of the glorious empire to which she has always been freely and honorably linked that she enrolls her manhood under the flag that recalls to her that she "too is heir of Runnymede, and Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed are not alone her mother's."

It is good for all concerned that these things should be as widely known as possible, and it is a very doubtful species of patriotism that bids the "enterprising journalist" of the States suppress the proof of it, and admit to the columns of his newspaper paragraphs totally unwarranted by fact, and sent to the editor by some "sorehead" who deems the sincerest flattery to a great neighbor to lie in the act of forwarding what amount to calumnies of the people among whom he may have found a home or temporary abode in the north.

Our author says:

"That Canada has a prosperous future before her there can be no doubt. Of all the lands under a temperate climate to which British emigrants can go, North America is by far the most accessible. The emigrants are still too few, but they soon multiply, for Canada produces men on the scale on which she produces timber, and the Canadian population increases by natural growth at a wonderfully rapid rate. Of 5,000,000 of people in Canada, 4,000,000 are native-born; a very different state of things from that existing in Australia."

This fact is one bearing on the growth of a national spirit—the growth of a nation sheltering itself under the free alliance with the mother-land until able to call the connection that which it now is in all but in name—an independent alliance. If wrong had been done, that alliance would not now be sought, and the pride in the founding of a new nation is one that will bear her onward in the path that she has chosen. Budget statements show what an increase of wealth is slowly accruing, and the opening-up of the prairie country in the west, and the piercing of the Rocky Mountains and of the Alpine chains lying to the west of them by the Pacific Railway, have given the country good harbors on the Pacific, and the certainty of a fair share in the commerce coming from Asia.

The old rivalry between the English and the French races always exists, but the French section can be counted as a solid gain, for they are too much in love with the privileges granted to them to desire any other alliance than that which has secured to them their "institutions, tongue, and laws." The French element are not only free from interference with the customs handed down

to them from their ancestors, but they exercise a notable weight in the national councils, and no less than three of the federal cabinet ministers are usually direct representatives in each government of the aspirations of their more immediate countrymen. In the same way the leading constituents among the people are, generally, specially represented in the cabinet, so that every considerable section of the country can make its desires known in the "inner circle."

"The tone of politics," says Sir Charles, "is, on the whole, higher in Canada than in the United States, and there is less abstention from politics among some of the best men than is the case across the border." It is true, as he says, that,

"generally speaking, the main difference between the Canadian Constitution and that of the United States is that in the newer confederation the central power is far stronger as compared with the Provincial legislatures and executives. . . . Mr. Goldwin Smith asks what confederation has done for Canada, and I cannot but think that the very existence of Canada at the present day as a powerful self-governing community is an answer. . . . Canadian confederation is declared by Sir Henry Parkes [of New South Wales] to be the model on which the future institutions of the British States of Australia are to be built up."

Again:

"Canada has successfully passed through the 'birth crisis' in which Australia finds herself at the present time. It is a commonplace of political discussion in the British colonies of the South Seas that separatist feeling must spring up as the population becomes less and less British-born and more and more Australian-born; . . . but in Canada the population has become Canadian to a far greater extent than the population of the most Australian colonies is Australian. The British-born English and Scotch element in Canada is extremely small as compared with that in Queensland or in New South Wales; but Canada, owing, I think, to the success of federal institutions, is, in spite of the neighborhood of a rival and attractive English-speaking power, less separatist in feeling than is young Australia. The effect of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been great in knitting together the various portions of the Dominion. . . . Although the success of Canadian confederation, considering the difficulties of race, of religion, and of geographical conformation, has been as remarkable as that of the Swiss Confederation, Canada should imitate Switzerland in another matter if she wishes to remain a self-respecting and independent power, and should bring her brave citizen soldiery into a condition more closely resembling that of the Swiss in number and training."

It is a fact, and may be held by some of your readers to denote the "contrariety" of the northern mind, that the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty which has for many years existed between the United States and Canada, to the great advantage of both, has been a material factor in the increase of confidence among Canadians in their power to stand alone. That treaty allowed a comparatively free exchange of goods across the border, and the cessation of the liberty led largely to the popularity of the Cana-

dian national policy, which has created a vast number of manufactories throughout the provinces. The increase in such establishments in the older provinces has been most marked, and Manitoba is rapidly following their lead, and is founding factories that will supply the needs of the Northwest.

"The majority of the present Dominion Opposition," says our author, "are in favor of commercial union between Canada and the United States, but not in favor of political union. Commercial union, of course, implies Free Trade in favor of a nation under another flag, and differential duties as against the mother-country. There are obvious drawbacks to the adoption of this policy, but so difficult is a permanent continuance of the present state of things, if Canada refuses to provide adequately for her defence, that it is possible that people in the mother-country might resign themselves to this curious and anamalous arrangement.

As to political union, "it may be said at once that the Liberal Opposition at Ottawa repudiate the idea" (as, of course, does the government), and there is "but a small section of the electorate who are open advocates of annexation or absortion by the United States. . . . In the case of annexation or absorption, the democracy of Ontario would have but little weight at Washington, while under the existing system it is dominant at Ottawa. . . . The power of the President and the absence of Ministerial responsibility to Congress are . . . not regarded with favor."

He continues: "It would not appear that across the border there is any strong feeling in favor of annexation"; and it may be added that any such policy in Canada is at once regarded at any election as an absolute bar to the success of any candidate who may espouse such sentiments. Nay, more, there is no doubt that the partial espousal of the cry of "imperial federation" would not have had half the success it has had, were it not that it is considered as a protest against any scheme that would lead, however remotely, to a diminution of the independent position now occupied by Canada. Some men speak as if the empire would "burst up" if some great scheme of general and close federation be not soon adopted; but there is a middle way, and one that will probably be adopted—namely, the securing of the defence of each portion of the empire; the adoption of means of more intimate intercourse between the leading men; the taking in hand by common consent of the expressed wishes of each member of the empire; and the furtherance of arrangements in regard to commercial intercourse between the various large sections, whose leaders have common ideas regarding the good of a certain amount of protection for the encouragement of indus-

tries, where these have not been planted under conditions of freedom from an overawing competition by older and richer companies.

These considerations can only interest Americans who take a wider interest in the future of Anglo-Saxon communities than can be embraced by a mere consideration of British-American relations. The lesson, however, that was first taught to Britain by her American subjects—namely, that nothing should be done without their concurrence and consent—is a lesson that has been gratefully learned and taken to heart by the statesmen of the old country.

"It seems of little use," says Sir Charles, "to discuss the details of schemes for the future government of the Empire, involving a closer connection between the mother-country and the colonies than that which exists at present, unless colonial feeling generally would tolerate an attempt to draw more taut the ties that bind the component parts of the Empire to one another. . . . It has been shown [in my work] that many of the leading colonists and distinguished politicians that Greater Britain has produced are in favor of Imperial Federation; but it has been seen that some of the communities they represent on other questions seem on this one disinclined to follow their lead, and that in the last two years there has been in the eastern Australian colonies a marked change in the direction of opposition to the idea of Imperial Federation."

It is probable—nay, certain—that in this sentence too much stress is laid on a passing phase of feeling, which may have shown a reaction following on the energetic initiative which sent a regiment to fight in the Soudan. The Soudan was not popular in Britain itself. Yet Australia, owing to the amount of trade that passes through the Suez Canal, was interested in British power in the Red Sea. Such changes of popular sentiment in regard to wars will always take place, and their influence is not permanent.

We may see from the memoirs of Lord Albemarle that the soldiers who fought and conquered Napoleon at Waterloo were coldly received on their return to England, simply because the English people were for the moment tired of the war, and apathetic because it had lasted so long. And yet no one would draw from this circumstance an augury that the British people would never be ready to fight another Waterloo. It may be safely asserted that whenever the old country is hard-pressed there will arise in her support a feeling among the colonies that would make them proud to share in a dozen Waterloos. It would be a dangerous game for any power to "twist the old lion's tail" too severely. They who are furthest removed from temporary causes of discontent connected with her domestic politics would be the first in the field to avert the extinction of her power. Robert Peel said of

Lord Palmerston when most opposed to him: "We are all proud of him." Just so would hundreds of thousands say, "We are all proud of her," if the old mother-land should suffer serious peril.

I believe that a very large contingent of those who would come to her aid would come from the United States, just as a formidable Canadian contingent would be glad to fight, as they did fight the battles of the United States in the war of 1860—'64. "Blood is thicker than water" is an axiom that is more enduring even than "Trade follows the flag." When, as in the case of Canada, the strain of blood brings with it memories of heroic sacrifices endured for principle and faith, any flight from loyalty to these motives of action becomes a treason to the highest inspirations of human conduct. We are the honored friends of the Americans because we respect them and believe that they respect us.

Sir Charles Dilke, a Liberal in British politics, and a man not inclined to give tradition too much reverence, shows himself in this book as faithful a patriot as he is a skilful writer and observer, and it is best for his American friends to note that he "goes solid" for empire, and has as redoubtable a sense of the great future awaiting a union of the commonwealths under the British crown as the strongest Tory squire in green England itself. His travel and intercourse with our colonists have made him an Imperial-Federationist in the best sense—namely, that of inculcating in his countrymen a wish to know the desires of their fellow-citizens over sea, and to bid them "take occasion by the hand to make the bounds of freedom wider yet."

Americans at least will not grudge us the belief that those wide realms of liberty are not unfitly symbolized by the flag which preserves to us the memories alike of those centuries when they and we were one people, and of those more recent times when our progress was hailed with sympathy by the sons whose destiny had bade them separate from us. Just as in the Samoa hurricane the progress of the "Calliope" against the storm was greeted by the cheers of the American sailors, so will our path against dangers be watched with a fellow-feeling by the great mass of the noble American nation, of whom it is our proudest boast that they have sprung from the same ancestors, and are working out a kindred future of good to all minkind. We shall not allow any "red herring" of small fishery discord to be dragged across that trail.

LORNE.

A CHAT ABOUT GARDENS.

BY OUIDA.

In the charming essay called "Caxtoniana" there is a passage on gardens which is supremely true, and which reminds us that whoever has a garden has one chamber roofed by heaven in which the poet and philosopher can feel at home. This passage was written beside a bay-window opening on the stately and beautiful gardens of the great author's home: to few is it given to possess such; but of any garden a certain little kingdom may be made, be it only green enough and well removed from city noise. Even within cities little gardens, such as may be seen in the Faubourg St. Martin and the Marais, where population is poorest and densest, may be charmingly pretty and a great solace to those who care for and look on them; and it is these little nooks and corners of gardens which give so much of its joyous and glad aspect to the whole of Paris. The great beauty of Rome (now since the Italian occupation irrevocably destroyed) was in the gardens—the large, shadowy, noble, antique gardens, with the embalmed breath of the past on their air, and the eternal youth of their flowers running wild over funeral sepulchre and fortress wall. It is their gardens which make the ancient cities and towns of Belgium so full of repose, of friendliness, of the calm of nature and the romance of history. Public gardens, like public parks, may be beautiful, useful, health-giving, pleasure-giving; but still they must ever be public gardens: it is the private gardens, the green places dedicated to thought and to affection, which alone are lovable, and which alone make a home possible, even amidst the net-work of crowded streets.

It would be difficult for a Thoreau or a Wordsworth, for Alfred Austin or for Alphonse Karr, to find much pleasure in a public garden even historic as that of the Luxembourg, wondrous

as those of the East, or beautiful as that of the Borghese in Rome or the English garden of Munich. Wherever intrusion is possible, and any movement other than that of birds is heard, we have no garden in the fullest, sweetest sense of the word. The lover of his garden is inevitably and essentially exclusive. He must be so, or the magic charm of his domain is gone. It may be a tiny plot fenced round by a privet or box hedge, or it may be stately pleasaunces walled in by clipped yew and gay terraces; but it must be his alone; his to wander in, to cherish, to dream through, undisturbed. A public garden is a valuable pleasure-ground for a city; but is no more a garden "roofed by heaven," in Lord Lytton's sense of the word, than life in a hotel and at a *table d'hôte* is a home.

Gardens tend sadly to become more and more artificial with the ever-increasing artificiality of an age which, whilst demanding nature from its art and literature, becomes itself, with every breath it draws, farther and farther removed from nature. The great gardens of great houses in England, esteemed the finest gardens in the world, are spoiled for those who love them by the innumerable gardeners, by the endless and overdone sweeping and cleaning and clipping and pruning. A garden, like a woman, may be too neat, *trop parée*. The remorseless brooms and barrows in autumn trundle away all the lovely carpet of golden and crimson leaves, and deprive the nightingales, when they come in spring, of their favorite and most necessary retreat. Sweep the paths, if you will, though even they need not be swept as smooth as a billiard-table; but to sweep and clear away the leaves from under the shrubberies and from about the roots of trees is a fatal error, most destructive to the trees themselves.

"Corisande's garden," in "Lothair," is the ideal garden; and it is pathetic to think that, as an ideal, it was given to the world by one esteemed of all men the coldest and most world-hardened. But Disraeli had a warm and enduring devotion to flowers in his nature, and their loveliness and innocence and "breath of heaven" never failed to touch the soul which slumbered behind that glittering, artificial, and merciless intelligence. He rightly abhorred the elaborately-patterned beds, the dazzling assorted colors, the formal mosaic of hues, in which the modern gardener delights. All the sweet-smelling, and what are now called old-fashioned, flowers are hustled out of the way by the bedding-out system and the

present craze for geometrical arrangement. Numbers of delicious flowers which were dear to the heart of Herrick, fragrant, homely, kindly, hardy things, have been banished almost out of all knowledge, that the pelargonium, the dahlia, the calceolaria, the coleus, and various other scentless but fashionable flowers may fill group and border. It is a mistake. Even the petunia and the dwarf datura, though so sweet at sunset, cannot give such fragrance as will yield the humble favorites of yore—the musk-plants, the clove-pinks, the lavender, the lemon-thyme, the moss-rose, the mignonette, and many another sweet and simple plant which is rarely now seen out of cottage gardens.

Educated taste will spend large sums of money on odontoglossom and orchid, whilst it will not glance perhaps once in a lifetime at the ruby spots on the cowslip bells and the lovely lilac or laburnum flowers blowing in a wild west wind. It will be a sorry day for the flowers and the nation when the cottage gardens of England disappear and leave the frightful villa garden and the painfully mathematical allotment field alone in their stead. An English cottage, such as Creswick and Constable, as old Crome and David Cox saw and knew them, and as they may still be seen, with roses clambering to the eaves, and bees humming in the southern-wood and sweetbriar, and red and white carnations growing beside the balsam and the dragon's-mouth, is a delicious rural study still linked in memory with foaming syllabub and ruddy cherries, and honey-comb yellow as amber, with the plaintive bleating of new-born lambs sounding beyond the garden coppice. Who that knows England has not some such picture—nay, a hundred such pictures—in his recollection ?

And it is in these gardens that Shakespeare's, Milton's, Ben Jonson's "posies" may still be gathered ; every flower and floweret of them still known by such names as Ophelia and Perdita gave them. Even in winter they are not wholly dreary or colorless ; for there are their holly-bushes, their hellebore, their rosethorn, their hepatica, and their snowdrops to enliven them. In these times, when all the "realism" of the lives of the poor is considered to lie in squalor, famine, crime, drunkenness, and envy, it is pleasant to know that such cottage gardens as these are still extant, though no longer frequent, in the land of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and that often behind the door where the climbing white rose mounts to meet the thatch there are still

good humor, thrift, cheerfulness, and cleanliness to be found in company with that manful content in existing circumstances which is the only form of durable happiness or solid virtue.

Children should never be allowed to pluck flowers, even in the fields and hedges, merely to throw them aside: they should be early taught reverence for this floral beauty which is around them, and never be permitted wantonly to break down boughs and branches, or fill their laps with buttercups and daisies only to leave them withered in the sun, discarded and forgotten. To teach the small child to care for flowers, to place them tenderly in water when gathered, and cherish them carefully in his nursery, is not only to give him a valuable moral lesson, but to lead him also to a taste and feeling which will give him, when he grows to manhood, many glad and innocent hours, and render him thoughtful and sympathetic when he deals with those sensitive-plants, the souls of women.

A love for flowers indicates the quickness of imagination and the delicacy of sentiment of those in whom it is strong. It will also be almost always accompanied by a feeling for all other kinds of natural beauty and woodland life. It would be difficult to love the rose without loving the nightingale, or cherish the hawthorn without caring for the birds that build in it. The fatal tendency of modern life is to replace natural by artificial beauty, where beauty is not driven out of the way altogether. Every child who is led to feel the loveliness of the water-lily lying on the green pond-water, or of the wild hyacinth growing in the home-wood grasses, will, as he grows up, lend his influence and his example to the preservation of all rural and sylvan loveliness.

In the great world, and in the rich world, flowers are wasted with painful prodigality. The thousands and tens of thousands of flowers which die to decorate a single ball or reception are a sad sight to those who love them. "The rooms look well to-night," is the utmost that is ever said after all this waste of blossom and fragrance. It is waste, because scarcely a glance is bestowed on them, and the myriad of roses which cover the walls do not effectively make more impression on the eye than the original silk or satin wall-hanging which they momentarily replace. Growing plants may be used in thousands for decoration without waste, but the inordinate display of cut flowers is a pitiable destruction of which scarcely one guest in fifty is sensible. In bowls and baskets and

jars, cut flowers can live out their natural space ; but on walls, or impaled on wires, they are soon faded and yellow, and the ball-room in the morning is as melancholy a parable of the brevity of pleasure as any moralist could desire.

Church decoration is not a whit better ; flowers are wantonly sacrificed to it, as in the winter the birds are starved through it for need of the evergreen berries torn down in woods and gardens to adorn the altars of men. The numbers of dead birds found in frost and snow on moor and field have increased enormously with the increase in church decoration. A sheaf of grain hung up for the seed-eating birds in winter, with some trays of meal-worms set on the ground for the insectivorous birds, would be a more useful form of piety than the cartloads of branches and the garlands of berries given to church and cathedral. A single flower, if taken care of in winter, will gladden the eyes of an invalid or cripple for days ; with care and thought for it a bunch of cut flowers, if cut at sunrise with the dew upon them, will live the week out in water in any cool weather.

The young should be led to cherish their flowers as wisely as, and more tenderly than, they cherish their gold or silver pieces in their money-boxes. The exquisite beauty of even the humblest blossom can only be appreciated by the eyes which gaze on it with attention and affection. If the wild thyme, or the shepherd's purse, or the cuckoo's eye, or any one of the tiny blossoms of the sward and hedge-row were but as rare as sapphires are, the whole world would quarrel for them; but nature has sown these little treasures broadcast with lavish hand, and scarcely any one is grateful.

Botany may be well in its way ; but incomparably better is the practical knowledge of how to make flowers grow, and infinitely better still is the tenderness which turns aside not to tread on the wild flower in the path, not to needlessly disturb the finch's nest in the blossoming broom. Of all emotions which give the nature capable of it the purest and longest-lived pleasure, the sense of the beauty of natural things is the one which costs least pain in its indulgence, and most refines and elevates the character. The garden, the meadow, the wood, the orchard, are the schools in which this appreciative faculty is cultured most easily and enjoyably. Dostoïevsky may find food for it on the desolate steppe, and Burns in the dreary ploughed furrow ; but to do this, genius

must exist in the man who feels: it is to the ordinary sensibilities, the medium mind, the character which is malleable, but in no way unusual, that this training of the eye and of the heart is necessary; and for this training there is no school so happy and so useful as a garden.

All children, or nearly all, take instinctive delight in gardens: it is very easy to make this delight not merely an instinctive, but an intelligent one; very easy to make the arrival of the first crocus, the observation of the wren's nest in the ivy hedge, of the perennial wonders of frost and of sunshine, of the death and the resurrection of nature, of the deepest interest to a young mind athirst for marvels. Then what greater joy and triumph does the world hold than these of the child gardener with his first bouquet of roses, his first basket of water-cress, his first handful of sweet peas! His garden, if he be taught to care for it in the right way, will be an unceasing happiness to him; he will not grudge the birds a share of his cherries, for he will value too well the songs they sing to him; he will breathe in the fresh homely balm of the dewy sweet herbs, the wet flower borders, and he will draw in health and vigor with every breath; and if he reads his fairy stories and his lays of chivalry under the blossoming limes, poetry and history will keep for him in all after time something of his first garden's grace, something of the charm of a summer playtime.

If we did not know it as a fact, we should infer from the whole tenor of the verse of Tennyson that green old gardens, deep in their shade and placid in their beauty, had been about him all his life from infancy. The garden is a little pleasaunce of the soul, by whose wicket the world can be shut out from us. In the garden something of the Golden Age still lingers; in the warm alleys where the bees hum above the lilies and the stocks, in the blue shadows where the azure butterflies look dark, in the amber haze where the lime leaves and the acacia flowers wave joyously as the west wind passes.

The true lover of a garden counts time and seasons by his flowers. His calendar is the shepherd's calendar. He will remember all the events of his years by the trees or plants which were in blossom when they happened. "The acacias were in flower when we heard . . . ," or "the hawthorns were all out when we saw . . . ," he will say to himself, if not to others; and

no lovers are happier or more spiritually lovers than those whose sweetest words have been spoken in a garden, and who have fancy and feeling enough to associate their mute companions in memory with their remembered joys. No love can altogether die which comes back upon remembrance with every golden tuft of daffodil or every garland of growing honeysuckle. It is the garden scene in "Faust," it is the garden scene in "Romeo and Juliet," which embody passion in its fullest and its fairest hours.

OUIDA.

THE VALUE OF PROTECTION.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM M'KINLEY, JR., REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM OHIO.

WE SHALL have tariffs so long as we have a government. We can only dispense with them by resorting to direct taxation, and it is hardly probable that the people of this country will ever consent to that system exclusively for raising the needed revenues of the government. Whatever may be our opinions of either a "tariff for revenue only" or a tariff for revenue coupled with "protection," the great majority of our people will probably always prefer the one or the other for raising revenue to taxing directly our own products, our own industries, and our own people. The government inaugurated the tariff system in its first revenue bill, and no considerable party in this country has ever sought to change it.

In the discussion of these theories of external taxation we are prone to forget that the one or the other is a necessity. No government can be administered without an assured annual income, and there is no way of securing this income save by resorting to the taxing power conferred upon Congress by the Constitution of the United States. It may be an evil, but if so, it is a necessary one, and inseparable from the existence of government.

It requires about $400,000,000 annually to meet the fiscal requirements of the government. That is the condition which confronts us. The way to raise this money with the least burden upon the people is the problem of the statesman and legislator. It would not do in time of peace to issue the notes of the government, and thus create a charge upon the people, making no provision for their payment. It would not do to restore the internal-revenue system as it prevailed through the war and for some years subsequent thereto, when everything was taxed—every tool of trade, every article of commerce, every legal document, every check or note or instrument of writing, every profession, every

income. The people would not stand that long. They bore it patiently and patriotically under a great national necessity. They bore it that the government might be preserved and its institutions continued, just as they had borne similar taxation at two other periods of our history which were similar in their necessities.

It must be manifest, therefore, that the largest share of the needed income must be raised by tariff taxation or import duties. Indeed, the predominating sentiment of the country is that the whole of it should be provided in that manner. In answer to this sentiment Congress has, from time to time, been chipping away the internal-revenue taxes; and in the bill now before the House it is proposed to remove more than $10,000,000 of these taxes. And whatever may be said of any other system of taxation, it is thoroughly well understood that all internal-revenue taxes are paid directly by the consumers, and are a direct burden upon our own people and their occupations.

In this situation the sole question at issue between the two great political parties of the country is whether our income shall be secured from a tariff levied upon foreign products seeking a market here, having in view revenue, and revenue only, or whether, in securing this revenue and imposing these tariffs upon foreign imports, we shall be mindful not alone of the revenue produced by such duties and required for the government, but shall see to it that duties are so levied as to be a protection and defence to our own industries against competing industries. That is (as we all agree to impose duties upon foreign products), shall they be imposed upon rival foreign products, which the advocates of protection insist shall bear them? or shall they be imposed upon products that are not rivals of our own and that do not compete with our own, which is the theory and principle upon which revenue tariffs are constructed?

If revenue is the sole consideration, then the surest and most direct way is to put the duty upon those articles of foreign manufacture and production which, with a small and inconsiderable tax, will produce the largest volume of revenue; meaning, of course, those articles that we either do not produce at all or in such small measure as to fall greatly short of our domestic wants. This, it will be seen, is no better than a system of direct taxation,

no less onerous than the internal-revenue system; for if the duty is put upon the non-competing foreign products, the consumers in the United States will pay every dollar of that tax, because, as there is no competition at home, the price of such foreign products to the American consumer will be the foreign price with the duty added. We would secure the revenue, but we would pay it wholly ourselves. A revenue tariff is always paid by the consumer. We would secure the revenue for a time, but, in placing the duty upon the non-competing foreign product, we would give no encouragement or protection to any home industry, for we have practically none, and it is for this reason that revenues are assured with the smallest tax; for these revenues will always be measured by the demand of our people for such foreign articles as we cannot produce at home, limited only by our ability to buy. I repeat, this mode of taxation is just as objectionable as the most burdensome excise tax.

Is it not better, therefore, I submit, that the income of the government shall be secured by putting a tax or a duty upon foreign products, and at the same time carefully providing that such duties shall be on products of foreign growth and manufacture which compete with like products of home growth and manufacture, so that, while we are raising all the revenues needed by the government, we shall do it with a discriminating regard for our own people, their products, and their employments? Such a tariff stands as a defence to our own productions, as a discrimination in favor of our own and against the foreign, and as an encouragement to productive enterprises, besides securing a healthful competition not only among ourselves, but between ourselves and foreign producers, tending to prevent combinations and monopolies, and eventuating in fair and reasonable prices to our own consumers. This is impossible under the Democratic revenue-tariff system.

Cardinal Manning says in a recent article:

"If the great end of life were to multiply yards of cloth and cotton twist, and if the glory of England consists or consisted in multiplying without stint or limit these articles and the like at the lowest possible price, so as to undersell all the nations of the world, well, then let us go on. But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers, be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred, far beyond anything that can be sold in the market, then I say, if the hours of labor resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the

neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden?—I will not say any other word—who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied and able only to take food and lie down to rest, the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.

"I will ask, is it possible for a child to be educated who becomes a daily wage-earner at ten or even twelve years of age? Is it possible for a child in the agricultural districts to be educated who may be sent out into the fields at nine? I will ask, can a woman be the mother and head of a family who works sixty hours a week? You may know better than I, but bear with me if I say I do not understand how a woman can train her children in the hours after they come home from school if she works all day in a factory. The children come home at 4 and 5 in the afternoon; there is no mother in the house. I do not know how she can either clothe them, or train them, or watch over them, when her time is given to labor for sixty hours a week."

Never was more truth crowded into the same space. It presents the situation in a most striking manner. If the great end of life be to multiply commodities at the lowest price, at the expense of labor, then the British system surpasses ours; then does it become the ideal system, and the Democratic party is wise in adopting it. But there are other considerations higher and deeper than cheap fabrics, when made so by the degradation of human labor. We must take into account the family and the fireside. We must have more concern for the man, for his welfare, his improvement and development, the enlargement of his opportunities, inspiring him to greater effort in the confidence of increasing rewards. These conditions will ultimately secure cheaper commodities, not through harsh and unnatural exactions placed upon labor, but through that skill and craft and invention which are the sure outcome of intelligent, thoughtful, independent, and well-paid labor.

The mind will not invent, will not discover, new and better and more economical processes and methods of production, if the body is used as a mere "creature of burden." If the body is enslaved, the mind cannot be free.

Now, whatever system will bring the largest liberty to the masses of our countrymen, the largest independence to the workman, the highest incentive to manual and intellectual effort, the better comforts and the more refining environments to the family, cannot be dear at any price. It must be conceded that the protective system has accomplished much in this direction; certainly more than any other system. It has dignified and elevated labor; it has made all things possible to the man who works industriously and cares for what he earns; it has opened

to him every gateway to opportunity. We observe its triumphs on every hand: we see the mechanic become the manufacturer, the workman the proprietor, the employee the employer. It does not stifle, but it encourages, manly effort and endeavor. Is this not worth something? Is it not worth everything? Especially in a country like ours, where the government is founded upon the consent of the governed, where citizenship is equal, and suffrage without limit, is it not our plain duty to educate, improve, and elevate our citizenship, which is indispensable to the peace and good order of our communities, and the permanence of our institutions? And the system which secures these advantages in a larger degree than any other, as experience has demonstrated, is the protective system.

The Democratic free-trade Tariff-Reformers cry out against this system as narrow and restrictive. The formation of government anywhere is narrow and restrictive: otherwise there would be no occasion for separate governments. But the system in itself is neither narrow nor restrictive. It is free—freer than the fiscal system of any other government as applied to its own people. It is unrestrained throughout forty States and all the territories; it extends from ocean to ocean. No other nation has such freedom of international exchange as ours. No other people have so few restraints placed upon their commerce, their trade, and their labor. The Free-Trader wants the world to enjoy with our own citizens equal benefits of trade in the United States. The Republican Protectionist would give the first chances to our people, and would so levy duties upon the products of other nations as to discriminate in favor of our own. The Democratic party would make no distinction; it would serve the alien and the stranger: the Republican party would serve the State and our own fellow-citizens.

Both of these systems have been tried in the United States; each has had a fair test and equal opportunity to vindicate its value as a national policy.

The revenue-tariff system has wholly failed to give to the government or the people satisfactory results. It was not even satisfactory as a financial system in securing the needed revenue. It failed at the end of its last fifteen years of trial, between 1847 and and 1861, to furnish sufficient revenue for the government; and as a measure affecting the development of our country and the

opening up of its vast resources, it was a failure from its inauguration. It did not even benefit agriculture, which it was thought it would greatly stimulate. The world's markets, which were to be opened up by this policy to our agricultural products, proved a disappointment to the authors of the policy and disastrous to the very interests it was intended to promote. It neither extended our trade abroad nor supplied the needed revenue, and was positively destructive of domestic manufactures.

Nearly thirty years of trial of the system of protection with its marvellous achievements ought to be answer enough to the criticisms of its enemies. It has developed our own resources; it has built up a commerce among ourselves without a parallel in our own history or in the recorded annals of the world; while our trade outside has been growing, and was never so great or so satisfactory as it is to-day.

Not only does our own experience commend protection as a national policy, but also the experience of the British colonies which have adopted it.

Sir Charles Dilke, in his work "Problems of Greater Britain," —himself a Free-Trader,—frankly confesses that it is not easy for a Free-Trader to give a perfectly fair statement of the facts bearing upon colonial protection without himself being thought to be an apostate. The distinguished author, in his earlier work, "Great Britain," noted the growing strength of the doctrine of protection in the colonies. In his new work he now adds that

"since that time the whole of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain, except New South Wales and the Cape (South Africa), have become protectionist, while the Cape has heavy duties upon most goods, put on, however, mainly for revenue purposes, but now beginning to give rise to a growth of protectionist opinion; and in New South Wales the Free-Traders hold their own only by a bare majority."

Sir Charles further says that it cannot be denied that the effect in the provinces of the Victorian protective system has been to enable the colony to gradually supply its wants with a better class of home-made goods, instead of importing them.

Speaking of Canada, he says: "There can be but little doubt about the general popularity of the protective system in Canada, and Sir John Macdonald's long possession of power has been facilitated by his adoption of the so-called national policy," which, on Sir Charles Dilke's own admission, "has caused Canadian manufacturers to win the greater portion of the Canadian market"; and he also states that the wealth of Canada has

been more rapid since the adoption of the protectionist policy than before.

On the 12th of May, 1887, in the Commons, Sir Charles Tupper, in speaking of a previous period in the history of Canada under free trade, said:

"When the languishing industries of Canada embarrassed the finance minister of that day, when, instead of large surplus, large deficits succeeded year after year, the opposition urged upon that honorable gentleman that he should endeavor to give increased protection to the industries of Canada, which would prevent them from thus languishing and being destroyed. We were not successful,—I will not say in leading the honorable gentleman himself to the conclusion that that would be a sound policy, for I have some reason to believe that he had many a misgiving on that question,—but, at all events, we were not able to change the policy of the gentleman who then ruled the destinies of Canada. As is well known, that became the great issue at the subsequent general election of 1878, and the Conservative party being returned to power, pledged to promote and foster the industries of Canada as far as they were able, brought down a policy through the hands of my honored predecessor, Sir Leonard Tilley, . . . and I have no hesitation in saying that the success of that policy, thus propounded and matured from time to time, has been such as to command the support and confidence of a large portion of the people of this country down to the present day."

In Germany, so long ago as the 14th of May, 1882, Bismarck, in a speech before the German Reichstag, paid to the Republican tariff high eulogy. He said:

"The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States."

Mulhall, the great London statistician, states that in 1860 our total wealth was estimated at $16,000,000,000: it is now estimated at over $60,000,000,000. In 1882 the same authority estimated the total wealth of Great Britain at $40,640,000,000. Mr. Mulhall sets forth our development and progress in these forcible words:

"It would be impossible to find in history a parallel to the progress of the United States in the last ten years. Every day that the sun rises upon the American people it sees an addition of two and one-half million dollars to the accumulation of wealth in the Republic, which is equal to one-third of the daily accumulation of all mankind outside the United States."

It is said that under the Republican policy exportations have been diminished, and our foreign trade crippled. This is not

sustained by facts. Free trade will not increase the exportation of our products. Exports are regulated by supply and demand. Other countries buy of us what they need—no more and no less. Tariffs imposed upon products coming into the country do not prevent the sending of products out of the country. They put no restraint upon foreign trade. From Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay, and the United States of Colombia we import to the value of $78,000,000 in round numbers, of which $72,000,000 is free of duty at our ports and $5,815,000 is subject to duty; 93 per cent. comes in free. We sell to these countries a little over $19,000,000, or about 25 per cent. of what we buy. In those countries to which we sell more than we buy nearly all the products bear a duty under our laws.

We sell to Europe $449,000,000 worth of products and we buy $208,000,000 worth. We sell to North America to the value of $9,645,000 and buy $5,182,000. We sell to South America $13,810,000 and buy $9,088,000. These statistics of the trade of the United States show that our tariffs do not prevent exchanges with countries whose products competing with ours are made dutiable, but evidence a healthy and profitable trade, with the balance of exchanges greatly in our favor.

There have been so many reckless statements about the Republican tariff policy, the burdens it imposes upon the people, and the restrictions it places upon trade, that any one not familiar with the history of tariff legislation in the United States might be led to think that we impose tariffs almost, if not quite, amounting to prohibition upon everything which comes into the United States.

A few facts will refute these unconsidered, but too commonly made and accepted, statements. Under the present tariff the imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, amounted to $741,431,393, of which $206,574,630 worth was admitted free of duty, and articles to the value of $484,431,398 were dutiable. The duties paid amounted to $218,701,773. The average percentage of the duties upon all the imports was less than 30 per cent.

Before 1820 nearly all our imports were dutiable; scarcely any were free; while in 1824 the proportion of free imports was less than 6 per cent.; in 1830, about 7 per cent.; in 1833, about 25 per cent.; and in 1842, about 27 per cent.; under the low

tariff of 1846 the imports admitted free of duty averaged only 12 per cent.; and under the adjustment of the tariff of 1857 the proportion of free imports rose to 18 per cent. During the period of the war it was even less than 18 per cent. The percentage of free imports from 1873 to 1883 was about 30 per cent., and under the tariff revision of 1883 it averaged 33 per cent.

It is said that the legislation proposed in the Fifty-first Congress is even more restrictive than any previous legislation, and that, if carried out, it will amount to little less than a "Chinese wall" around our coast line. The bill pending in the House, on the basis of last year's importations, places upon the free list imports to the value of $109,232,080, upon which the government last year collected in duties $60,936,536, which, added to the free imports of the last fiscal year, will amount to $366,806,710, and deducted from the dutiable imports of the last fiscal year reduces the value of the dutiable imports to $375,624,687.

The pending legislation, therefore, will make free, without restraint or burden, $366,806,710 in value of foreign products, and will diminish the dutiable importations from $484,431,398 to $375,624,687; which will make an average duty upon all importations of about 27 per cent., and a reduction of tariffs to the amount of about 10 per cent., instead of a large increase, as seems to be the popular impression. It will be seen, accordingly, that about 50 per cent.—on the basis of the importations of last year—will be free and 50 per cent. dutiable; while the proportion of free imports under the Mills Bill (had it become a law) would not have been greater than 40 per cent.

But I shall not further discuss the bill now pending in the House of Representatives. That is being done in the House by those charged with legislation. The bill, as the report avows, is framed in the interest of the people of the United States, for the better defence of their homes and their industries; and while securing the needed revenue, its provisions look alike to the occupations of our people, their comfort, and their welfare. It has been framed in response to the will of the people, as expressed at the polls in November, 1888; and if it shall become a law, it must be tried before the people, who, under our system of government, are, after all, the final arbiters of legislation and of policies.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

DO AMERICANS HATE ENGLAND?

BY COL. T. W. HIGGINSON, ANDREW CARNEGIE, MURAT HALSTEAD, GEN. HORACE PORTER, THE REV. ROBERT COLLYER, D.D., GEN. JAMES H. WILSON, AND M. W. HAZELTINE.

COTTON MATHER tells us that when the first large party of Puritan colonists had set sail from England for the Massachusetts Bay (May 13, 1629), their leader, the Reverend Francis Higginson, called his children and the passengers about him, as they left the Land's End behind them, and said: "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome! But we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there." The spirit of this tender good-bye has never, I think, died wholly out of American hearts, and surely not out of those of Francis Higginson's many descendants; and wherever this spirit remains, it is impossible that Americans should hate England. But it is quite possible that the very existence of such a feeling may make us more sensitive, more critical, perhaps even more suspicious; and that some things which look like irritability, or even vindictiveness, may really imply the presence, not the absence, of this lingering affection. After all, a common motherhood is a strong tie: *δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν ὁπλάγχνον.*

Yet even those Americans in whose veins the English blood flows with least of foreign admixture must admit that the mother-country has been, from the first, a stern parent to her children. When the Stamp Act was under discussion in the British Parliament and Charles Townshend had spoken of "these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence," he was promptly answered by Colonel Barré, who had fought under Wolfe at Quebec. "They planted by your care?" said Barré. "No, they were planted by your oppression. . . . They nourished by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect." It is this sense of unmotherly treatment, running

through nearly three centuries, which puts a bitter drop into what would otherwise be the kindly spirit of Americans as regards England. The long struggles of the colonial period, culminating in the Revolutionary War; the impressment of American seamen and the War of 1812, to which it led; the bitter, bitter alienation of the Civil War, when all educated England, after taunting us for years with tolerating slavery, turned and reproached us more bitterly for giving our very heart's blood to overthrow it,—all these, down to the very latest word of the London *Times* or *Saturday Review*, have simply prolonged into periods of peace that ungracious attitude which Barré described.

The result of all this is that whatever antagonism exists between Americans and Englishmen is generic, not individual; and one might almost say abstract rather than concrete. No one ever stated this distinction so admirably as Hawthorne when he wrote in his diary, nearly half a century ago: "If an Englishman were individually acquainted with all our twenty-five millions of Americans, and liked every one of them, and believed that each man of those millions was a Christian, honest, upright, and kind, he would doubt, despise, and hate them in the aggregate, however he might love them as individuals." The statement is too strongly put, doubtless, but it touches the precise point in the case; and Hawthorne might have added that the twenty-five—now sixty-five—millions of Americans have just the same curious mental habit. They do not dislike, much less hate, individual Englishmen; indeed, they are very apt to like them personally, and even—though this applies to a very limited circle only—to imitate them. What they dislike is that invisible and traditional Englishman who stands in their imagination for the race; something never to be seen or identified, and therefore never to be disproved; or, at best, but a dim and awful vision, as when Plato's archetypal man stalks through Milton's "Sylvarum Liber," having the semblance of humanity, but dwelling in some sphere of his own, or on the vast outskirts of the habitable world:

> "Sed quamlibet natura sit communior
> Tamen seorsus extat ad morem unius
> Et, mira, certo stringitur spatio loci."

You may meet any living man against whom you are prejudiced, and perhaps make friends with him; indeed, Charles Lamb maintained that no one could actually see a man and hate him. But

a well-settled aversion to a shadow is a thing insuperable; you can never touch hands.

The proof of this vague antagonism lies in the fact that every American visiting England finds himself constantly held up for comparison with an imaginary and typical being, whom neither he nor his English questioner has ever seen. His worst annoyance is in being praised, if at all, at the expense of his country. If he has an atom of color in his cheeks, if he does not speak very much through his nose, if he does not say "guess" at short intervals, he is sure to hear, first or last, from his tailor or his chambermaid, the pitying assurance: "You an American, sir? I give you my word of honor I never should have thought it." What does this imply but the assumed existence of some abstract and very undesirable American, as intangible as Plato's archetypal man, as remote from real vision as the conventional Englishman on the French stage? During my first week in London, many years ago, on going to breakfast with an eminent Englishman to whom I had letters, I found myself running the gantlet of three pairs of eyes, seen at different doors and windows, before my final reception, and learned at last by frank confession that the eyes belonged respectively to my host, my hostess, and my hostess's sister; and that they had all agreed, after a hasty consultation, that, whoever I was, I could not possibly be the American stranger who was to come to breakfast. What they had really expected—what uncouth monster or untamed child of the forest—what war-whoop on the doorstep—I never ascertained. Perhaps it was simply the surprise which Irving records as having been created by his first appearance in London—surprise at an American author's wielding a goose-quill with his fingers instead of wearing it in his hair.

It may be, after all, that this generic or collective aversion is, in a manner, nature's safeguard to secure freedom of development; to keep the younger race from being too much repressed by the elder, or the elder from being too much impaired and modified by the younger. There is certainly enough of the original vigor in both nations to make them respect honest differences of attitude or judgment. Lord Houghton once told me that the earlier American visitors in London, as Sumner and Ticknor, while recognized as most cultivated and agreeable men, were criticised as not having a sufficiently distinctive flavor of Americanism. In the same way

the educated American of to-day is apt to complain a little of the current literary society of London as not having a sufficiently distinctive English flavor, but as aiming to be rather Continental and meretricious; so as to suggest the remark of Heinrich Heine, sixty years ago, that the English were already seeking to be light and frivolous, and were endeavoring to creep into the monkey's skin which the French were gradually stripping off (*die Engländer leicht und frivol zu werden suchen, und in jene Affenhaut hineinkriechen die jetzt die Franzosen von sich abstreifen*). That he should have thus looked forward, in 1828, to the Oscar Wildes and Rider Haggards of the present day was surely a proof that, in laying aside much of Judaism, he had kept its gift of prophecy. It may be true, at any rate, that the more English the Englishman, and the more American the American, the better they will really esteem each other; and that their visible jealousies are only such as are often noticed in cousinly circles, where the essential kinship makes the trivial variations more exasperating. Keats said that he hated Englishmen, because they were the only men he knew: if we Americans sometimes grow impatient with them, it may be because they are really so near to ourselves that we never quite comprehend them.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

MR. SMITH'S article is interesting, but I think the title much too strong. Dislike of England would have been better. There is among adult Americans no hatred of England. With young America it is different. It has been said that every American is born reciting the Declaration of Independence. At any rate, he begins to recite it very early. This is his starting-point. Britain was the foe of his country, and there was "liberty in every blow" against her.

Youth likes stories of war, and the mother-country has been the foe in the serious wars of the child-land. The American youth of both sexes love Scotland, for they are reared upon Scott, and pity Ireland, for they have heard the story of her wrongs. England, therefore, unfortunately represents the sand-bag which Young America pummels. In my childhood, it was much the same in Scotland, which, like America, had to fight against England for its independence. Scotch lads are fed upon Wallace

and Bruce. If I was certain of anything then, it was that England was still the foe of Scotland, that every Englishman was a usurper, and that one Scotchman was equal to five Englishmen any day. I venture to say that such is the case with the Scotch lads of to-day, just as it is with the American lads; England is the sand-bag for both.

Young England does not have this feeling in regard to America, for the wars which meant everything to the one were only incidents in the history of the other; but Young England does entertain it toward France, for the serious wars of England have been with her. "The Frenchman" is the traditional foe of the young Englander. This is all very unfortunate, but a period cannot be fixed when this feeling against England will cease to affect the Young American. Mr. Smith thinks eighty years a long period for such influences to exist; but I doubt whether eight hundred years will suffice to displace the history of the Revolution and subsequent wars with England. I think these must of necessity remain the most attractive reading for the youth of America, and must affect their early impressions of England. This feeling passes away with age and education; and educated Americans who learn more and more what America owes to the great motherland respect and admire it more, and their affection for it steadily grows. As between England and America, of course, they are intensely American; but the depth of real feeling for England will be seen if ever any of the Continental powers succeed in seriously endangering that little island; which, however, we rejoice to say, is not likely to occur.

I do not believe that the American people would like to see the foot of a foreign invader planted upon the land of Shakespeare and Burns, or any race but the English-speaking one ruling there; or that they would rest quietly if any did. Mr. Smith should have given the name of the leading journal which said the other day that "the American people could not help rejoicing in any reverse that might befall England." I do not think this sentiment would be approved by any number of Americans. As between England and the brave Sudanese, or between England and Ireland, for instance, Yes. As between England and Russia, Germany, or even France, No. Mr. Smith should also ask the gentleman who wrote him to send a copy of the history book which said that the British government counterfeited the greenbacks for

the purpose of ruining the credit of the United States. It would command a high price as a curio.

Mr. Smith strikes the keynote when he distinguishes between the monarchial and aristocratic England of the past and the democratic England which is coming, and which has already come to so great an extent. The British monarchy and the aristocracy must hate the republic, just as republicans hate a monarchy. Why should they not? The republican idea robs them of their revenues and privileges, denounces their pretensions, and proves to the world every day that a privileged class is unnecessary. How should we expect a body of college professors, for instance, to regard with advantage a rival country which displaced them? How would a priesthood regard a country that succeeded without priests, or an iron-master a patent device which rendered iron unnecessary? Would any of these classes wish a theory success which led them all to exclaim, "Othello's occupation 's gone"? Every profession, every vocation, has an exaggerated estimate of its position and usefulness. All that Mr. Smith says about the people of England—the masses, not the classes—admiring America is true. I go farther; they love it. It is their model, and their loyalty to the cause of the Union when it needed friends should ever be held in grateful remembrance by the American people; Mr. Smith's name included, for he was a friend indeed. When Mr. Smith wrote that jealousy waits upon success, I thought that he was about to speak of the success of the Republic making England jealous; but he means that the success of England accounts for the jealousy of the American. Jealousy is not a fault of the American. It would be better, perhaps, if he had a trace of it in his composition. On the contrary, very few Americans appreciate at its full value the great success of England. They are too apt to think that no country is progressing but their own. Besides, a country that has in one century become the greatest manufacturing, commercial, and mining nation, and the wealthiest nation in the world, cannot well be jealous of the success of any other. Jealousy of England! the dear little thing! This is a new idea, and we must thank Mr. Smith for the suggestion. It gives us a laugh.

Mr. Smith devotes considerable attention to India, saying that an Indian Empire is the regular theme of Anglophobists. "They never mention it without giving utterance to burning words about

the oppression of the Hindoo." Having visited India, I know something about the Hindoos and Mohammedans and the Indian question in general; and this has given me quite an advantage, for the American is profoundly ignorant of the subject. It does not interest him in the slightest degree. I have not heard the British occupation of India referred to in America as a political question a dozen times in my life. The American has no feeling about India, except one of regret that England should be burdened with it. The very few who take an interest in the subject are with John Bright entirely upon this question. If they wished England ill, they would wish her to acquire another India. England's experience with her colonies has settled the colonial question here. The American has no love for colonies. If he ever permits any more territory to enter the Union, it will be coterminous.

Part of Mr. Smith's able paper is devoted to showing not why Americans should dislike England, but to giving reasons why England should dislike America. He asks:

"Is there any limit to the affronts which the American legislatures and Presidents may offer to Great Britain when they are in urgent need of the Irish vote? Is there no limit to the quiet sufferance of those affronts by a proud and powerful nation?"

I think Mr. Smith's residence in Canada must have put him out of touch here with English feeling upon this subject. The majority of the English people welcome these "affronts." The by-elections show that the cause of Ireland has won the hearts of the people. Every word of sympathy cabled from this side is accepted as testimony that the two democracies are in unison. The people of no other nation in the world resolve and protest so often against the actions of other governments. England is always protesting against something or other. Poland or Bulgaria, or Turkey is doing something which calls for the censure of England, and her numerous societies are continually lecturing other nations upon questions from the cause of "civil and religious liberty" up or down to "the proper observance of the Lord's Day." I regret these interferences of one country with the affairs of another, for I believe they injure more than benefit the best of causes. But the English people are very prone to speak their mind to their neighbors. The Republic has for its "affronts," therefore, a notorious example in the elder branch of the family. But that resolutions passed in favor of allowing Ireland to manage her home affairs as Canada does drive British emigration

to Australia which would otherwise come to our shores, is a surprise to us : it certainly cannot affect adversely the Irish emigration, and we find that the English and Scotch emigration is, proportionately, greatly increased. Even that going directly to Canada usually finds its way to us across the border. Mr. Smith must be wrong upon this point. In the same paragraph he tells us how British Canadians love the mother-country, which has never wilfully given cause of complaint, and they take hostility to her as hostility to them. My recollection is that Canada sins equally with the United States in regard to this Irish question, her legislatures having passed similar resolutions. It is comforting, therefore, to know that, while emigration may be going to Australia in preference to the United States, owing to Anglophobia, Mr. Smith's own country—pardon, Mr. Smith has no country, though surely no man deserves one better—Mr. Smith's colony at least is with us. But why does not the interference of Canada in this matter also drive British emigration away from her, as it does from the no more sinning Republic ? Oh, what a fad does when it takes possession even of an able man! Mr. Smith cannot write upon any subject nowadays without rendering his treatment of it subservient to his hatred of Ireland. It was not thus with him in the earlier day.

Mr. Smith gives another reason which seems to show that it is England's dislike of America that he is accounting for. In regard to international courtesy, he thinks that England has cause for complaint ; because, after framing a treaty with the President, it had to wait in the anteroom of the Senate, and was then "publicly dismissed with contumely." It is very strange for one so eminent to speak thus of the part of our Constitution which provides that all treaties shall be ratified by the Senate. This is the first word that I have seen from a public writer upon this provision that did not express the highest commendation. If the treaty-making power of England were so hedged around, many of England's troubles would have been avoided. Every government knows, when it enters into negotiations with the United States, that neither the President nor the Cabinet, nor both combined, can pledge the country. The American Senate, the most august political body in the world, is a party to these negotiations, and its approval is requisite. I am at a loss to understand why this provision "can never be agreeable to a government ac-

customed to the diplomatic etiquette and amenities of the old world." I have never heard the slightest objection raised to it: on the contrary, I undertake to say that Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Balfour, the leaders of both the political parties of England, highly approve that provision of the American Constitution, and also that every English-speaking community that makes a constitution, as several will ere long, will copy it.

Mr. Smith says that "it will always be the policy of Protectionists to obtain the support of patriotism by keeping up ill-will against the country whose competition they fear." The United States levies duties with delightful impartiality, without regard to alleged national likes or dislikes. The silks of France and the linens of Germany pay, just as the woollens of Britain do; and my experience has been that men form their fastest friendships in the ranks of their competitors. For example, the Iron and Steel Institute of Britain, and also the French and German societies, to the number of about five hundred, are to visit the iron and steel associations of the United States next October, as their guests. The principal men on both sides are already warm friends, and this meeting will make many other friendships. To our English competitors will be shown every device, every method, in use in all our establishments, as they have shown Americans theirs. Had manufactures not been surprisingly developed here, it would never have been worth while for our friends to honor us by this visit, and hence a rare opportunity to increase cordial relations between the two countries would never have arisen. Besides, many of these gentleman are largely interested in manufacturing here, and more are becoming so. Mr. Smith and college professors in general would be greatly surprised, not to say shocked, to hear the private judgments of our English manufacturers upon the policy of America in regard to manufactures here. A ballot upon the question, "Is protection good for America?" would probably win; *at least every one interested in America* might be depended upon to vote in the affirmative. Of this I am very sure: no two bodies of men can show a greater number of genuine friendships, and more of mutual regard for both countries, than the competing members of the iron and steel trades of England and America.

It is deeply to be deplored that for all time the American

child must first learn that Washington's foe was England. What we learn at seven sticks. When I was at that age, I awoke one night to hear that my uncle had been put in jail, and that my father might be. I knew there was hidden in the attic a rebellious republican flag, for all our family were Chartists, and to this day whenever I speak of a king or hereditary privilege, my blood tingles and mounts to my face. Sometimes—and not so many years ago—I have felt for a passing moment that to shoot all hereditary kings one after the other would not be uncongenial work, for I *hate* hereditary privileges with a hate nothing else inspires, because I got it at seven, and it requires an effort to keep it within bounds. Therefore, when I see and hear my little nephews, one after another, rise from the Revolutionary story, and feel about England as I did about her and her kings and monarchy, much as I deplore this, I recognize that it must be, and that only age and knowledge will counteract it.

The relation between the old and new lands has never, until now, been such as to furnish a good foundation for genuine friendship and increasing regard. The position of affairs between the two branches of the English-speaking race is just this: an eldest son has made a great success since he left his father's roof, and it is difficult for an energetic and pugnacious old gentleman to realize that the son has attained his majority, and has become a man resembling his parent in no quality more than in being determined to make his own way in the world, and work out his destiny after his own fashion, feeling that destiny to be something so grand that the world has never seen the like. The father in such cases always condescends and expects deference, and is disposed to be arbitrary for a time. The young man, if able, soon sees that there are limits which it is best for both to observe. He is a man also, and in this case, certainly, men are created equal.

It is surprising how recently this attitude has been displayed in our international relations. Thus up to and including the negotiations connected with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, it was the custom of the British Minister of Foreign Affairs to tell the American Secretary of State what Her Majesty "expected," and the younger nation, in reply, most dutifully intimated to the older what the President "ventured to hope." When Mr. Blaine took up the subject a few years ago, although no courtier

of them all more courteous than he, the English form was adopted, and he informed the English Minister in return what the President "expected"; and he was taken to task for having changed the tone of the correspondence. Mr. Smith may probably feel that this change was, indeed, another evidence of want of due courtesy; but such was not the case, I am sure, for whenever Her Majesty "ventures to hope," the President may be relied upon to "venture to hope" also; when she "expects," the President probably will. The truth is that the Republic has passed the stage of "venturing to hope" all alone. There is now perfect equality, but friction has been produced in reaching it. Henceforth this change will be found productive of good fruits.

The younger nation was at first, naturally, too thin-skinned, and courted too much the good opinion of the older. This has changed. The American of to-day thinks more of earning his own good opinion, and what other nations, including England, think of him is secondary, as it should be. There is less vanity, but more pride in his composition as a citizen of the American Republic. This is better for both the old land and the new. They meet upon equal terms; which is the first requisite for genuine friendship. The educated American grows in liking for England more and more. The educated Englishman considers the republic more and more an important factor in the world, and is more and more proud of the fact that it is English; and in the heart of both there is a strong feeling of mutual respect, of admiration, and, I venture to say, of affection. We shall have our little family jars, and considerable friction now and then; but in any serious emergency, woe betide the race that attempts to go too far against one branch of the English race or the other!

The wars between us henceforth are to be industrial, and the victories those of peace. Still the Briton and the American are too much alike and too much to each other not to have feelings of rivalry excited as between themselves; but now that all feeling of condescension on the one hand and assertion on the other has ceased, and they are recognized equals, every hour taken from the passage between them, every visit paid, draws the two branches closer together, and leads both to feel deep down in their hearts that they are branches of the same great family—the elder that he is the imperious, unrivalled colonizer among men,

and the youngster that "he is a chip of the old block," and means to have his way upon this continent, after the example of his sire in other parts of the world; and, above all,—a latent power capable of incredible action if ever touched by serious misfortune befalling either,—there dwells silently in the hearts of both, as a sweet secret which no other race can share, the fact that both father and son know well and feel keenly how very true it is that "blood is thicker than water."

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTHING more hateful than the paper on "The Hatred of England," by Goldwin Smith, LL.D., in the May number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, has appeared in print, within the range of my reading, for many years. It is at once surprising, grievous, and irritating, and is calculated to do international mischief. It is wonderful that so much error could be concentrated in so few pages. How it happens that Dr. Smith has assimilated misinformation to this extent is a mystery, for his desire to do justice has not been disputed and his capacity to be accurate has not lacked illustration. His studies of history demand respect, for his surveys have been seemingly scientific and his investigations apparently candid; but when he paints the United Kingdom and the United States in one landscape, he presents them in a strange and sinister light that perverts and distorts familiar features. The drawing of outlines is fair, but the atmosphere is one of discoloration.

The dislike of England is not a sentiment, the hatred of England is not the habit, of the American people. The Anglophobia of which Dr. Smith speaks as if it were a characteristic of the American people that would not be disputed by reasoning and respectable persons is not a feeling that prevails or a passion that is popular. Dr. Smith will pardon me, but this country is too big for that. He is talking of the diseases of childhood, and we are well over them all. Let us deal with wholesome manliness and womanhood. Fifty years ago there was in the American blood a lingering animosity against "the British"—something that was clearly hostile and resembled hatred, though it lacked both malignity and ferocity, toward the red-coats; but with the growth of the country and the increase of intelligence this has ceased to exist. It had its day and generation, and is gone.

The rebellion and revolution that evolved American independence grew out of the belief of the people of the colonies that they were treated as inferiors. That was enough. We need not bother ourselves with fine constructions of law and discussions of departed policy. The red-coats became invaders, and they, to be sure, were hateful while engaged in intrusive aggression. The feeling toward them was intensified by the employment of Hessians, who were detested as mercenaries and abhorred as sanguinary slaves, and of Indians, whose savagery greatly exasperated the colonists. In this way the British troops were associated with the bitter memories of a hireling soldiery and barbarous warfare.

The second war with England grew in part from the first, for there were unsettled questions, clothed in dangerous generalizations loosely phrased in the haste of peace-making. In the West there were Indian wars, in which the red men seemed to have the countenance, if not the actual assistance, of British military posts, some of which were held on poorly-defined pretexts, without regard to treaty obligations. The defeat of the savages by General Wayne on the Maumee, in sight of a fort flying the flag of Great Britain, was one incident of the tedious transition state of the relations of the two countries. The Americans felt themselves disrespectfully treated. American independence was formally acknowledged, but not considerately regarded. There was justification for the heat of the American temper.

There was, as there is, a kindly feeling in this country toward France. We had been helped by France at the most critical time of the War of Independence, and the French Revolution followed our own as a second and larger chapter in the world's advance toward republicanism. Napoleon was not looked upon in the United States as a monster. British opinion touching him was not seconded by American sympathy. On the contrary, his higher qualities were exaggerated in the estimation of our countrymen, and his faults overlooked. It was remembered that he paid remarkable honors to the memory of Washington, and sold us Louisiana on easy terms; and Americans saw then, as the world sees now, his glory. The British assumption was that we, as English-speaking people, owed it to our ancestry to aid in the overthrow of the Corsican, or, at least, to acquiesce in the monopoly of the seas in order to overcome the military empire founded on France. We did not share in the English hatred of

the French and of Napoleon. Indeed, we had generally adopted Jefferson's fine saying, that one had always two countries—his own and France.

The second war with the British was more directly caused by the arrogance of their government than by any popular antipathy; and once again the British army was reënforced by red men, and the rankling recollection of the massacre of the river Raisin was hardly atoned for by the battle of the Thames and the fall of Tecumseh. But this was all before Waterloo! The English people of to-day would disdain the charge that they hate the French because they had wars with France long ago; and the American people resent the charge that they hate the English as one that implies a lack of self-respect and a deficiency in justifiable pride.

Dr. Smith is of the opinion that Americans are hostile to British domination in India. He is mistaken there: the general judgment of the American people is that the British do the world a service in holding India. There was a ripple of applause in this country when Disraeli gathered Cyprus, and when England occupied Egypt to defend her road to India. It would not do to have the domination over continents surrendered to barbarians. There was disgust when the Ionian Islands were abandoned, for it was out of character; and if British statesmanship of the complacent and yielding sort should give up Gibraltar, it would be regarded more in sorrow than in anger, just as the dallying delay that was fatal to Gordon at Khartoum excited rather exasperation than grief; for, mournful as was the sacrifice of the hero through the policy that made it inevitable, it was even more pusillanimous. What we blame England in Egypt for is that she makes any pretence of a purpose ever, while the Nile flows, to leave the country. England should hold Egypt as one of her most precious possessions, and we should, and shall, applaud, because we would do it ourselves, and fight for it.

Dr. Smith should remember that we do not need instruction regarding "the war between two groups of States." It is quite true, as Dr. Smith says, that the North did not take up arms to free the slaves. The fight was for dominion. The conquering idea was not the emancipation of the blacks, but the nationality of the country. The majority of Americans never had any complaining concern about the attitude of England, and the only irritation on the subject that was serious grew out of the feeling that the

temper of the British government and ruling class was supercilious. But the splendid friendly eloquence of John Bright through the years of combat, and the graciousness of the Queen, and the generous impulse of the Prince Consort in the modification, when in his bed with his last illness, of Palmerston's peremptory despatch in the "Trent" case, and the result of the Geneva arbitration, made the continuation of resentment irrational and its dangerous revival impracticable.

There has been something of competition in this country between the two great political parties for the Irish vote, and there has been a great deal of kindly regard entertained for the Irish people. There is no apology to make for that. The Irish vote would seem naturally to belong to the Republicans, because they maintain the protective policy, while the Democracy would substantially place the United States in the commercial relations to Great Britain in which the disunited colonies were. With our good-will toward Ireland, we wish her no such bad luck as to be dissevered from the British Empire. The test of the policy with which Mr. Gladstone has identified himself, and which is growing into that of English democracy, is whether home rule can be granted Ireland without imperial disintegration. We know perfectly how closely parallel the case is with that of the struggle of the Southern States of this Union to establish their sovereignty. We would not let them go; and we do not expect or desire Ireland to be an independent power. Home rule, to be within the limitations that the common-sense of self-preservation requires, must be, like legitimate statehood, competent for local matters, but subordinate to the imperial powers—under all circumstances part of an indestructible unit.

The dynamiters were not Americans, and had no help on these shores, except that given by those for whose education England was responsible, and the gain the Irish cause has made within a few years in American public opinion is in its dissociation from the destructive and threatening resources of civilization that are the expression of barbarians. Our protective policy through the tariff is strongest with the people, not because it is against the manufactures and trade of Great Britain, but for the reason that it is opposed to the clumsy provincialism of the Confederates and the abject dependence of the colonists. It is a national policy.

Not only has the old, long-time-ago sense of wrong and flush

of anger toward the British on account of the Hessian and savage warfare, and the whole chapter of grievances, real and fanciful, passed away: there is a strong and wide-spread feeling that there is, as there should be, the warmth of kindred blood in all our veins. We say of the British—the Scotch and Irish as well as the English—that they are our own folks and we like them; that there is a community of interests world-wide between us that we shall stand by forever; that there is something glorious and inspiring in being one of, and the largest of, the English-speaking nations that girdle the globe; that there is a tie in living under like laws and reading the same literature, from the old masters to the modern monthly magazines and daily newspapers. Throughout this country—and this is personal and direct testimony—there are thousands and tens of thousands of travelled citizens each of whom remembers special courtesies shown him and his on the British islands; painstaking, cordial attentions, for which there were no better reasons than that the travellers were Americans and took solid comfort and a share of pride in the hearty hospitalities and the historic majesty of the mother-country.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

WHEN Professor Goldwin Smith chose for the subject of an article in an American magazine "The Hatred of England," he exposed himself to the remark that Emerson made about Byron—"he wanted something craggy to break his mind against"; and the distinguished author of the article has in this instance, as in many others, shown himself eminently successful in avoiding a disposition to illustrate the literary truth that "the great art of writing shows itself in the choice of pleasing allusions." When he recounts the hostile acts of England toward America, and then takes her to task for not having quietly swallowed them as palatable morsels, he seems to put his country in the attitude of the aggravating small boy who was testing the extent of his little brother's amiability by rapping his skull with a mallet, and who, after getting out of all patience at the child's exasperating lack of appreciation of such methods, finally called out to his mother: "Mamma, come and make Freddy behave; every time I hit him over the head with this mallet he yells." After his recital of the formidable list of national virtues of the parent country, which he sets

forth as shining examples to others, with that enthusiasm which is always a pardonable weakness in a loyal Briton, the offspring country would seem to be left with nothing to do but sit down and console itself with the words of Charles II. when he said he always admired virtue, but could never imitate it.

It is a significant fact that, while Professor Smith is accusing us of Anglophobia, we are accusing a large element of our people of Anglomania. One of the symptoms of the attack is observed in the terms employed. We find here Victoria hotels, Her Majesty's Opera, royal baking-powders, imperial trains, and harness-makers to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and when the anthem of "John Brown" is sung, there appears to be a confusion in the minds of some of our more advanced Anglomaniacs as to whether the reference to the possessor of so progressive a soul is an allusion to our hero of Harper's Ferry or the Queen's late gillie. When the dude Britannicus makes his appearance in Piccadilly his worthy counterpart, the dude Americanus, immediately exhibits himself on Fifth Avenue, rolls up his trousers when the cable announces rain in London, sucks the head of an equally large cane, and adopts the same transatlantic swing when he walks, at the risk of being set down as appearing bow-legged in the elbows. Even the Irish, whose presence here is a never-failing source of irritation to the author of the article under discussion, are supposed to be coming over to the ranks of the Anglomaniacs, if we may credit the story of the coachman from the Isle of emerald hue who recently applied to a lady here for a situation, and when asked by her, "Are you an Englishman?" replied, "No, mum; I was born in Oirland, but I've lived so long in Ameriky that I suppose I do seem quite English."

If we are misjudged through the writings of English tourists, we should not be thrown upon the defensive in consequence. We cannot keep on explaining forever that we do not, as a population, spend the whole of St. Patrick's Day sitting on the steps of Tammany Hall with our feet stuck on the telegraph wires, engaged in applauding the Irish parade; that we did not construct the elevated railways solely to prevent travel from interrupting the St. Patrick's Day processions in the streets of New York; that we do not live in houses seventeen stories high and sleep with our clothes on for fear of fire; and that our hotel managers are not in the habit of weighing their guests before and after meals on patent

scales by dropping a nickel in the slot, and charging them by weight for what they eat.

It is hard to take Professor Smith seriously, but he is evidently in intense earnest when he depicts a hatred of England on the part of America which, one might suppose, equals the sworn hatred of Rome manifested by the ancient Carthaginians.

That a certain hostility exists between this country and the only nation of consequence with which she has ever been engaged in wars and irritating negotiations is quite true; but the provocations which have caused it cannot be laid at the door of America. While the many acts of national courtesy, amiability, and forbearance on the part of the United States toward England cannot be enumerated in the limited space of a magazine article, neither can they be set aside by a few pages of inferences. At the close of the Revolution, while the animosities engendered by the bitterness of that war were still rankling in the American mind, the United States entered promptly upon amicable intercourse and treaty relations without sulking over the past. It was only when the nation was compelled to assert its manhood by resisting the totally unjustifiable claim by England to the right of search at sea that it entered again upon armed hostilities in 1812. America has repeatedly submitted boundary questions and fishery disputes to peaceful negotiations, though convinced of the justice of all her claims, and fully conscious of her power to capture, without a serious struggle, the possessions of England upon their continent, in case of a resort to war.

The hostile acts of the English during our Civil War were borne with a forbearance not often exhibited by a powerful nation. Among these were the according of belligerent rights to those in rebellion, the aid and comfort given to them morally and materially, the indecent haste of a leader in English politics to announce, after the very first battle of the war, that Jefferson Davis had succeeded in founding a government, the supplying of funds through the purchase of Confederate bonds, the furnishing of the chief instrumentalities which swept our commerce from the sea, the picking-up and carrying-off of our prisoners from the "Alabama" by a British yacht after the victory of the "Kearsarge," the overbearing manner of the demand for the surrender of the Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell, who had been captured through the mistaken zeal of a naval officer, and other acts too numerous

to recount. When the war ceased and America emerged from it as a first-class military power, with a million of armed veterans at her command, she did not employ them to right the wrongs she believed she had suffered from England, but patiently claimed redress through peaceful arbitration, even submitting to arbitration a question upon which she did have a reasonable doubt—the question as to her right to claim *consequential* damages arising from the depredations of cruisers turned loose upon her commerce through the connivance of England. In consenting to arbitration to settle the policy as to the responsibility of neutrals for the depredations of hostile cruisers sailing from her ports, America well knew that while a favorable decision might bring to her a few paltry millions and whatever prestige might be gained by success, the principle established would be of incalculable benefit to England in her future wars, she being the chief maritime nation of the world. The distinguished author claims that the lack of sympathy for our cause on the part of England was owing to the fact that we did not early announce our intention to abolish slavery. This might have some force if it were not for the fact that her hostility was as great, if not greater, after Mr. Lincoln had formally issued his Proclamation of Emancipation.

As to the labored defence of England's aggrandizement of territory throughout the world, that is a matter of supreme indifference to America and could neither interfere with her plans nor even excite her jealousy. Her policy is to refrain from reaching out after distant possessions, to avoid entanglements with distant powers, and, in short, to attend strictly to her own affairs. She believes that sidewalks always present the best appearance when each one sweeps in front of his own door.

While there has been and still is hostility between the two lands, my opinion is that it is mainly national, and is but little shared in by the individuals of the respective countries, although the writer would have us infer the contrary. This is abundantly proved by the increasing international visits, the general interchange of courtesies, the frequent intermarriages, the consideration shown by Americans to English artists, lecturers, and actors, and even the erection by American citizens of memorial windows in Westminster Abbey in commemoration of distinguished Englishmen. When the English sailors landed in Alexandria eight

years ago, after their bombardment of the place, and were short of men to police the city, the blue jackets from the American fleet were put ashore to assist them, and the fraternization was complete. It is, indeed, difficult to name two nations which exhibit so close an intimacy between their respective peoples. Our children's stories, our nursery rhymes, and even the tenets of our religion come down to us from England.

She has created a wealth of literature and a record of gallant deeds in which Americans justly feel they have a common heritage. There always exists a certain pride of ancestry, however remote, and it is only bastards who manifest no regard for their parents. Lord Bacon spoke with his usual philosophy when he said, "As the confusion of tongues was a mark of separation, so the being of one language is a mark of union"; and Englishmen and Americans are no exception to the rule. Indeed, one cannot well resist the impression that one of the few persons disposed to keep prominently in view the grounds for grievance is the distinguished author of "The Hatred of England" himself.

HORACE PORTER.

WE KNOW of no man who can tell the truth with a purer purpose than the writer of the paper on "The Hatred of England," or with a finer point and edge, and the power to drive it home. We all know also, who are blessed with good memories, that he is a well-proven friend of the American Republic—one of a noble band of eminent Englishmen we can count almost on our ten fingers who were true to us in the darkest days we have ever seen; so that he has won the right to speak on this question, or any other he deems to be of real moment, and have us hear and heed him, just as John Bright would, if he were still living, or any other man in that choice company whose names we still hold in reverence.

We are easily aware, also, that in this paper he speaks with all the old vim and purpose to be as harsh as the truth and as fair, and with the heart in him of the great Frenchman who said: "I love the truth even against myself." Still, in reading what he has written, no doubt in this spirit, one has to wonder whether the running title itself rings quite true to the fact as it stands—if he would charge the American people with this hatred, or any number of them well worth taking into the account, he would

hold, as it seems, with the nation. Hatred is a hateful word to use for his purpose, and to my own mind by no means true touching the temper and disposition of our people toward England and Englishmen to-day. I have no doubt there are those among us who hate and revile England, as there are Englishmen who hate and revile America; and not in England alone, but here in the Republic—men who came here to find an ampler life and have found it, or to make their fortune and have made it, but are ready still to spit on the hand which was held out to welcome them when they landed on these shores, or came southward, as so many do, from Canada.

But this is, after all, as when the kettle flouts the pan for its grime, and has only the bare need to be mentioned for the truth's sake in such a charge as this made by our old friend; while one must speak of his own observation and experience as it touches our people in some wider and truer way which has but little to do with the blather of "a leading American journal," or the boom of the Fourth-of-July oration we used to hear long ago.

It is exactly forty years to a day, as I write these lines, since I came here myself on that same old errand—to find my way into an ampler and finer life; and in this time it has fallen to my lot beyond that of most men—and our friend, it may be, among the rest—to mingle with our people far and wide and to know them, as we say, like a book,—as a workingman in the shops for about nine years, and then as a minister in two great cities, and a lecturer all the way between the oceans,—and to stand with them shoulder to shoulder as a citizen always; to stay with them in their homes wherever I would go, and talk with them freely on all the burning questions of the old times and the new, and never to lose my love for England or my pride in her and joy; going about, indeed, "with a chip on my shoulder" touching what might be said of her which was untrue to me or unfair; and the result of it all is this: that I have not found what I should feel free to call the hatred of England, except in here and there a man who stands as the exception to the rule, if we leave out of the account the troubled years of the War for the Union, when our people believed England would and did strike below the belt; when, as John Bright said at a meeting called by the trades-unions in London, while the days were darkest for us early in 1863, to express their senti-

ments on the American war, the ruling class—privilege as he calls it—

"thinks it has a great interest in this war, and every morning with blatant voice comes into your streets and curses the American Republic. But impartial history will tell this story: that when your statesmen were hostile or coldly neutral, when many of your rich men were corrupt, when your press—which ought to have instructed and defended—was mainly written to betray, the fate of a continent being in peril, you clung to freedom with an unfaltering trust that God in his infinite mercy will yet make it the heritage of all his children."

Then our people did hate England, for in the smoke and thunder of the war this was England with blatant voice cursing the American Republic. One of the noblest fellows I ever knew, and a leader in his great city, said to me then, "D—n her! we will never forgive her while the world stands," though he was not apt to swear, and I think the angel of the records knew that as well as I did.

But we got at the rights of all this very soon, and in that year sent splendid aid to the working people in Lancashire who were near to starving for our sake, because "blood is thicker than water." And when the war was over, the true England made noble atonement for the sin of the "blatant voice." Not by the Geneva award, though that, so far as I know, was the first bill of damages of the sort she ever paid; but before this, when our great and good President lay dead and the English people worthy the name mourned and wept for him through all her borders, as if her own dearest son was slain and they were sitting by his dust, and the hatred of England began to die away out of the common heart.

So it is not now what our friend has branded it, for our folks are not good haters. But if any one should ask, "Is it love?" I would answer, "No"; and the more's the pity on both sides, for we are six and half a dozen, and there is no love lost between the nations.

Many reasons might be given for what I would call a certain measure of dislike, but I am near the end of my tether and cannot give them. Still I have to wonder over our friend's dictum that this hatred of England "drives British emigration from American shores to Australia," and has "long prevented the British domiciled here from being naturalized, and still estranges their hearts from their adopted country." "Every Englishman is an island," Novalis says; and that I think is the trouble: he is a Briton wherever he goes, and here he tries to stay one with all his might, counting her little finger of whom he was born more than the

loins of the Republic in which he lives and thrives. I know also from my own life, and from what one easily learns in visiting England and staying, as I do, among those who emigrate, that she is bent by all means, and always has been, on turning the tides of emigration from these shores towards her own colonies, aiding them and inspiring them to go there, and warning them in a thousand ways not to come here: so they go to boom the colonies, and we must not blame the magnificent old mother for this concern about her children, but must still put an interrogation-mark against the reason given for the trend of the tide.

Yet my main purpose in this was to challenge our friend's use of the hateful term. "Hatred," George Eliot says, "is like fire; it makes even light rubbish deadly." But we have it not as he would charge, for I speak as an American whose loyalty is not divided, but has grown great enough, I hope, to go round. It is not hatred beyond the narrow lines I have indicated. My friend who said the bad word (if it was one) goes now to England with great content and has experienced a change of heart. So do tens of thousands of us every year, and I do not hear much, or anything, now of the "social friction" our friend just touches. England is the mother-land to them. They go there to visit the sacred shrines of the old strong race from which they sprung, and the great historic cities, and many of them the English homes, and to tell us when they return what a good time they had, to be sure; and how lovely it was, that old England, the wild moors and sweet dales of the North, and the fair downs of the South, the garden of Kent, and the lakes and fells of Westmoreland; to ask that they may have windows in our name in the old mother churches, or help restore them for love's sake, and to do many things beside for tokens of what lies in their heart. And so silken threads are spun which, as my thought runs, will be twisted into strands and cables in time to bind us closer together, as we should be bound.

ROBERT COLLYER.

SPEAKING from observation extending to all parts of the country and to every class of the people, I am compelled to give it as my opinion that the most abiding and deeply-rooted aversion felt by Americans is to the English government and to the class by

which it has always been controlled. It is as natural for the average American to hate that government and its policy towards America and American interests for the last two hundred years, and in all the great emergencies which have overtaken them, as it is for Poles to hate Russia, or Frenchmen to hate Germany. Every school-boy imbibes the germ of that hatred at his father's knee, and it strengthens from the time he begins to read until he reaches mature manhood. No candid American who lives in close contact with the masses of his countrymen is ignorant of or can deny this fact. I do not pause to explain the reason for this, or to consider whether it is justified or not. It is a fact which lies deeply imbedded in American character; and in considering the relations existing between England and America it should never be lost sight of. And yet it may be truthfully asserted that Americans do not hate England, the home of their race. They hate the insulting, domineering, aggressive policy of the British government. They hate the supercilious and patronizing airs, the intolerance and self-sufficiency, and the arrogance and superiority of the class which controls and represents that government, and which has always given it its character before the world.

It is, perhaps, going too far to say that the Americans love the English people as a whole, though they willingly admit that the sway of England, wherever it is found, stands for law and order and the safety of person and property, and that, next after themselves, the English are the greatest and best people in the world. It is but a truism to repeat that all Americans love the green fields and the rolling downs of the land which nurtured their forefathers, and that they claim her art, her poetry, her philosophy, and her history as the common heritage of the English-speaking race wherever found. They honor and revere the memories of the great statesmen and captains who have defined and established the principles of human liberty throughout the world. They glory in the greatness of De Montfort and Hampden, in the statesmanship of Cromwell and Elizabeth, in the genius of Shakespeare and Milton, in the enterprise of Clive and Hastings, in the unshakable courage of Nelson and Wellington, and in all the array of heroic virtues which have placed the English-speaking race at the head of every great movement in human affairs for the last two hundred years. They have no cause of quarrel with England for the part she has played in Europe, Asia, Aus-

tralasia, or Africa. They are not jealous of her for her achievements in India or her success in the pursuits of peace ; and as between her and other nations it is fair to assume that most Americans wish her nothing but a continuance of prosperity and good fortune.

But they cannot forget—and even if they could, Professor Smith reminds them—that "a schism in the Anglo-Saxon race was caused by the American Revolution," which was followed by an estrangement lasting till the present day.* He cannot regret the fact more earnestly than do many Americans, nor can he desire more earnestly than they that the schism should be healed. But in considering the means to this end, and in deprecating the injuries done us in the past, he seems to lose sight of the fact that the memory of a race is based upon history, and that a century in its life is but as a day in the life of an individual. Surely he must admit that it is natural—indeed, inevitable—that a high-spirited people should harbor resentment for what it considers a century of enmity and injustice.

No one knows better than he that family quarrels are always the bitterest, whatever their origin, and that ours, beginning over a hundred and twenty-five years ago in the refusal of England to give to us a fair share of that conquest which decided that the North American continent should be forever dominated by the Anglo-Saxon race, cannot be permanently settled till that domination is exercised exclusively by our own government.

The American people possess, in common with the rest of the race to which they belong, an unappeasable and, to a certain extent, an unconscious greed for land. They are fond of gain, of commerce, and of the conquest of occupation. They love peace, progress, and liberty, and by these means, rather than by war, they pursue their predestined course. They feel that the North American continent was created a unit for their use and occupation, and that their manifest destiny is to possess it. They know that the Canadian people are not aliens in race; but they also know that the Canadian Dominion is governed by a political system different from, if not hostile to, their own, and so long as it remains a constituent part of the British Empire it will constitute a menace to their peace and progress, if not a base of opera-

* "Canadiana—The Schism in the Anglo-Saxon Race," by Goldwin Smith. Page 20, *et seq*.

tions against their borders. They remember that the British Empire is the only first-class power with which they have ever had war, and that not only during the Revolution, but for twenty-five years afterwards, the British government was the unrelenting enemy of their dearest interests and most cherished aspirations. They remember the weary years of struggle for the independence of their flag, for the privileges of a neutral nation, and for the settlement of their national boundaries. They remember the interminable disputes over the fisheries; they remember—and, with all due deference to the opinions of others, they should never forgive—the "Trent" and the "Alabama" affairs.

They may, and perhaps ought to, forget that "the aristocracy of England were on the side of the planter aristocracy of the South," but they cannot in prudence forget that the aristocratic government of England has always been hostile to the autonomy and opposed to the progress of the American Union. It has always been jealous of our prosperity and envious of our growing power; and so long as our destiny remains unfulfilled, and an alien, if not a hostile, country stretches along our northern frontier from ocean to ocean, so long must candid and thoughtful men look upon the schism in our race not only as unclosed, but likely at any time to lead to war which cannot be ended till the whole continent is dominated by either our own flag or by the one which our forefathers aided so gallantly in planting upon the ramparts of Louisburg.

During the negotiations which led to the treaty of partition and peace signed at Paris in 1783, Mr. Oswald, on the part of England, expressed a desire for "reconciliation" with the colonies, and in response Dr. Franklin suggested the cession of Canada to the United States as the best possible means of preventing future wars and bringing about a complete reconciliation between what were even then the two great branches of the English-speaking race. This suggestion was reported to the home government, and after informal but careful consideration it was, unhappily, rejected. It is not within the limits of this discussion to consider the intrigues between the representatives of England, France, and Spain by which this conclusion was reached, and the boundaries which divided North America into two parts were fixed; but it must be admitted that, however repugnant to British interests or to the prejudices of the Canadians, the remedy proposed by Dr.

Franklin was inspired by a profound knowledge of the subject under consideration, and could hardly have failed to close forever the schism which is but another name for, and is at the bottom of, whatever hatred there is on the part of Americans toward the government which sways the destinies of the British Empire.

JAMES HARRISON WILSON.

IT WOULD not be easy to frame an inquiry which more obviously needs a careful definition of terms than does the question posed by Mr. Goldwin Smith. Is it the whole American nation, or only one or more sections of it, to which a feeling of animosity toward England is imputed? Is it, again, the whole English people, or only the fraction of it hitherto predominant, which Americans are alleged to regard with enmity? It is only by narrowing the scope of the discussion that we can hope to reach definite and trustworthy conclusions.

So far as the German, Scandinavian, and Italian elements of our composite population are concerned,—and this year's census will show that the two former elements are tending to become of great numerical importance,—their attitude toward Great Britain is that of complete indifference. It is no less indisputable that the feeling entertained for England by Irish-Americans—under which term we include not only naturalized citizens born in Ireland, but also the native-born children of Irish immigrants—is one of antipathy, which at present is active, but which is not by any means, in our opinion, irremediable. Nor is this rancorous dislike of Irish-Americans for England a new thing. The Irish Presbyterians who immigrated to this country during the ten years preceding 1775 played a noteworthy, if not decisive, part in the ensuing struggle of the colonies for independence. According to the testimony taken in London on the conduct of the war, these Irish emigrants constituted one-half of the rank and file of the Continental army. In like manner, should a war between Great Britain and the United States break out to-morrow, Irish-Americans would, of all our citizens, show themselves the most eager to enlist.

Their hatred of England, however, is in part a traditional impulse and in part a reflex of the hostility which still animates Irishmen at home. Should Mr. Gladstone and the Radicals

attain to power at Westminster, and yield, as they unquestionably would, to the wishes of Ireland with respect to the revival of a separate Parliament at Dublin, the antipathy now evinced by Irishmen would vanish on both sides of the Atlantic. Even now Irishmen at home and abroad have ceased to detest Englishmen collectively and indiscriminately. They draw a broad distinction between Gladstonians and Unionists, and should the former acquire political ascendency, Irishmen would obey an invariable law of human nature, and, forgetting old grievances, remember only the new bonds of friendship.

We come to the so-called native American, whom for the sake of sharp discrimination we will assume to be the descendant of English forefathers settled in this country from early colonial times. To the student of history there is no more curious subject of study than the wistful posture toward England on the part of the native American factor, which has been hitherto, and is likely to long continue, preponderant in our complex nationality. The fact is significant that even the rancor generated among the revolted colonists by the Revolutionary War expended itself rather upon the Tories and upon the Hessian auxiliaries in the British service than upon Englishmen themselves. Scarcely had we formed a constitution when the Federalists, who held power for twelve years, and during that time, at all events, represented the dominant feeling of the country, avowed their respect and liking for Great Britain, and, fifteen years after the recognition of our independence, came within a hair's-breadth of involving the United States in war with France—a war which must have led us to ally ourselves with England.

So wide-spread and deep-seated was the attachment to England evinced by the Northern and especially the Northeastern States, notwithstanding the repeated provocations given us during the half-dozen years preceding 1812, that, as it was said at the time in Congress, we could scarcely be kicked into a war. Even the outbreak of hostilities did not quench the pro-Anglican sympathies of New England, which at the Hartford Convention nearly culminated in secession. It is an interesting circumstance, as showing the attitude of educated New-Englanders toward the mother-country at that juncture, that just before the termination of the contest William Cullen Bryant applied for a commission in a body of troops to be raised by Massachusetts, not for coöpera-

tion with the national forces of the United States, but for the assertion of States' rights, to uphold which it was no secret that in the last resort England might be looked to. Under such circumstances it was not to be expected that the native Americans, who at that time constituted almost exclusively the population of the Northeastern States, would feel any deep antagonism to England as an outcome of the War of 1812.

In the Middle and Southern States that war, attended as it was with acts of vandalism, left some bitter memories; but these were gradually effaced in the course of the next generation, and when Lord Elgin negotiated at Washington the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada, there was scarcely a trace of antipathy to England left among native Americans, although the immigrants from Ireland, who had become numerous since the potato famine of 1847, were even then beginning to exercise a slight pressure upon politicians and newspapers. The strong impulse toward sympathy and friendship for the mother-country on the part of Americans of English stock had gained so much momentum by the sixth decade of this century that it could not have been checked by our Irish-American citizens but for the outbreak of our Civil War and the unexpected attitude of encouragement assumed by the British government and English society toward the slave-holding and seceding States.

By the unconcealed delight with which the vast majority of Englishmen politically and socially influential beheld the disruption of the Union, the heart of the American people was profoundly wounded. It is not to be supposed that the rankling recollection of that experience will pass away during the lifetime of the native Americans who took part in the suppression of the Rebellion. Not that we do not discriminate between the unfriendly many and the faithful few, among whom John Bright and, we may add, Mr. Goldwin Smith were honorably conspicuous. But we have not forgiven England collectively, because the classes which rejoiced at our misfortunes thirty years ago are still dominant in politics and in society, and would undoubtedly evince to-morrow the same sentiments, should another disruptive calamity befall us. When our friends in England—a few we have always had from the passage of the Stamp Act to the outfitting of the "Alabama"—become numerous and powerful enough to control the government and mould public opinion, we

will gladly transform our gratitude to them individually into cordial liking for the British nation considered as a whole.

So far as Americans of English lineage are concerned,—and they are still the masters of this country,—there has never been a time since the peace of 1783 when the men who have governed England could not have obtained our affection had they desired it. When the Radicals acquire a firm hold upon power at Westminster, our friendship will for the first time be deemed worth having, and then it will be gained.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

SPEED ON THE ATLANTIC.

THE editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has asked for our views as to the maximum speed of ocean steamers, and I have pleasure in complying with his request. I shall simply give categorical answers to the questions, in the order put by him.

1. Is it likely that the duration of the Atlantic passage will be still further diminished to any considerable extent?

I have no hesitation in saying that in a very short time the record will probably be reduced to close on five days.

2. What are the factors that may be looked to for producing any possible increase of speed?

The twin-screw engine, combined with increased power obtained by a further development or improvement in the system of forced draft. This means of increasing the power of engines was, I may say, inaugurated by this firm, so far as regards the Atlantic passage, and it is now generally recognized as the only means of increasing the power in proportion to the weight, which is the principal element of progress in designing that engineers have to look to.

3. Is the superiority of the twin screw for high-speed ships beyond dispute?

I think it is. In all respects the twin screw is superior to the single screw, and I think this is generally acknowledged by all competent authorities. Prior to the trial of the "City of New York" and "City of Paris," the impression seemed to be that the speed of the twin-screw steamers would come down in heavy weather in greater proportion than it would in single screws. This I never believed, and the results attained by those vessels prove the exact reverse. This is, I hold, owing to the fact that in the twin screws the propellers are much better immersed than in the single screw, and "racing" is an occurrence almost unknown in the engine-room. A corresponding advantage to travellers from this same cause is the absence of vibration, and the consequent increase of comfort. Still another advantage might be given – viz., the greater immunity from complete break-down, as instanced lately when the "City of New York" broke her shaft.

4. Is not the question of a further increase of speed a question of the earning, rather than the engineering, capacity of the ship?

A further increase of speed is quite possible from an engineering point of view, but I do not consider, from the information I have gathered and from experience obtained up till now, that it would be prudent for any company to build a ship to exceed the speed I have already indicated, as the great amount of money involved makes it questionable whether such a ship would pay. Nevertheless, the strides in this direction have been so rapid, and the Atlantic passenger trade has developed so greatly within the last few years, that I shall not be surprised to see the attempt made, and possibly with success.

As the reader is doubtless aware, the "City of New York" and "City of Paris" were practically the pioneers of high-speed twin-screw steamers, and the leading shipping companies which have contracted for new high-speed passenger steamers

since they were built have almost invariably adopted the twin screw. This fact speaks for itself.

JAMES H. THOMSON,

of the firm of James & George Thomson, builders of the "City of Paris," "City of New York," etc.

II.

GAMBLING ON OCEAN STEAMERS.

AMONG the better class of travellers who yearly cross the ocean, the question has repeatedly arisen, and very naturally too, Why is it that gambling is so openly allowed and so openly encouraged, as it unquestionably is, by the steamship companies in the smoking-rooms of the first-class Atlantic steamers?

It is a well-known fact, at least among all the officers connected with the ships, that during the travelling season—from May to November—the Atlantic steamers are the resorts of professional gamblers from all parts of the United States, whose sole object in crossing the ocean is to come in contact with men whom under no other conditions or circumstances they would ever be likely to meet. In dress and appearance they so closely resemble gentlemen of refinement that their unsuspecting fellow-passengers are quickly and easily deceived.

On one of my summer voyages from New York there came on board the "Germanic" two men from the West or South—Texas, I believe. For a few days they lounged about in the smoking-room, now watching one table of players, then strolling to another, appearing to watch the games more for the lack of something better to do than because they really took an interest in them. Several invitations were extended to them to take a hand, but they invariably declined, making some remark about "want of practice" or "ignorance of the game."

On the fourth day out the younger of the two appeared to rouse himself from his listlessness and apparent indifference, declaring that he "didn't mind if he tried his luck." He played and lost; played and lost again. His companion made no comments, but waited and watched silently. On the day following the game was renewed, the second then agreeing to play. They swept everything before them.

During the first four days both had been keenly studying the play of all who were gambling at the different tables, and had laid their plans accordingly. When these were perfected, the men were ready for action. How many hundreds of dollars went into their pockets I was unable to learn; but the stakes were high, and it was no inconsiderable amount which they carried away with them when leaving the ship at Liverpool.

A young man, a graduate of one of the Western colleges, came on board alone in New York for the purpose of crossing the ocean to join his parents in London. Just before leaving the city, after purchasing his ticket for the steamer, he drew from his father's banker £100 in English money, more than sufficient, of course, to defray all incidental expenses. Not more than twenty-four hours had elapsed when I was informed that the young fellow was playing poker in the smoking-room with men whose reputation as professional card-players was well established on board the "Germanic." I knew his father well, and my first impulse was to send for the young man and expostulate with him. But when I considered that I had no authority to prevent gambling, I concluded that it was better for me to remain silent, and I did so. According to the established rule of the fraternity when an inexperienced player falls into their hands, they allowed the lad—for he was little more than that—to win the first two or three games. This so elated him that he became reckless and increased the stakes. Then the tables were turned, and the men literally robbed him of every penny that he had in his possession. In order to reach London it was necessary for him to borrow a sufficient sum to pay his expenses. He was fortunate enough to find a gentleman among the passengers who was willing to advance him the amount required.

I could cite hundreds of such cases were it requisite to do so. These two illustrations, however, are sufficient to enlighten the uninitiated as to the prevailing influences that exist in the smoking-rooms of the first-class ocean steamers.

According to the advertisements issued by the steamship companies, the smoking-room is intended for the comfort and convenience of all male passengers who wish to enjoy a pipe or cigar while crossing the ocean. Smoking in any other part of the ship, except on deck in the open air, is strictly prohibited, and rightly, too. This room, therefore, is the only place where in rainy or windy weather a passenger can with any satisfaction indulge in a smoke.

Again and again have I known circumstances like the following to occur. A gentleman of refined tastes, perhaps a clergyman, wishing to enjoy a cigar and at the same time occupy himself in reading, goes into the smoking-room. The tables are occupied by card-players, most of them gamblers. Not desiring to come in contact with this class of men, he takes a seat as remote from them as possible, opens his book, and endeavors to concentrate his thoughts on the subject before him. He is scarcely seated when low mutterings proceed from one of the players, who is evidently not on the winning side. He pays no attention to them beyond making an effort not to hear. Voices rise higher and higher. Coarse, vulgar, abusive language, mingled with oaths, is shouted across the room. Rising from his seat, the thoroughly disgusted traveller thrusts into his pocket the book he has been attempting to read, throws away his cigar, and rushes indignantly on deck, wondering why it is that the smoking-room is allowed to be monopolized by the lowest class of men that cross the Atlantic, and that no accommodation whatever is furnished for passengers of different tastes and habits.

One of my old passengers came to me on a certain voyage, when there happened to be an unusually large number of gamblers on board, and I saw that he was laboring under great excitement. "Captain," said he, "it is disgraceful, outrageous, that these men should be permitted to take full possession of the smoking-room, and force those who have some self-respect out on deck. Can't you do something? Can't you prevent it?" The only satisfaction that I could give him was that I could do nothing whatever, as no authority had been given me; gambling not being prohibited by the company. I added, however, that if a complaint were entered at the office in Liverpool, some benefit might result from it. I have reason to suppose that this was done, as, a voyage or two later, a small placard was put up in the smoking-room bearing words to this effect: "Gentlemen are respectfully requested not to play for high stakes." The "gentlemen" to whom this notice was addressed, if they saw it at all, laughed, shrugged their shoulders, and played for what stakes best suited them.

One form of gambling on the large steamers is betting on the number of miles made by the ship every twenty-four hours. The excitement attending it is beyond description. Now that the competition between the "Teutonic," of the White Star Line, and the "City of Paris" and the "City of New York," of the Inman Line, is so great, it is well known that many of the passengers who have large sums at stake find it wholly impossible to sleep at night owing to the intense strain upon their nervous system.

Passengers crossing on board my ship have resorted to every device for obtaining some information regarding the number of miles run. In the most persuasive and insinuating manner bribes have been offered to the officers and men, and every inducement has been held out to them for giving a "tip." Whether or not this has ever been obtained I am unable to say. So averse have I been to this detestable trickery that I have never permitted any gentleman who made a practice of betting on the runs to enter my chart-room.

An incident occurred on one of my voyages which served to strengthen this resolution on my part, and I never deviated from it. An Englishman, who had come on board bearing a letter of introduction to me from one of the managers of the White Star Line, was in the habit of coming to me every morning after breakfast, as I stood smoking my pipe by the wheel-house door, and having a few moments' chat on various subjects; the speed of the ship not being one of them. That he was betting heavily on the runs was a fact of which I was in total ignorance. By a strange coincidence, for three successive days he was the winner of the pool. A syndicate had been formed, and had bought up what it was believed would be the winning num-

bers. The disappointed holders became furious in their indignation and anger. Discussing the affair in the smoking-room, one of the party insinuated that the fortunate individual had received the "tip" from the captain, and threatened "to make it hot" for me.

For several days I remained entirely unconscious of the excitement existing among the betting men. A gentleman who had crossed with me a number of times then kindly informed me what had taken place, and said that he feared there would be trouble. Wishing to have a public interview with the persons who were going to "make it hot" for me, I kept the runs back for two days, and the passengers in complete ignorance of the distance made by the ship. The result fully equalled my anticipations. After luncheon on the second day a number of the gentlemen came to me, wishing to know the cause of such an extraordinary movement on my part. I replied that I would meet all interested in the affair at three o'clock in the smoking-room. I was punctual to the moment, and found, as I expected, the room filled with passengers. I demanded that a thorough investigation should at once be made, and the result was that, when the matter was sifted to its foundation, it turned out that the men who had made the accusation and caused the disturbance were a party of professional gamblers from Chicago.

Why is the gambling permitted? The question is one that with a moment's consideration can be easily answered. All Atlantic passenger steamers are furnished with a large supply of wines and liquors, which are not included in the price of passage. Men who gamble drink; and largely, too. The profits derived from the sale of these wines and liquors during the travelling—or, I may say, the gambling—season are so great that it is not to the interest of the steamship companies to abolish gambling, or to interfere in any way with the comfort and enjoyment of a class of passengers who so materially add to their income.

CHAS. WM. KENNEDY,
late commander White Star steamer "Germanic."

III.

THE SINGLE VOTE IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

BILLS have been presented in both houses of Congress purporting to regulate the apportionment of Congress districts by the States. These bills, however, are intended not to eradicate the evil of unequal representation, but, rather, to strengthen its hold upon the political system. They are merely partisan devices, invented for the purpose of enabling the political party in control of the legislatures of the more populous States to perpetuate the advantage it has seized. They are based upon the provision of the Federal Constitution (Article I., section 4) in which it is declared that "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators." Whether this clause of the Federal Constitution justifies the action of Congress proposed in these bills is a question about which constitutional lawyers differ. It is, indeed, exceedingly doubtful if Congress can constitutionally exercise any such power as that which it would assume in the passage of these bills. But granting, for the sake of the argument, that Congress can exercise such power within the limitations of the Constitution, it is quite clear that it cannot improve the "manner" of electing Representatives by prohibiting the repeal of "gerrymandered" apportionments, or by permitting the State legislatures to make some Congress districts with a population smaller by 15,000 than that allotted to others, as is proposed by what is known as the McComas Bill. If Congress is to "make or alter" the State "regulations" for the election of Representatives to any good purpose, it can do much better by abstaining altogether from any intermeddling in the formation of Congress districts, and simply prescribing that the people of the several States may vote for Representatives without regard to any attempt on the

part of their legislatures to corral them, or certain numbers of them, within arbitrarily-fixed geographical lines.

To be explicit, let Congress make these "regulations" for the election of Representatives: *First*, that all existing congressional apportionments by State legislatures shall be void, and that no such apportionments shall hereafter be regarded as binding upon Congress; *secondly*, that each and every qualified elector of each State shall be entitled to cast *one vote for one candidate for Representative, and no more;* that the votes so cast for Representative shall be counted and returned as they now are counted and returned, and that the county returning-boards shall make return of the votes received by candidates for Representative to the secretary of state of the proper State, who shall canvass them and issue certificates of election to the candidates highest in vote, to the number of Representatives to which the State is entitled. This simple plan would forever put an end to the "gerrymandering" of Congress districts by State legislatures. It would have the certain effect of giving to every political organization the number of Representatives in Congress to which its numerical strength would entitle it.

Apply this rule, for example, to the States of Pennsylvania and Texas. In 1888 the Presidential vote of Pennsylvania stood as follows: for Harrison, 526,091; for Cleveland, 446,633; for Fisk, 20,947; for Streeter, 3,893; total, 997,544. Divide the total by 28 (the number of Representatives to which the State is entitled), and we find the ratio of electors required to elect a Representative to be 35,627. Now, it is clear as the rudimentary rules of arithmetic can make it that the several political parties were entitled to just as many Representatives as the number of times the ratio (35,627) is contained in the number of votes that they respectively polled. Thus the Republican vote, 526,091, divided by 35,627 would show that party to have been entitled to 15 Representatives, giving to each of 14 of their candidates 35,627 votes and to one their surplus, 27,313 votes; while the Democratic vote, 446,633, divided in the same manner, would show that party to have been entitled to 12 Representatives, giving to each 12 of their candidates 35,627 votes; their surplus being 19,109 votes, or 1,838 votes less than that of the Prohibitionists, who would thus have elected one Representative.

In 1888 the State of Texas voted for President as follows: for Harrison, 88,422; for Cleveland, 234,883; for Streeter, 29,459; for Fisk, 4,749; total, 357,513. Dividing the total vote by 11, the number of Representatives to which the State is entitled, we find the ratio of electors necessary to elect a Representative to have been 32,501. This ratio is contained in the Democratic vote (234,883) seven times with a surplus of 7,376 votes; in the Republican vote (88,422), two times, with a surplus of 23,420 votes; and the Union-Labor vote (for Streeter) was 29,459 votes. Thus it will be seen that, under this system, the Democrats would have elected seven Representatives, the Republicans three, and the Union-Labor men one. These examples will suffice to illustrate the principle suggested.

It may be contended that this plan would destroy the representation of local interests. That would surely not be an unmixed evil. But it is not clear that it would produce such an effect. Under its operation each political party would make its own Congress districts. Third parties, like the Prohibitionists, would probably concentrate their entire vote within a State upon one candidate, especially if they were satisfied that they could poll but one ratio. But the two great political parties, in their respective State conventions, would make a careful forecast of the whole number of votes likely to be polled at the congressional election, of the number of votes required to elect a Representative,—or, in other words, to constitute a Representative ratio,—and of the number of Representative ratios it could poll, and then determine that its adherents within certain counties, or parts of counties, should vote for a certain candidate, and those within certain other counties, or parts of counties, for another candidate, and so on until its voting strength should be entirely distributed among the candidates it might nominate. Of course, it would not venture to nominate a greater number of candidates than the number of Representative ratios it expected to poll. In this way, although each voter could cast but one vote for one candidate, political parties would be able to concentrate their vote

within certain fixed districts in such manner as to enable them to elect the whole number of Representatives to which their numerical strength entitled them; and thus the representation of local interests would be preserved.

It may be objected that to limit the elector to a single vote for a single candidate would deprive him of the right to vote for as many candidates as there are Representatives to be chosen—a right which he could exercise if the State were not apportioned into Congress districts by law. The answer is that under the apportionment system he is restricted to one vote for one candidate, and his present franchise would be enlarged to the extent of permitting him to make choice among all the candidates for Congress within his State.

But this system would surely have the effect of sending to Congress men of superior abilities and high character. Not only would the division of the State into districts and the nomination of candidates for Congress by political State conventions tend to produce this result, but the fact that bolting candidates might gather votes over the whole State, in disregard of the dictum of the convention, and thus secure the necessary ratio, would be calculated to insure the strongest party nominations, and, failing such, to give the independent voter an opportunity to make his ballot count for all it is worth. It would also utterly destroy sectionalism. Under its operation the South could be no longer "solid" in its representation in Congress, nor could the North send compact Republican delegations. Both the great political parties would be thoroughly nationalized. This prediction is susceptible of absolute pre-verification by the simple arithmetical process just applied to the States of Pennsylvania and Texas.

Let us apply the single-vote idea to the election of Representatives in Congress in all the States, taking the Presidential vote in 1888 as the basis of distribution. We ascertain that the result would have been as follows:

	Dem.	Rep.	Pro.	Union-Labor.
Alabama	5	3	..	..
Arkansas	3	2	..	..
California	3	3	..	..
Colorado	..	1	..	..
Connecticut	2	2	..	..
Delaware	1	..	..	..
Florida	1	1	..	..
Georgia	7	3	..	..
Illinois	9	10	1	..
Indiana	6	7	..	..
Iowa	5	6	.	..
Kansas	2	4	..	1
Kentucky	6	5	..	..
Louisiana	4	2	..	..
Maine	2	2	..	..
Maryland	3	3	..	..
Massachusetts	5	7	..	..
Michigan	5	5	1	..
Minnesota	2	3	..	..
Mississippi	5	2	..	..
Missouri	7	6	..	1
Nebraska	1	2	..	..
Nevada	..	1	.	..
New Hampshire	1	1	..	..
New Jersey	4	3	..	..
New York	16	17	1	..
North Carolina	5	4	..	..
Ohio	10	10	1	..
Oregon	..	1	..	..
Pennsylvania	12	15	1	..
Rhode Island	1	1	..	..
South Carolina	6	1	..	..
Tennessee	5	5	..	..
Texas	7	3	..	1
Vermont	..	2	..	..
West Virginia	2	2	..	..
Virginia	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin	4	5	..	..
Total	162	155	5	3

This result would have been as nearly in accord with the popular vote for President as any possible of attainment.

It is confidently believed that the adoption of the single-vote method of electing Representatives in Congress would prove an effectual check to bribery and intimidation of voters. When any political party perceived that it could not, by any possible instrumentality, poll more than a certain number of Representative ratios, the motive for corrupting or browbeating voters would no longer exist. Hence the single vote would not only give the people equal representation in Congress, but go far toward the assurance of free and pure elections.

BENJAMIN F. MEYERS.

IV.

ANTI-POVERTY RECIPES.

ABOUT five hundred miles southwest of Nanking the Yangtsekiang River is joined by a tributary that drains the lowland province of Kiangtze, and the lower ten thousand square miles of the alluvial delta form probably the most densely-populated region of the modern world. Every square rod of tillable ground is cultivated on the most approved truck-farm plan; the very rocks of the upland hills are utilized by grape-gardeners; and cattle-pastures have long ago made room for fish-ponds. Professor Kersten, of Vienna, demonstrates that by systematic pisciculture animal food can be produced eight times as cheaply as by any method of stock-raising; but that estimate refers only to the conventional systems of southern Europe, whereas, by adopting the Chinese expedients for providing vegetable fish-food, ponds, acre for acre, could be made about fifteen times more profitable than the best pastures.

Chemistry, too, has devised various methods for cheapening the ingredients of our food by artificial equivalents, but the most effective remedy against the chief peril of over-population is, after all, the Corsican plan of *substituting perennial for annual food-plants*. Sugar, flour, and fat form the most important elements of our diet, and even in the colder latitudes of the temperate zone those elements could be derived from the products of arboreal vegetation. Beechnuts yield an oil almost equal to olive oil; walnuts and hazlenuts can be used for the same purpose, and by careful cultivation could be made productive enough to supply all the calorific elements of food needed even by a northland population. In the Mediterranean coastlands olive-trees begin to bear about the seventh year, but far outlive their planters; so much so, indeed, that some Sicilian specimens of the *Olea Europea* are believed to be older than the period of our chronological era. After the twentieth year olive-trees planted in a congenial soil become enormously productive. At least five of the twenty-odd different varieties could be successfully cultivated as far north as Tennessee, and the California plantations alone will soon supply all the markets of North America. Italy, in spite of her discouraging tax on all orchard trees, still produces nearly 40,000,000 gallons a year. Besides the olive, the forests of the lower latitudes produce hundreds of different oil-yielding trees. Of palms alone Professor Burmeister enumerates thirty-five species, some of them productive enough to make animal fats almost superfluous.

Sugar, also, could be derived from tree products in an abundance that would make the manufacture of glucose cease to form a profitable branch of industry. Maple syrup can be refined in a way to modify the acid taste of its sugar; palm trees and several species of conifers yield a honey-like sap; more than fifty different kinds of orchard fruits abound in saccharine elements; and a small, roundish variety of the Grecian sugar-plum yields 30 per cent. more sugar per gallon of juice than the best sugar-cane.

In the production of farinaceous food-stuffs our grain-planters would find it equally impossible to compete with the cultivators of various species of arboreal plants. According to Humboldt and Bonpland's estimate, an area of land producing a hundred pounds of potatoes will yield more than four thousand pounds of bananas, and a banana orchard of three acres can be made to support twenty-five men. All

through southern Europe and southwestern Asia cereals are largely superseded by the *castanea vesca*, or Italian chestnut, bearing a nut somewhat larger than a filbert and more nutritious than any known variety of farinaceous grain. In Italy chestnuts are eaten boiled and roasted, or ground into meal, like wheat, and on the island of Corsica nine out of ten farmers derive their breadstuff almost exclusively from that kind of tree-flour—"*farina*," as they call it, in distinction from any other sort of meal.

On three acres of ground an orchard of full-grown chestnut-trees will produce, year after year, a quantum of *farina* sufficient for the need of a moderate-sized family, and chestnut-trees will flourish among rocks where even an Alleghany Mountain squatter would hesitate to run a plow. And while the plowing and sowing of a wheatfield have to be repeated every year, nut trees take care of themselves, as well as of their proprietors. Grain crops, in the course of a few years, exhaust or impoverish the best soil, unless the loss is made up by the use of fertilizers. Trees not only dispense with such assistance, but improve with old age. An old chestnut-tree near Aci Reale, on the slope of Mount Etna, is 160 feet in circumference, but still yields an abundant crop of nuts, though up to a height of thirty feet above ground the trunk forms a mere hollow shell. A similar tree near Sancerre, twenty miles east of Bourges, France, is believed to be a thousand years old, and one at Tortworth, in Gloucestershire, England, has formed a boundary mark ever since the time of King John.

The hard work of an orchard farmer would be limited to a few harvest weeks, and, aside from all that, the substitution of trees for annuals would solve a problem of ages by preventing the disastrous climatic changes incident to the destruction of arboreal vegetation. Drought would become less frequent and spring floods less ruinous; "arbor days" could be celebrated on every homestead, and, besides saving the endless drudgery of a grain farm, tree plantations would reward their protectors with the shade of their foliage in summer and with windfalls of dry twigs in cold weather, and shelter the nests of myriads of insect-eating birds.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

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